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RESEARCHES

ON

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY

OF

EASTERN ASIA

(FURTHER INDIA AND INDO MALAY ARCHIPELAGO)

BY

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# CONTENTS

## I PRELIMINARY REMARKS

	PAGE
1 Introduction	1
2 Calculations    Mathematical rectification of Ptolemy's Further Indian Geography	9

## II HISTORIC-GEOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE AND COMMENTARY ON THE IDENTIFICATIONS PROPOSED FOR THE PROLEMAIC TOPONYMS IN FURTHER INDIA AND THE ARCHIPELAGO

### Ch 1 — *Coast of the Airrhadoi*

The Airrhadoi	28
Triglypton or Trilingon the capital of a kingdom	30
Tugma a metropolis	33
Pentapolis	35
Katabeda River	36

### Ch 2 — *Argyra (Arakan)*

The term Argyra	37
Barakura a mart	43
Tokosanna River	44
Sambra a city	45
Sados River and Sada a city	45
Berabonna a mart	47
Temala River	48
Temala a city	49

### Ch 3 — *Country of the Zamirai and Dabasai (Upper Burma)*

The Zamirai	52
The Dabasai	54
Arisabion	61
Adelsaga	64

### Ch 4 — *Gold Country (Lower Burma)*

Khryse and its location	64
Mareura or Malthura a metropolis	66

### Ch 5 — *Coast of the Besyngentai and Sarabakic Gulf (Coast of Pegu Gulf of Martaban)*

The Besyngentai	70
Sabara a city	72
Besynga River	75
Besynga, a mart	76

Ch 6 — Golden Khersonese (*Malay Peninsula*)

PAGE

The Golden Khersonese . . . . .	77
Bērabai, a city . . . . .	81
Takola, a mart . . . . .	85
Kokkonagara, an inland town . . . . .	94
Khrysoina River . . . . .	97
Palanda, an inland town, and Palandas River . . . . .	97
Tharrha, an inland town . . . . .	99
Sabana, a mart . . . . .	100
Cape Maleu Kōlon . . . . .	101
Attaba River . . . . .	105
Kōli, a town . . . . .	105
Perimūla . . . . .	106
Perimūlik Gulf, Head of ( <i>Addendum</i> ) . . . . .	760
Balongka, an inland town . . . . .	111

Ch 7 — Country of the Doānai (*Northern Siam and Laos*)

The Doānai . . . . .	116
Doanas River . . . . .	134
Rhingiberi, a city . . . . .	138
Lariagara, a town . . . . .	140
Lasippa or Lasyppa . . . . .	142
Dasana or Doana a town . . . . .	144
Bareukora, Bareuaōra, or Bareuathra, a city . . . . .	155

Ch 8 — Country of the Lestai (*Southern Siam and Kamboja*)

The Lestai . . . . .	156
Samarade or Samarande, a town . . . . .	169
Pagrassa . . . . .	190
Sobanos or Sobanas River . . . . .	191
Pithonobaste, a mart . . . . .	192
Akadra, a town . . . . .	195
Zabai or Zaba, the city . . . . .	213
Great Cape, where the Great Gulf begins . . . . .	222

Ch 9 — Region of the Great Gulf (*Annam and Tonkin*)

The Great Gulf ( <i>Magnus Sinus</i> ) and its ancient inhabitants . . . . .	225
Thagora . . . . .	265
Balonga, a metropolis . . . . .	268
Throana . . . . .	279
Doana River, mouth . . . . .	281
Kortatha, a metropolis . . . . .	288
Pagrassa . . . . .	308

	PAGE
Dorias River	313
Aganagara	319
Sinda, a town	331
The Indoi	318
The Kudutai	356
The Barrhai	362
Seros River	372
End of the Great Gulf towards the Sinai	377

## Ch 10 — *Islands of Trans Gangetic India*

### A Andamans and Nikobars

Bazakata Island and the Aginnatai	379
Chronological nomenclature of the Andaman-Nikobar Archipelago	401
Khaline or Saline Island	406
Agathodaimonos Island	411
Mantolai, ten islands	420
Location of the Andamans and Nikobars according to Arabic and Chinese notions	424

### B Islands off the West Coast of Sumatra

Barusai five islands	427
Sabadeibai three islands	446
Sindai, three islands	449

### C Sumatra

Iabadiu or Sabadiu an island	458
I The Chinese Evidence	466
Outline history of <i>Malayu</i> as a topographical and ethnical term	535
Retrospective survey of the onomatology and outline history of the Insular ' <i>Shi po</i> ' and conjoint States on the Malay Peninsula, from Chinese sources	541
II The Arabic Evidence	550
III Location of <i>Zubay</i>	557
IV Ptolemy's Iabadiu	587
Outline history of the Palembang kingdom	619
Linguistical remarks on the term <i>Java</i> and derived or cognate forms	632
Linguistical remarks on the term <i>Sumatra</i>	647
Chronological onomatology of Sumatra City and Island since the foundation of Sumatra City	644



	PAGE
Argyre, the capital of Iabadiū or Sabadiū	656
Outline sketch of Achinese onomatology and history (second to seventeenth century A.D.)	698
D Great Anambas or Siantan Group	
Islands of the Satyrs	707

### III APPENDICES

1 On the Seven Seas of India and Further India	725
2 On Indo-Chinese Terms in the Ptolemaic Geography of extra Gangetic India	727
3 On the date to which Ptolemy's information on Further India is to be referred	738

IV ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA	740
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V APPENDIX OF ADDITIONAL NOTES	829
VI INDICES	837

### VII TABLES

1 Stations west of the Meridian of Kamberikhon (Nos. 1-28)	
2 Stations between the Meridians of Kamberikhon and Cape Temala (Nos. 29-53)	
3 Stations between the Meridians of Cape Temala and Cape Takola (Nos. 54-8)	
4 Stations between the Meridians of Cape Takola and Akadra (Nos. 59-98)	
5 Stations east of the Meridian of Akadra (Nos. 99-142)	
6 Eastern coast of India (Nos. 143-55)	
7 Islands in the Gulf of Bengal (Nos. 156-62)	
8 Mountains (Nos. 163-73)	
9 Rivers (Nos. 174-91)	
10 Ptolemy's names of Regions, Peoples and Tribes (Nos. 192-243)	
11 Trade routes and Travellers' Tracks brought to light from an examination of Ptolemy's Eastern Geography	

### VIII MAPS

1 Map in elucidation of Ptolemy's Geography of Further India and Central Asia	
2 Synoptical Map of the early Greek and Latin, Indo-Arabic and Chinese knowledge of Indo-China and the Indo-Malay Archipelago	

# ERRATA

- Page 6 line 6, for applied read supplied  
 „ 7, l 5 from bottom for Ko read Koh  
 „ 8, l 3, for ho read Koh  
 „ 16, l 14, for lars read lay  
 „ 19, l 6, for Byzantium read Byzantion  
 „ 21, l 2, for base read basis  
 „ 21 l 9 for ristra read iastra  
 „ 29, n 2, for Saint-Denis read Saint-Denys  
 „ 40, n 3 for Argeiron read Argeirou  
 „ 40, n 3 for Agkheiron read Ankheiron  
 „ 41, note, for Argeiron read Argeirou  
 „ 42, note, for her quarters read headwaters  
 „ 44, note for Saint Denis read Saint Denys  
 „ 46 note, l 8 for Suint Denis read Suint-Denys  
 „ 55, n 1, for Saint-Denis read Suint-Denys  
 „ 58, n. 1 for Saint Denis read Suint-Denys  
 „ 58, l 24, for aborigini read aborigines  
 „ 58, n 2, for Kha read h ha  
 „ 80, l 18, for Suu read Suu  
 „ 89, l 15, for Zabeli read Zibey  
 „ 89, l 16, for act read fact  
 „ 91, l 24, for gives read gave  
 „ 91, last line but one from bottom, for Maluan read Maluan  
 „ 92, l 13 for China read Cina  
 „ 95, l 10 for Kao-chih read Ktau-chih  
 „ 102, l 21, for Malayus read Malajus  
 „ 103, l 17, for Atap read Atap  
 „ 106, l 1, for Wan tan read Wen tan  
 „ 107, ll 24, 25 for Sukhadaya read Sukhodaya  
 „ 107, n 1, l 1, for ch xxvii read ch xxxi  
 „ 112, l 3 from bottom, for to be read to become  
 „ 113, l 10 and passim, for Hwen tsang read Hwen tsang

Page 540, n 1, l 2 *for of read or*


„ 540 n 1, l 3, *for Yabadho read Yabadū*

„ 540, n 2, last line but one, *for there read these*

„ 549, l 20, *for p 211 read p 21*

„ 563, n 3, l 11, *for Lukin read Lūkin*

„ 566, note, l 1, correct the Moñ characters here given for

*Smoñ* into 

„ 569, note, l 1, *for palbala read pabbata*

„ 570, note, l 7, *for Tsai read Ts'in*

„ 575, bottom line of text, *for Tumeras read Tumerao*

„ 576, notes, l 17 from bottom, *for Troh read Iron*

„ 585, notes, l 20 from bottom, *for shia read chia*

„ 589, note l 9 from bottom *for Bamm read Ramni*

- Page 704, l 15 from bottom, *for Aśi read Aśi*  
 „ 719, n, l 5, *for Kamalan̄ka read Kāmalan̄kī*  
 „ 723, l 20, *after which all route*  
 „ 729, l 2, *after an l add n*  
 „ 743, l 7 from bottom *for Yo read Yō*  
 „ 762, l 15 from bottom, *for that they, being read that they be*  
     *These, being*  
 „ 776, l 12, *for ser 2 read ser 1*  
 „ 779, l 13 from bottom, *for 56 read 156*  
 „ 780, l 5 „ *for 281 read 218*  
 „ 781, l 17 „ *for brought to light read disguised*  
 „ 782, l 3 „ *for occurs read which occurs*  
 „ 783, l 16 „ *for lāna = fīna read lani = fīlāna*  
 „ 791, l 11 „ *for be read is*  
 „ 798, l 17 „ *before resemble insert to*

## PREFACE

THE word "Notes" originally heading the title page of this work clearly showed the spirit which guided its preparation, and at that time no more was meant, for it was first intended as a series of articles for the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, where the first of the series in fact appeared. This will account for the somewhat unsymmetrical arrangement of the text, as well as for the excessive disproportion in the length of its chapters, which would have been otherwise distributed and brought into shape if their embodiment into a compact volume had been planned from the outset, and if it could have been limited as was then contemplated to about one third of the size it has ultimately attained.

It is entirely due to the initiative of the Royal Asiatic Society in honouring this work with a place among its Asiatic Monographs that the original notes, jotted down in a cursory manner definitely assumed the present form. A start was made to put them into type as early as 1899 but the printing and preparation for the press lingered on year after year as the striving after greater comprehensiveness intensified research and disclosed new facts and issues. Thus the subject matter steadily increased, considerable interpolations and additions suggested themselves and even became necessary in order to bring the work up to date in the light of recent discoveries. This accounts for the far greater length of later chapters and for the more diffused treatment which the subject received after the first hundred pages or so in comparison with the earlier ones. Moreover, such treatment was required in view of the opinion expressed by at least one eminent Oriental scholar as to the soundness of my method and the reliability of my identifications after the appearance of the first part of my "Notes" in the *J R A S*, 1897, pt iii, pp 551-77. I shall revert to this point, however, at greater length later on, at present it may be of interest to add that nearly the whole of the book, i.e. up to

p 656 was ready printed, and up to p 724 set up in type, by the end of 1901 (cf *infra*, p 682, n 2) But circumstances which it is needless to mention again prevented its being brought to a termination, and thus it lay incomplete till 1908 During the interval new sources of reference and personal investigations *in situ*, as well as the *dies diem docet*, had combined to bring forth new results, besides disclosing many imperfections and blunders which had been perpetrated in the text Atonement has been made in the shape of Addenda and Corrigenda, which will practically bring the book up to date

Before closing this plea of self-justification for the unshapely arrangement of the work, which drawback, it is hoped, has been somewhat diminished by a more logical distribution into parts and chapters introduced into the Table of Contents, as well as by copious cross references both in the footnotes and Addenda at the end of the book it behoves me to add in extenuation of its many shortcomings that the work is mainly the outcome of plodding labour during the scanty leisure of a long busy day in a tropical clime, and that it has been penned at an almost antipodean distance from works of reference and libraries Thus, debarred from access to the principal editions of Ptolemy's treatise and to numerous authorities which a residence at home would have placed within my reach the task was rendered harder of elucidating a wide and new subject like the present which I trust will readily be acknowledged to be bristling with difficulties hitherto regarded as insurmountable

Some of these are referred to in the course of the Introduction but others even more appalling beset my path in the sequel While investigating remote times of countries on which local records throw but hazy light or none at all and endeavouring to put under contribution foreign accounts extant in Chinese, Arabic or other literatures I gradually felt that the identifications of the place names occurring in such accounts as had been proposed by their

European translators and commentators were for the most part unreliable. Thus a crucial alternative faced me—either to renounce availing myself of the valuable information contained in such accounts on the mistakenly identified places, for inferences based on such wrong foundations would be tantamount to explaining *ignotum per ignotius*; or, to overhaul all that had been done in the field by preceding labourers and do the work of identification anew.

This, it will readily be imagined, was by itself a heavy task, which considerably increased the labour and delayed the appearance of the book. It became no longer a question of elucidating Ptolemy's extra-Gangetic Geography, but also that of the Arabs and Chinese, to say nothing of the ancient Indūs, and even of the accounts of early European travellers and navigators. However imperfect the results—and of its many defects no one is more sensible than myself—it is nevertheless hoped that a good and sound advance has been made in the identification of place-names and ethnonyms which, up to the present, were supposed to lie beyond the reach of recognition.

No wonder that a *rudis indigestaque moles* of facts and information was the outcome rather than a readable sketch planned to catch the roving eye of the general reader, and such it does not pretend to be, so little, indeed, that precision in the spelling of proper names, toponyms and ethnonyms especially, being indispensable in a work of this sort, the additional infliction could not be avoided of diacritical marks so peculiarly irritating to the English eye.

In a book crammed with thousands of uncouth native names, in a score or so of Oriental languages, an absolute uniformity of spelling throughout could not be expected. All the same, considerable pains have been taken to ensure such an uniformity, especially in the last three-quarters of the volume, where, moreover, the original characters for place-names have been supplied in half a dozen Oriental languages, and the derivation of many such names added where practicable, which is but seldom done in historic-geographical

works, and what is still more regrettable, in the very Gazetteers published on some of the countries treated of here. On careless topographical nomenclature in maps and works of reference the severest strictures have now and then been passed by many eminent Oriental scholars so that it is hoped the present volume may escape criticism in that respect.

No less pains have been taken throughout to quote the sources from which information has been culled and the authorities drawn upon or to which obligation was to be acknowledged and this in utter disregard of having to overload the notes with references for in this as in other fields criticism of the source is the very foundation of research.

Mindful, moreover, of the maxim that geography is the eye of history and *vice versa* as Carlyle has somewhere pointed out that history should always go hand in hand with geography not a few sidelights often from hitherto unpublished and even unknown sources have been supplied to obscure periods of the countries treated in so far as fell within the scope of the present work. Thus to quote but an instance which should prove of peculiar interest to Indianists is the disclosure as to the Chola kingdom having been brought under the supremacy of the *Jabey* (Palembang) empire in or about A.D. 1077 (see p. 624 n. 1).

Nor has the geography of those countries received less attention corroborated as it has been not by arm chair examination of often rudimentary maps and unsound treatises but by the experience gained in a quarter of a century's residence on the very field of inquiry, intercalated with research and travel and aided by familiarity with nearly a dozen of the local languages and dialects acquired during the same period. Among the incidental results of such labours for historic geography may I be allowed to mention the discovery that a branch of the Me Khong River flowed of old to the Gulf of Siam (p. 770) the evidence as to the probable former existence of a marine channel across the Malay Peninsula (pp. 79-701) and of an old frequented trade route over the Kra Isthmus (pp. 94, 706) etc.



Now, a word in justification of the graphic methods followed in connection with Ptolemaic geography, and of the reliability of the results attained. An eminent Indianist, Professor A. Barth, in a note published in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (tome ii, 1902, p. 98, n. 4), kindly remarks *en passant*, in alluding to the first instalment of these "Notes," which appeared in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pt iii, that "M. Gerini . . . a appliqué aux co-ordonnées de Ptolémée un système de corrections très-ingénieux, trop ingénieux même pour être toujours convaincant" (the italics are mine). This criticism, though flattering enough because made in a candid spirit, presumably represents the impression received by some of the leading savants and Oriental scholars after a perusal of the introductory part of the present work which appeared in the *Journal*. It is, indeed, no wonder that the results briefly set forth in that article carried no more conviction to the scholarly reader than was openly acknowledged by Professor Barth. The subject I had taken in hand was so amazingly difficult that it had long been given up as hopeless by more than one eminent authority, and my treatment of it was so novel and so far different from the stereotyped methods previously followed that the 'prentice hand could not implicitly be trusted, at any rate until further proofs were forthcoming in corroboration of the bare results submitted in such a summary manner.

Now, however, there is a chance of showing a better case, for the mathematical proofs presented in the introductory section of the work have been followed by an array of historical and circumstantial evidence covering no less than 697 pages (pp. 28-724 inclusive), besides 111 pages (pp. 725-835 inclusive) of appendices and additional notes. The correctness of my identifications of the toponyms occurring in the Ptolemaic extra-Gangetic Geography is thus not only mathematically proven, but checked and counterchecked by all sorts of evidence, historical and otherwise, that could be gathered and brought to bear upon the subject. Thus, no further doubt is possible as to the

soundness of the method followed and the thorough reliability of the results attained except in a few isolated cases which, owing to imperfect data or to lack of information could not be satisfactorily settled. It may indeed be added—to emphasize the precision of the mathematical rectification of the Ptolemaic extra Gangetic Geography as exhibited in the introductory part of the present work—that the Ptolemaic toponyms identified thus fit in exactly with the sites of similarly named places in almost every instance all over Indo China. In striking confirmation of this fact I may point out that some Ptolemaic toponyms which in the early stages of my researches proved absolutely refractory to identification became by subsequent inquiry easy of recognition, thanks to the rectified position mathematically calculated for them in the Tables which unmistakably indicated where the corresponding site should be looked for in the maps. I feel perfectly confident therefore that the small irreducible residuum of Ptolemaic place names still doubtfully located or left unidentified in the course of the present work will become capable of recognition to future investigators after a thorough study of the topography and protohistory of the locality which has been mathematically determined for them in the Tables. Some instances in which the hope just confidently expressed has already been realized of late might be quoted by way of illustration.

After the introductory section of this work and the Tables had appeared in the *Journal* Mr C Otto Blagden readily recognized in Balonga metropolis (No 121, Table V) the ancient Chām capital *Bal Ingre* or *Chā bīn* (see the *J R A S*, 1899 pp 66-6) whereas in the *Journal* cited above the identification with “Qu nī on or Chā ban” had been proposed by myself merely as the result of a preliminary, and necessarily but superficial inquiry, based on a comparison between the position mathematically ascertained in Table V for Balonga and the few data I had at hand relative to that locality, among which did not yet figure the

original name *Bal-Angicé*, but simply the new-fangled ones imposed by the Annamese after their conquest of the place. Thus, further investigation carried out by Mr. Blagden proved the correctness of the location of Balonga métropolis I had set forth in the Tables on the basis of mere mathematical calculation, and supplied the explanation of the hitherto puzzling Ptolemaic toponym.

Again, the same introductory section of this work, as well as an article of mine on "Shān and Siām" which almost contemporaneously appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (January, 1898, pp 145-63), elicited from Mr. R. F. St. Andrew St. John the suggestion that the initial syllable Bē in Ptolemaic toponyms, especially rivers on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, seemingly represented the Mōñ (Peguan) *Bi* meaning a 'river' (see this writer's papers in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1898, p. 424, and in the "Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes," 2<sup>ème</sup> section, Paris, 1898, p 220). Acting upon this suggestion, which proved correct in several cases (though by no means in such a wide application as Mr. St. Andrew St. John had surmised; see Appendix II, p 728 *infra*), I was soon able to recognize in the Ptolemaic Bēsyinga River (Nos 58, 187) the Mōñ terms *Bi-chung*, *Bi-sing* (*Bi-choin*), meaning 'Elephant River,' and, by antonomasia, *Sindhua* or *Erāvati* (Irawaddy). Thus the identification of the Bēsyinga River with the Salween I had proposed at the outset (Table III, No. 58, and Table IX, No 187, in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pt iii) had to be abandoned in favour of the later one with the Irawaddy (*vide infra*, Appendix II, sect 1, and Addenda, p. 750, note to p 75)

Among the singularly obdurate place-names and ethnonyms before unascrbed, which I myself succeeded in identifying after the introductory part of the present work first appeared in print, thanks to the location mathematically calculated for them in the Tables, the following may be mentioned —

No 84, Palanda; Nos. 85 and 185, Palandas River: which, taken at the outset to refer to Pêrak and the Pêrak

River respectively, could afterwards be explained by the presence to this day in that neighbourhood of tribes known by the name of *Bélandas*, *Blandas*, or *Belendas*, to which evidently the two Ptolemaic toponyms must be traced (see *infra*, Appendix II, sect 2, and Addenda, note to p 97)

No 123 Zabai or Zaba, in which I have recognized the *Srâi[-thâp]* district, the *Shih-peï* or *Sz lei* of Chinese records (vide *infra*, Appendix II, sect 4, and Addenda, note to p 217, l 11 from bottom)

No 218 Damassai, or Dabasai, people, an ethnonym I have since found to survive in the present *Tamansai* tribe of Upper Burmā (see Appendix II, sect 5)

No 147 Palura of which I have discovered the historical continuation in *Paloor* village, above the mouth of the Ganjīm (see Addenda, note to p 47, l 7-9)

No 70 Posinara, which I have connected with the capital of the ancient *Péh tsz* State in West Yun nan (see Appendix III, p 739)

No 125 Satyron Islands which I have ultimately identified with the *Siantan* or *Syātān* insular group, the *Hsi tung* of Chinese records, known to European navigators as the Great (or Northern) Anambas (vide *infra*, pp 707 et seqq)

The above Ptolemaic place names and ethnonyms I have purposely chosen in regions far apart, ranging from the east coast of India to the Eastern Archipelago, in order to exemplify how all over such a wide area the mathematical results arrived at in the Tables prove remarkably correct.

As regards the Indo Chinese Peninsula proper, as well as the Archipelago, the evidence collected in the body of the present volume will enable one, in each particular instance to check the mathematical results exhibited in the Tables with the historic-geographical commentary subjoined in the text, when it will be seen that the correspondence between the Ptolemaic names and the identifications I have adduced for them is in almost every case surprisingly accurate. In the face of the proofs gathered in the 800 and odd pages of

text, appendices, and additional notes, in support of the results obtained by the mathematical method of treatment of Ptolemy's extra-Gangetic Geography explained in the introductory part of the book, it is now legitimate to hope the unbiassed reader will agree that it is not here a question of a fictitious — however ingenious — disguising of Ptolemy's geography under deceitful vestures, but of a genuine, sound interpretation of the same which may confidently be relied upon; which is the only possible one, not only in theory, but also in actual fact, for it is *the* true and correct one. This can hardly be gainsaid in view furthermore of the fact that some of the Ptolemaic place-names belong to languages still occurring, or known to have existed, in the countries in which they have respectively been located (see Appendix II). I may, moreover, personally testify, after over a dozen years' experience of, and steady work on, the basis of the plan of mathematical rectification adopted, that I was unable to detect any serious shortcoming in the location of the Ptolemaic toponyms, etc., calculated as shown in the Tables. The Ptolemaic sphinx, when repeatedly interrogated, has seldom given an equivocal response, while the rectified results of its data hardly ever failed me as a trustworthy guide to identification. As will be seen, it is entirely due to this framework of mathematical

the wide area covered by the present volume, invaluable sidelights are supplied to the ancient history of a region for which extant records do not go back, in the most favourable instances, further than the fifth or sixth century A.D. By virtue of Ptolemy's geographic lists, however arid they may be, it will thus be possible to carry back the history of those lands to the first century of our era. Accordingly, the section of the Ptolemaic treatise devoted to extra-Gangetic India fulfils even nowadays its purpose by supplying a new substratum to the history of the Indo-Chinese and Archipelagan countries; and it is perhaps not too sanguine to anticipate that future historiographers of those lands may see their way to adopt the Ptolemaic data as the starting-point for their inquiries and narratives to which, even for later periods where authentic records fail or are but fragmentary, they should be at times of help in understanding the political condition of the country.

Nor will the advantages of the present elucidation of Ptolemaic extra-Gangetic Geography remain confined to the historian, for the ethnographer and philologist will also find therein some food for speculation, of which Appendix II below is merely intended to supply a foretaste with a view to stimulate further inquiry

Thus the present work, apart from its interest, however small it be, from an exegetical point of view, in so far as it elucidates an ancient text and department of historical geography, should prove of some retrospective value for the study of certain historic, linguistic, ethnologic, and geographic aspects of the countries it deals with. Hence it may be hoped that, even on this ground alone, the study of the Ptolemaic geography of Further India will be acknowledged worthy of revival, now that the rough gems treasured up in the treatise of the Alexandrine geographer have been freed from their dross and so made fit for use.

It will no doubt be due to this peculiar side of its merits that Ptolemy's treatise will become indispensable to Orientalists. Their lasting gratitude will now have to

be acknowledged to him who has left us so complete a description of the eastern part of the *habitable* as known in his own time; who has sedulously collected about it and recast the notions of all his predecessors and contemporaries; who was always on the look out for fresh information from the navigators and traders returning from India and the Far East (see his lib i, chaps 11-14 and 17); and who, finally, has bequeathed to posterity the most comprehensive and complete record of Eastern countries, towns, nations, tribes, itineraries, trade-routes, and of historic, linguistic, ethnologic, and geographical facts that the ancient Greek and Latin world can boast of. It is to all this—let us emphasize it—that we owe, among other important disclosures, the one now incontrovertibly established in these pages, that Western trade pushed along the China coast, at least as far as Hang-chou harbour, since the beginning of the Christian era, that is, at a much earlier date than has hitherto been imagined or suspected by our own savants. It is therefore only fitting that the present work, which owes its being to the labours of the Alexandrine geographer, should not be issued from the press without paying this reverent homage to him.

As shown on its title-page, this volume is merely devoted to Further India and the Indo-Malay Archipelago, albeit the Tables cover a far wider field, including China and Central Asia. Though the identifications of the Ptolemaic place-names and ethnonyms pertaining to these regions have been revised in the light of further inquiries which I made after the publication in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pt. iii, of the first instalment of the present work, and are now for the most part reliable, nevertheless they cannot be considered as final till the volume to be devoted to such regions, which has now been for some time in preparation, has been passed through the press.

As regards the schematic map accompanying the present volume, it is the same as originally appeared in the *Journal*. Although it would now require substantial alterations to bring

it into keeping with the text as it now stands, it has been preferred, in order not to further delay the appearance of the book, to leave the map as it is, instead—as might have been better—of supplying a revised one. As an offset, however, against this drawback, I have added a larger special map of Indo-China proper and the Indo-Malay Archipelago, exhibiting, not only the Ptolemaic in particular, but also the other Greek and Latin, as well as the early Indū, Arabic, and Chinese, knowledge of that region, recast in the light of the researches embodied in the present work. This, it is hoped, may prove a valuable addition and help to grasp the principal results attained.

Before concluding, I feel it my duty to express my deepest obligations to the Royal Asiatic Society for the honour of its high patronage accorded to this volume, to its Council and Secretary for valuable assistance and suggestions, and last, but not least, to the printers' reader for the very great pains he has taken, with remarkable success, in seeing the present work, bristling with enormous typographical difficulties in some twenty languages, through the press, with comparatively an insignificant number of misprints.

With this *envoi* I leave the volume to the judgment of critics, Oriental scholars, and the general public, regretting, alas! its many imperfections, but feeling at the same time honestly entitled to plead in extenuation of such shortcomings the enormous difficulties of multifarious kinds with which I had to grapple, and to console myself in the conviction that  
*sem curati quam optime potui.*

G. E. GERINI

CISANO-B - NEVA (ITALY)

March 1, 1909



# FURTHER INDIA

AND

## INDO-MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

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### I INTRODUCTION

Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura  
Che la dritta via era smarrita

DANTE *Inf.* 10 : 1

HAVING been for years past engaged in researches on the early history of Siam and its border countries, I had, as a matter of course, to go into their ancient geography—a hitherto unexplored field—and this naturally led me to a study of the documents that the Western geographers of antiquity left us, more especially Ptolemy, who gives us the first collection of anything like authentic data on the countries in question. Thus it came to pass that I found myself hopelessly entangled in the “selva selvaggia, ed aspra e forte” of Ptolemy’s geography of India extra Gangem. I must confess that the results attending my first attempts at interpreting this portion of the work of the great Alexandrian were far from encouraging. This was however, to be expected seeing that even master hands like those of Klaproth, Cunningham, Yule, Lassen and others, whilst meeting with fair success in identifying Ptolemy’s names of places west of the meridian of the Ganges, had failed to evolve the slightest order out of the chaos of his trans Gangetic geography, and to locate with certainty even a single one of the numerous cities he names beyond the outskirts of the Gulf of Bengal. The more eastern portion of Ptolemy’s geography came, therefore,

to be looked upon as utterly unreliable, if not fantastic, and the severest strictures were passed on the great cosmologist and geographer, to the effect that he had made a mess of his eastern longitudes and latitudes, coined names of cities and peoples out of his fancy, confused islands and continents, making pretence to a knowledge of regions which his contemporaries had never reached, and on which they possessed but second-hand information of the vaguest possible character.

But when I noticed the wide difference of opinion existing among Ptolemy's expounders and commentators as to the identification of his names of cities, gulfs, and even regions (some going so far as to connect his Magnus Sinus with the Gulf of Bengal, his coast of Sinai with that of the Malayan Peninsula, Kattigara with Kesho in Tonkin, and even with Kottawaringin in Borneo, Serika with the Peguan coast, and so forth), I at once realized the impossibility of reaching any definite goal by following paths so widely diverging, and I confess that I began then to ask myself whether—granted that Ptolemy had muddled—his commentators and would be elucidators had not, despite their zeal and learning and evident good-faith, often made confusion worse confounded.

The reason why Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography should have given rise to so much controversy is plain enough—it is to be found in the methods of treatment it received—at times far too theoretical on one side, and far too empiric on the other, but always, and invariably, too scholastically uniform and systematic. Thus the most faithful of Ptolemy's votaries, the sincerest of his admirers, ever missed the goal, despite the deep learning and indefatigable research they brought to bear on the arduous subject: some in unsuccessful attempts to find out a general formula of correction applicable to the whole of his *habitalis*, and others in the vain endeavour of making his geographical nomenclature fit in in modern maps by simply connecting the names he gives with places designated by similar appellations in the latter.

As regards the first method, if susceptible of fairly successful application to the countries lying west of the Indus, it becomes utterly unfit for the more eastern portion of the *habitable*, where Ptolemy's measurement errors are far from being constant and uniform as might be anticipated, the position of places here depending on much more imperfect data, whereby it ensues that the amount of error must be detected and determined in almost every particular instance if anything like approximation is to be arrived at. Now this can only be done by a careful selection and individuation of the principal stations of Ptolemy's system, the ratio of error in intermediate points between the base stations thus established will then be reduced to a minimum, so as to allow, in the majority of cases, of a satisfactory identification of the same.

I purposely say in the majority, and not in the totality of cases, because, in spite of the rectification thus effected of Ptolemy's positions of his geographical elements, some of the latter will yet prove refractory to identification, owing partly to our still deficient geographical knowledge of some parts of Further India, and more—nay, principally—to our lack of reliable historical data on the past of the same regions, which often prevents us from tracing modern names of places back to the designation they bore in Ptolemy's time, so as to recognize them in his lists.

This is, indeed, the greatest drawback in a study of the subject under consideration, for many towns, marts, etc., which had existed, and even flourished, at that period, and

in its infancy, not to speak of the alterations caused in their spelling as originally adopted in the work of our author, by its passing through the ordeal of a legion of copyists often innocent of geographical knowledge, so that the wonder is rather—after all these difficulties have been considered—that any of Ptolemy's names of places could now stand the test of identification at all.

Yet I trust to be able to show in the sequel that despite so many drawbacks Ptolemy's geography of the India extra Gangem is still capable of fairly accurate interpretation, provided it is carried on on the lines mentioned above, and that once the amount of error as to his fundamental stations has been determined, it is possible to push the work with equal success outside the limits of that field, even up to the scarcely as yet known regions of Western China and Central Asia. It will then appear how great was Ptolemy's knowledge of these remote countries at so early a time as his and how careful his handling of the data he had at his disposal, as well as how little he deserved the strictures passed upon him and his work by commentators who did not know how to avail themselves of the precious materials accumulated by him.

With regard to the second method of interpreting Ptolemy's geography, its shortcomings are too evident to need pointing out here. Its inevitable failure with respect to India was well exemplified at the hands of Lassen, who thought that all that was needed was to compare the ancient and modern names of places to connect the two. Proceeding on sounder critical principles, Cunningham and Yule far better succeeded in interpreting Ptolemy's data, and gave us the most reliable explanation of his geography of India which we now possess. Yet McCrindle while acknowledging that Colonel Yule's map of ancient India is undoubtedly by far the best that has been yet [1885] produced" has to avow that the result is far from encouraging.

As a matter of fact it will be seen that Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography when treated according to the method

of China and Central Asia to complete the investigation and fill in the blanks I have left. For the same reason I have had no access to any of the standard works bearing on Ptolemy's geography, and have had to carry on all my calculations of rectification of Ptolemy's geographical co-ordinates of positions on the base of the figures applied in McCrindle's "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy," 1885 edition—a work embodying, as far as I can judge, nearly all that is known on the subject up to the present date, and which I have followed throughout as far as the portion of Ptolemy's geography treated on here is concerned. In the course of my labours I detected two misprints in it which somewhat led me astray at first, but which I have since corrected. The first regards the longitude of *Parisara*, which is given as  $179^{\circ}$  on page 225, a mistake for  $149^{\circ}$ , and the other the longitude of the mouth of the river *Aspithra* (page 244), printed as  $170^{\circ}$ , whereas it should be  $173^{\circ}$  or  $175^{\circ}$ . I trust I have not fallen a victim to other possible misprints in that book in the determination of the position of some other of Ptolemy's stations. Should, however, this prove to be the case, I would ask the indulgence of the reader, on the score that I had no means at my disposal to verify all such figures as I have taken from McCrindle's Book.

With these premises and reservations, I shall now proceed to explain as summarily as possible the method adopted in my inquiry, and the means through which I arrived at the solution of most of the intricate problems connected with the subject under consideration.

I first took up the study of Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography, in so far as had relation with the Gulf of Siam and the Malay Peninsula, as early as 1887, but I soon found out the inapplicability here of the formulas proposed for the correction of Ptolemy's co-ordinates of positions and the inadmissibility of the few identifications ventured upon by various authorities up to that date of Ptolemy's places in these regions, with the sole exception of *Zabai*, connected by Yule with *Campā*, without however,

attempting to definitely locate its position with any degree of precision. This prevented me from forming any estimate of the amount of Ptolemy's error in longitude and latitude at that point so the latter could not be used as a base station for the purpose I intended. I had, in fact, by that time found out that no advance was possible in this direction unless one of Ptolemy's stations at least could be identified, and located with sufficient accuracy on the Gulf of Siam or the Cochin Chinese coast, so as to give an exact idea of Ptolemy's amount of error in these far away regions, and to furnish a clue to the detection and rectification of the errors in neighbouring stations.

So far, the most easterly point in Ptolemy's system that could be fixed upon with any degree of precision, was the delta of the Ganges, which was therefore considered as the *ne plus ultra* of all possible correct interpretation of ancient classic geography. As I was at the time—despite the most assiduous efforts—unable to discover any reliable base point beyond that, I had to give up Ptolemy in utter discouragement, for I well saw that nothing could be done until such a point was found out. With this object in view, I, more unremittingly than ever, continued my study and collection of old records concerning these countries, confident that, should I arrive at establishing what were the principal marts and emporiums of trade that existed on these coasts in Ptolemy's time, and under what names, I would most likely, unless Ptolemy's names of localities were nothing but mere chimerical fancies, be able to recognize some one of them in his lists whether in its genuine or modified garb. I need not tell how glad I was when some years afterwards—not a few though—my exertions were rewarded, and by the end of 1895 I was able to identify, with absolute certainty, Ptolemy's Akadra and Pithonobaste with the Bay of Ko Tron or Ka-Dran (the *Kadra* of the Arab navigators of the ninth century), corresponding to the present Hatien on the Kambojan coast of the Gulf of Siam, and Pantaimeas (French spelling) or Panthū mīa ("golden walled citadel"), near by, the

initial point from which Hindū civilization spread out over Kamboja as I shall show in the sequel, and of which the present Hatten and Ko Tron bay were the port the most remarkable emporium of trade on the Gulf of Siam from the highest antiquity up to the beginning of the last century. This successful piece of work soon led me to the identification of Samarade Zabai Aganagara Takola and other principal stations of Ptolemy on the coast of the Malay Peninsula and Cochin China. I became then aware of a new and important feature of Ptolemy's geography of these countries namely that it discloses to us the positions of the outposts occupied at that early time by Southern Indian colonists who were then just at the outset of the exploits by which their civilization was subsequently spread all over the Malay Peninsula, Siam Kamboja Campi and the Malay Archipelago in general, and thus we are supplied with the solution of an ethnological mystery that could not hitherto be penetrated.

The other important feature that I discovered afterwards was that of the overland routes that Western traders followed at that early period most of which were hitherto not only unknown but hardly even dreamed of. The rest of the task proved comparatively easy and I need not weary the reader any further with the *résumé* of my personal experiences in this matter, beyond adding that the ultimate result of all of them was this preliminary essay with the map that accompanies it. Neither of these as yet so incomplete and imperfect would I dare to send to the press were I not confident that even in their present humble and uncouth form they may prove interesting and useful to lovers of Oriental research. This is the only reason that induced me to decide on their immediate publication rather than to wait for a more favourable opportunity when leisure and less deficiency of means of study would have permitted me to considerably improve them.

## 2 CALCULATIONS

Though the process of rectification of Ptolemy's measurement errors—on the co ordinates of his fundamental stations and on the intermediate places between two successive co ordinates taken as base lines—is sufficiently shown in the map hereto appended, a brief exposition of the method of calculation followed for the determination of the error at the principal stations will perhaps render the process clearer and more readily understood. We shall then begin at Akadra the starting-point, which in our case proved the true key to the mystery that shrouded Ptolemy's trans Gangetic geography. The longitude adopted for this harbour in the present study is  $104^{\circ} 21'$  E Greenwich, which corresponds to the actual anchorage of ships during the south west monsoon in front of Hatten.

The other base meridian worked upon in conjunction with Akadra is that passing through the centre of the Gangetic delta and the median mouth of the Ganges called Kamberikhon by our author, and supposed to correspond to the Barabangī estuary, for which the longitude adopted here is  $89^{\circ} 30'$  E. Recently Rylands, in his elucidation of Ptolemy's geography—a book which deserves recognition,<sup>2</sup> and from which I have derived useful hints as to the graphical method of treating Ptolemy's geography, although unable to accept his formula of reduction or his estimate of the true equivalent of Ptolemy's  $180^{\circ}$  as fit for my purpose—assigned long  $90^{\circ}$  E to Kamberikhon, which is evidently too much east of the centre of the delta. A glance at a map of Bengal will convince one of this. The longitude adopted by me for Kamberikhon, not only corresponding as nearly as possible to the centre of the delta but also sensibly coinciding with the axis of the lower course of the Barabangī, must evidently lie within



a few minutes of the true one as intended by Ptolemy. The calculation then proceeds as follows —

*TABLET — True Akadra — Kambërikhon*

	Its true	True
Kambërikhon	Long $116^{\circ} 30' J$	$89^{\circ} 10'$
Akadra	, $167^{\circ}$	$104^{\circ} 21'$
	Diff $20^{\circ} 30'$	$11^{\circ} 51'$

whence we obtain a formula of correction for Ptolemy's longitudes between Kamberikhon and Akadra

$$\frac{11^{\circ} 51'}{20^{\circ} 30'} = 0.725 \times \text{Ptol long (a)}$$

*Determination of the longitude of Aganagara*

A By formula (a) from Kamberikhon

Kamberikhon Ptol long  $116^{\circ} 30'$

Aganagara " "  $169^{\circ}$

Diff  $22^{\circ} 30' \times 0.725 (a) = 16^{\circ} 18'$

True long Kamberikhon +  $89^{\circ} 10'$

Corrected long Aganagara  $105^{\circ} 48'$

B By formula (a) from Akadra.

Aganagara Ptol long  $169^{\circ}$

Akadra " "  $167^{\circ}$

Diff  $2^{\circ} \times 0.725 (a) = 1^{\circ} 27'$

True long Akadra +  $104^{\circ} 21'$

Corrected long Aganagara  $105^{\circ} 48'$

which is the exact longitude of Hanoi

LATITUDES

As regards latitudes, let us, by way of trial now determine a mean between those of Kamberikhon and Akadra. The true latitude assumed for the present for Kamberikhon is  $22^{\circ} 24' N$ , corresponding to that of the

village called Byracally on the maps, which may be Kamberikhon itself, and if not, must be not very far from the mark, considering that nearly eighteen centuries have elapsed from the time of collection of Ptolemy's data, and that at that period the delta could not be so far advanced southwards as at present. The figure assumed here will be, however, checked in due course, as we shall see, the error in latitude between the parallels of Kamberikhon and Akadra is far from being uniformly distributed. We have, then—

	Ptolemy's	True
Kamberikhon	Lat $18^{\circ} 40'$	$22^{\circ} 24' N$
Akadra (Hatién)	„ $4^{\circ} 45'$	$10^{\circ} 22'$
	Diff $13^{\circ} 55'$	$12^{\circ} 2'$

whence a formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes between Kamberikhon and Akadra =  $\frac{12^{\circ} 2'}{13^{\circ} 55'} = 0.8647$

Applying this by way of trial to the determination of the latitude of Aganagara, we obtain—

Aganagara	Ptol lat $16^{\circ} 20' N$ .
Akadra	„ „ $4^{\circ} 45'$
	Diff $11^{\circ} 35' \times 0.8647 = 10^{\circ} 1'$
	True latitude Akadra + $10^{\circ} 22'$
	Corrected latitude of Aganagara <u><math>20^{\circ} 23'</math></u>

as shall be shown in due course, we must correct the error and adopt its true latitude of  $21^{\circ} 2'$ , so as to be able to use it as another base point in the calculations that follow

The next step is to find the relation of Ptolemy's and true latitudes between Akadra and Aganagara. This stands as follows —

	Ptolemy's	True
Aganagara (Hanoi)	Lat $16^{\circ} 20'$	$21^{\circ} 2'$
Akadra (Hatien)	„ $4^{\circ} 45'$	$10^{\circ} 22'$
	Diff $11^{\circ} 35'$	$10^{\circ} 40'$

whence the correction for Ptolemy's latitudes between the above two stations =  $\frac{10^{\circ} 40'}{11^{\circ} 35'} = 0.92 (\phi)$

Ptolemy's equator deduced from this formula of correction would correspond to  $5^{\circ} 58'$  true North Latitude. This, we may observe, closely agrees with the result that could be obtained from Ceylon, where Ptolemy's equator passes through Nubartha (Barberyn), the true latitude of which is  $6^{\circ} 30' N$ , and will do for our purpose, as shall be proved by subsequent researches

That neither the error of latitude between the parallels of Akadra and Aganagara, nor that in longitude between the meridians of Akadra and Kamberikhon, is uniform, is proved by the displacement of Cape Temala (Negrais) too far east and south. This better results from the following calculations —

Akadra (Hatien)	Ptol long $167^{\circ} 0' E$
Cape Temala (Negrais)	„ „ $157^{\circ} 20'$
	Diff <u><math>9^{\circ} 40'</math></u>

Applying to this the formula of correction (a) found above for longitudes, we have  $9^{\circ} 40' \times 0.725 = 7^{\circ}$ . Subtracting this result from the true longitude of Akadra (Hatien), we obtain  $104^{\circ} 21' - 7^{\circ} = 97^{\circ} 21'$  for the longitude of Cape Temala (Negrais). The true longitude of the latter, at Diamond Point, adopted in the present inquiry

is  $94^{\circ} 22' E$ , whence we see that Ptolemy's displacement of this cape is about  $3^{\circ}$  too far East

Its displacement in latitude is shown by the following —

Cape Temala	Ptol lat	$8^{\circ} 0'$
Akadra (Hatien)	„ „	$4^{\circ} 45'$
	Diff	$3^{\circ} 15'$

Applying to this the formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes found above ( $\phi$ ), we obtain—

$$\begin{aligned} & 3^{\circ} 15' \times 0.92 = 2^{\circ} 59' \\ & \text{True lat Akadra (Hatien)} + 10^{\circ} 22' \\ & \text{Corrected lat Cape Temala (Negrais)} \quad \underline{13^{\circ} 21'} \end{aligned}$$

The true latitude for this cape adopted in the present study being  $16^{\circ} N$ , it follows that Ptolemy's displacement of the same was nearly  $3^{\circ}$  further south than its true position. We see then that he lengthened the coast of Arakan and Pegu as far as Cape Negrais at the expense of the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, which thereby becomes represented shorter than it really is, and that therefore the latitudes given by him for stations north of the parallel of Cape Negrais (Temala) must be corrected to a greater extent than those of the places situated to the south of the same parallel.

Before, however, attempting to find what the new formula of correction should be, let us see whether the same rule applies to the coast of Tonkin, and in general all over the intermediate regions. In order to do this, let us prolong the parallel of Cape Temala (Negrais)—the latitude of which is  $8^{\circ} N$  Ptol =  $16^{\circ} N$  true as shown above—as far as the Annamite coast. We see then that it intersects the latter a little below Turin (Tourane of French maps) and the homonymous bay, noted from the earliest time as a much frequented port on that coast, and which I have identified with Ptolemy's Throana. The latitude he assigns to Throana being  $8^{\circ} 30' N$ , namely, just a little above the parallel now under consideration, we obtain thus a confirmation that the said parallel, marking the  $8^{\circ}$  of North

Latitude in Ptolemy's system, actually corresponds to the 16th parallel of true latitude in our maps. The consequence is that the coast of Tonkin and northern Annam has undergone at Ptolemy's hands the same lengthening at the expense of the southern as the corresponding coast on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bengal. A single formula of correction will then do for Ptolemy's latitudes of all places situated further north than his 8th parallel or our 16th parallel of North Latitude. This formula can be easily deduced from a comparison of the latitude of Cape Temala (Negrais) with that of Aganagara (Hanoi), as follows —

	Ptolemy's	True
Aganagara (Hanoi)	Lat 16° 20'	21° 1'
Cape Temala (Negrais)	„ 8° 0'	16° 0'
	Diff 8° 20'	5° 1'

$$\text{whence } \frac{5^\circ 1'}{8^\circ 20'} = 0.6 (\lambda)$$

This formula of correction when tested all over the geographical field under consideration, was found to apply to all places situated by Ptolemy above his 8th parallel, even as far up as Mongolia and Central Asia. From it we may deduce the correct latitude for Kamberikhon, as follows —

Kamberikhon	Ptol lat 18° 40' N
Aganagara (Hanoi)	„ „ 16° 20'
„	Diff 2° 20' $\times 0.6 (\lambda) = 1^\circ 24'$
	True lat Aganagara (Hanoi) + 21° 1'
	Corrected lat of Kamberikhon <u>22° 25'</u>

But a more correct result would be obtained from the latitude of Cape Temala (Negrais) taken as a base, thus —

Kamberikhon	Ptol lat 18° 40' N
Cape Temala (Negrais)	„ „ 8° 0'
	Diff 10° 40' $\times 0.6 (\lambda) = 6^\circ 24'$
	True lat Cape Temala (Negrais) + 16° 0'
	Corrected lat of Kamberikhon <u>22° 24'</u>

which checks the figure assumed for the latitude of the latter place at the outset of our calculations

*Identification of Solana*.—As a test for our formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes north of the parallel of Cape Temala (Negrais), let us look up the meridian of Aganagara (Hanoi) in our map, we will find Ptolemy's Solana, for which he gives—

Long  $169^{\circ} 0' E$  (same as Aganagara)

Lat  $37^{\circ} 30' N$

Reducing the latter according to formula ( $\lambda$ ), we get  $33^{\circ} 43'$  corrected North Latitude, which, on the meridian of Aganagara (Hanoi =  $105^{\circ} 48'$  true  $E$  Long), brings us within 2 or 3 of Hsi ho or Hsi ho Hsien, near the Si nu river in Shen-si. This Hsi ho, we may then reasonably conclude, is Ptolemy's Solana, a fact confirmed, moreover, by the similarity of names, as *Hsi ho* was, in our author's time, known as *Shang lu*.

*Identification of Sera Metropolis*.—But supposing this to be a mere haphazard coincidence, let us test formulas ( $\alpha$ ) and ( $\lambda$ ) together for the position of Sera Metropolis. The co ordinates given by Ptolemy for the latter are—

#### LONGITUDE

	Ptolemy's	True
Sera Metropolis	$177^{\circ} E$	—
Aganagara (Hanoi)	$169^{\circ}$	$105^{\circ} 48' E$
Diff	<u><math>8^{\circ}</math></u>	

By formula ( $\alpha$ )  $8^{\circ} \times 0.725 = + 5^{\circ} 48'$

Corrected long of Sera Metropolis  $111^{\circ} 36'$

#### LATITUDE

	Ptolemy's	True
Sera Metropolis	$38^{\circ} 35' N$	—
Aganagara (Hanoi)	$16^{\circ} 20'$	$21^{\circ} 1' N.$
Diff	<u><math>22^{\circ} 15'</math></u>	

By formula ( $\lambda$ )  $22^{\circ} 15' \times 0.6 = + 13^{\circ} 21'$

Corrected lat. of Sera Metropolis  $34^{\circ} 22'$

The resulting position for Sera Metropolis is therefore

LONG  $111^{\circ} 36' E$       LAT  $34^{\circ} 22' N$

This position, when looked for on a map of China, will be seen to fall a little to the south west of Honan fu in Honan and therefore sensibly correctly near the site of where stood Lo yang which, it is well known was the capital of China previous to and during the Han dynasty (A.D. 25-221), namely, exactly at the time that Ptolemy collected his data. I would not go so far as to say that the position here obtained is quite correct to a minute, I do not find Lo yang marked in the maps of China lying at my disposal, and therefore cannot judge of its exact position, but all works on China agree in saying it lies somewhere to the west of the present Honan fu. Hence the position just found must be correct within less than half a degree of either longitude or latitude. Such a surprising approximation will be obtained for the majority of the places named by Ptolemy in the region situated northwards of the parallel of Cape Temala (Negrais) after

which Ptolemy obtained reliable data deduced from accurate observation, whilst Cape Temala and other intermediate places were merely secondary points which he determined simply on the base of road and sailing distance as reported by travellers. Sera Metropolis and other important inland towns, which we shall meet with afterwards, must have been also as many fundamental stations.

In the same manner, as regards longitudes, we find an identical proportion between Kamberikhon, Akadra, Aganagara and Sera Metropolis, while we detect errors between Kamberikhon and Cape Temala (Negrais), the latter and Cape Takola (Takōpa), this and Balongka and Akadra, and we find the whole coast line of Cochin China and Annam as far as Hanoi displaced in longitude. Yet these errors compensate themselves so far as not to cause any sensible disproportion in the distances between the fundamental stations named above. This phenomenon confirms the fact resulting from the previous examination of the latitudes, that is that Kamberikhon, Akadra and Aganagara are Ptolemy's fundamental stations in Indo China.

In order to more clearly prove this, I shall now show that the proportion mentioned above exists almost unaltered up to the extreme limits of the geographical zone considered in the present study and represented in the accompanying map.

*Identification of Ptolemy's "Stone Tower"*—As far as longitudes are concerned the proportion alluded to has already been shown to exist as far as Sera Metropolis lying on Ptolemy's 177° meridian of eastern longitude = 111° 36' E. of Greenwich, and therefore pretty near to the easternmost limit of the *habitable*. It remains, then, to show that the same proportion exists up to the westernmost limit of our field and this I will do by applying the test to the meridian of Ptolemy's so called "Stone Tower," which is also that of his Kanagora (identified with Kanauj or Kanoje, in India). The result is as follows —



## LONGITUDE

	Ptolemy's	True
Aganagara (Hanoi)	169° E	105° 48 E.
Lithinos Pyrgos ("Stone Tower")	135°	
Diff.	34°	

to which, applying formula (a),  $34^\circ \times 0.725 = 24^\circ 39'$   
 Remains long of Lithinos Pyrgos 81° 9'

As the meridian of Lithinos Pyrgos is the same as that of Kanagora (Kanoje), for which the true long E. of Greenwich is about  $79^\circ 50'$ , we see that the error is only about  $1^\circ 19'$  on the whole distance Hanoi-Kanoje, including some  $26^\circ$  of longitude. But, as we shall soon see, the Lithinos Pyrgos is—who would ever have suspected it?—ILCHI, YI-LI-CH'Ū, or KHOTEN, the true longitude of which is  $80^\circ$  E, a yet closer approach to our calculated result.

If the Lithinos Pyrgos be really Khoten, this ought to be proved by a close coincidence in latitude as well, and this is exactly what I am now going to show.

## LATITUDE

	Ptolemy's	True
Aganagara (Hanoi)	16° 20' N	21° 1' N
Lithinos Pyrgos	43° 0'	—
Diff.	26° 40'	

to which, applying formula (λ),  $26^\circ 10' \times 0.6 = +16^\circ 0'$   
 whence, corrected lat. of Lithinos Pyrgos 37° 1'

Now, this is, within one single minute, the latitude of Khoten, given by the latest authorities as  $37^\circ$  N.

This surprising exactness at once reveals to us that the Lithinos Pyrgos, or so-called "Stone Tower," must have been one of Ptolemy's fundamental stations carefully established by observation, whether astronomical or otherwise. A perusal of the first book of his geography shows, in fact, the pains he took in rectifying Marinus' estimate of

the distance from the passage of the Euphrates to the "Stone Tower" (Lithinos Pyrgos), and from the latter to Sēra Metropolis. This proves that both the latter belonged to his list of fundamental stations. On the strength of Ptolemy's assumption that the "Stone Tower" was situated near the parallel of Byzantium (real lat.  $41^{\circ}$  N.), and of the coincidence in meaning between it and Tāshkand (real lat.  $42^{\circ} 58'$ ), most authors hitherto identified it with the latter place; though Heeren and Rawlinson located it much more eastward—the former near Ush, and the latter at Tāsh-Kurghān (true lat.  $37^{\circ} 46'$  N.), which are places situated much nearer to Khoten than the far-away Tāshkand. Indeed, the intersection of the meridian of Ush with the parallel of Tāsh-Kurghān would fall only a few miles to the north-west of Khoten, our identification.

It is easy to show that Ptolemy's "Stone Tower" could not be situated so far west as Tāshkand. Let us take, in fact, his longitude of Marakanda (Samarkand), which he gives as  $112^{\circ}$ , the real one being about  $68^{\circ}$  E Greenwich, and let us observe that the same longitude is assigned by him to the central mouth of the Indus. The average longitude of the mouths of the Indus named by him is  $112^{\circ}$ ; the real one would be about  $67^{\circ} 15'$ , that is, within  $45'$  of the meridian of Samarkand. This proves Ptolemy's estimate of the position in longitude of Marakanda with respect to the central mouth of the Indus so surprisingly correct, as to dispel any doubt that might be entertained on this score. This point settled, we see that Ptolemy assigns long.  $135^{\circ}$  to his "Stone Tower," that is, he places it  $23^{\circ}$  further east than Marakanda. Now the real longitude of Samarkand being about  $68^{\circ}$ , and that of Tāshkand  $69^{\circ}$ , we see at once the impossibility of identifying the latter place with the Lithinos Pyrgos, despite the coincidence of meaning in the two names.

Calculating the  $23^{\circ}$  of Ptolemy's longitude on the base of the longitudes of the central mouth (Kariphron) of the Indus (Ptol. long.  $112^{\circ}$  = real long.  $67^{\circ} 15'$ ) and of the central mouth of the Ganges (Ptol. long.  $146^{\circ} 30'$  = real long.  $89^{\circ} 30'$ ), we obtain  $14^{\circ} 50'$  as an equivalent of

Ptolemy's  $23^{\circ}$ , which added to  $67^{\circ} 15'$ , the longitude of Kariphron, gives us  $82^{\circ} 5'$  as the corrected longitude of the "Stone Tower"

This result is within 56 of that obtained at the outset from Aganagara and Kambērīkhon, i.e.  $81^{\circ} 9'$ . Both point out with sufficient approximation where Ptolemy's "Stone Tower" should be looked for. In calculations I have adopted Khoten, and its meridian,  $80^{\circ}$  real long., as equivalent to  $135^{\circ}$  Ptol., the longitude of his "Stone Tower", and thus corrected his error in excess in the reckoning of its distance from Samarkand. This rectification will serve also to correct his distance errors on the stations between the Indus and Kanoje, and between the latter place and the Ganges.

Though we have shown the accuracy of our formula ( $\lambda$ ) in the rectification of the latitudes assigned by Ptolemy to places north of his 8th parallel (Cape Temala), and the proportion existing in latitude all over that zone, it will be found, as a result, that most places west of the Ganges will yet prove to be, after that formula has been applied, somewhat north of their true position. This is due to a local error made by our geographer in the delineation of the course of the Ganges, to which he attributed a direction much more northerly than it really is, thus causing a displacement towards the north east of all towns situated on its banks and in the neighbourhood. I have shown and corrected this error in the map only for those towns lying on trade routes between the Ganges and Tibet, as the small space available would not allow of extending the correction to all those represented in that portion of the map. What strikes one more than anything else in the examination of Ptolemy's geography north of his parallel of Temala, is the proportion maintained all over the field in his latitudes. Surely these must have been determined by astronomical observation, or by accurate computation from the length of the sun-shadow and other means. More lacking in accuracy are, as might be expected, his longitudes. The stations at which a high degree of approximation has been attained in this respect are few and far between, and the longitudes

of the intervening places had thus to be reckoned on the uncertain base of the estimated road distance travelled. This is the cause that while we find sufficient proportion maintained between the longitudes of Ptolemy's fundamental stations from the "Stone Tower" to Sera, we detect local errors in the intervening region, which must be corrected if the identification of the places included within its limits is to be arrived at with any degree of success. For this purpose the map has been divided into vertical zones by base meridian-lines (in red), between which Ptolemy's error in longitude was carefully determined and corrected by a particular formula for each zone. A double set of scales shows how the general error was determined between the fundamental stations and apportioned among the secondary ones.

The process will appear clearly enough on the map, and needs no further explanation here. The following is a list of the base meridian lines adopted, and of the corrections to be applied to the places lying within each particular zone determined by them.

	Ptol long	Diff	Re l long	D if	Correction applied
(1) Meridian of the 'Stone Tower' (Khoten) and Kanagora (Kanoje) <sup>1</sup>	135° —	11° 30'	80° —	9° 30'	0 8° 6' (3)
(2) Meridian of Kambe rikhon	146° 30'		89° 30'		
(3) Meridian of Cape Temala (Negrais)	150° 20'	10° 50'	91° 22'	4° 52'	0 45 (7)
(4) Meridian of Cape Takela (Takopa)	158° 40'	1° 00'	98° 19'	3° 57'	0 9625 (8)
(5) Meridian of Balongka (Lun p hon)	162 —	3° 00'	99° 12'	0° 53'	0 7° 5' (a)
(6) Meridian of Akadra (Hafu)	167° —	5° —	104° 21'	5° 9'	
(7) Meridian of Aganagara (Hano)	169° —	2° —	105° 48'	1° 2'	
For localities east of Aganagara (Hano) —	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> The meridian of Kanoje (7° 50' E Greenwich true) was adopted in the map.

The correction between the Cape Takōla and Balongka meridians was required only locally for some places on the Gulf of Sīm, and so was that between the Balongka and Akadra meridians. The corrections involved here were operated graphically, and represented on the map. The same may be said of similar corrections in the Gulf of Martaban, on the coast north of Cape Negrus, and on the Cochin Chinese and Annamese coasts, in each of which cases the course that Ptolemy's coast line would assume, were the local error left unrectified, is duly shown in red outline. Northwards of the Gulf of Sīm, the intermediate errors between the meridians of Akadra and Takōla are so slight as not to need any special correction different from that given by formula (a) by which the real longitude of Takōla was originally determined. Hence the correction indicated by this formula was indistinctly applied to all positions in the zone between those two meridians lying northwards and southwards of the Gulf of Sīm, even down as far as Sumatra. It may thus be seen that all longitudes of Ptolemy's places lying eastward of the meridian of Cape Takola or Takōpa (Cape Papra), that is eastwards of long  $158^{\circ} 40'$  Ptol =  $98^{\circ} 19'$  E Greenwich, can be fairly corrected by that single formula. The most grave error is that made by Ptolemy between Capes Temala and Takola, in assigning them a difference in longitude of  $1^{\circ} 20'$  only, against  $3^{\circ} 57'$  real. This proved at first a great drawback to the identification of their true position. But as soon as I had made sure as to the real latitude of Cape Temala and fixed its position I obtained the correct longitude of Cape Takola from the base point Akadra, by a simple calculation, as follows —

	Ptolemy's	True
Akadra (Hatien)	Long $167^{\circ} 0'$	$104^{\circ} 21' E$
Cape Takola (Takōpa)	„ $158^{\circ} 40'$	
	Diff $8^{\circ} 20'$	

By formula (a)  $8^{\circ} 20' \times 0.725 = 6^{\circ} 2'$   
 remains, correct long of Cape Takola  $98^{\circ} 19'$

This result is correct within three minutes of the longitude of Cape Papra or Cape Takōpa, on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, just above Junkceylon Island. This cape, which I found confirmed by a calculation of latitude to be beyond any possible doubt Ptolemy's Cape Takōla, is really in long.  $98^{\circ} 16'$ , but I thought it was unnecessary to make the slight correction of  $3'$ , as being of no consequence whatever on the results of this inquiry.

Having now dealt with the region situated to the north of the parallel of Cape Tēmala, and shown how Ptolemy's positions of places therein were rectified, it remains to speak of the region southwards of that parallel. The rules given in the upper zone for longitudes apply also here, with the exception of the islands in the Gulf of Bengal, for which there seems to be hardly any rule or order, but which will be briefly dealt with in the sequel. It remains, then, to explain the corrections that latitudes need in this lower zone. In it we find sufficient proportion south of the parallel of Akadra; hence, all this section is easily corrected by reference to Akadra and Aganagara as base-points, that is, by formula ( $\phi$ ). The only anomaly lies between the parallels of Akadra and Cape Tēmala, due, as we have seen, to the shortening of the southern coast of Annam and western coast of the Malay Peninsula between those two parallels. This is easily corrected, however, by dividing the interval between the parallel of Akadra (Hatiē), lat.  $1^{\circ} 15'$  Ptol. =  $10^{\circ} 22'$  N. true, and that of Cape Tēmala (Negraia), lat.  $8^{\circ}$  Ptol. =  $16^{\circ}$  N. true, in proportion to their difference in latitude: lat.  $3^{\circ} 15'$  Ptol. = lat.  $5^{\circ} 38'$  true, whence the formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes in this section—

$$\frac{5^{\circ} 38'}{10^{\circ} 22'} = 1.773 (\kappa),$$

of Siam the coast of which, Ptolemy thought, was running parallel to the equator, wherefore he neglected to show its deep incavation northwards. As a result of this, Pagrasa and Samarade are displaced right into the middle of the Gulf. This purely local error, due entirely to lack of accurate information as to the latitude of those towns, must be corrected as shown in the map, and one will then at once recognize in Pagrasa and Samarade the towns of KRAT (Kras or Krasa) and ŚYAMA RASTRA (or Sāma ratthē) better known as *Sri Vyaja Rajadhani*, the most ancient capital of lower Siam.

Formula ( $\kappa$ ) will furnish us with a satisfactory proof of its accuracy when tested in the determination of the position in latitude of Berabai. The difference in latitude between the latter place and Akadra is

$$6^{\circ} - 4^{\circ} 45' = 1^{\circ} 15' \text{ Ptol}$$

This multiplied by ( $\kappa$ ) becomes  $1^{\circ} 15' \times 1.733 = 2^{\circ} 10'$ , which added to the true latitude of Akadra gives us—

$$10^{\circ} 22' + 2^{\circ} 10' = 12^{\circ} 32' \text{ true N lat}$$

which is within 5, the latitude of Mergui (real latitude  $12^{\circ} 27'$ ). This place becomes therefore, unmistakably identical with Ptolemy's Berabai, and the close similarity between the two names confirms that identity.

*The Islands*—It remains now to broach the most difficult subject of the islands one perhaps that will never be satisfactorily solved, at least so far as the islands in the Gulf of Bengal are concerned. With regard to those east and west of Sumatra and to the latter island itself, I believe there is reason to be satisfied that they, as will be shown by a look at the map I have been successfully identified. But as to the former, there is hardly anything that can guide us in forming an estimate of the amount of Ptolemy's error. However, I made an attempt at their identification on the assumption that Ptolemy reckoned their position in reference to the coast of Coromandel and Ceylon, this seems natural as the ships trading between those coasts and further India would touch at them on their way before reaching either

the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra I therefore tried to fix them in longitude by dividing the space between Ceylon and the meridian of Cape Takola in proportion to their difference of longitudes as given by Ptolemy. Their latitude was established for the northern ones, in relation to the difference of latitudes between the River Maisolos (Godāvari) and Poduke (Pondichéry), and for the southern, in reference to the latitude of places in Ceylon.

With regard to the three groups of islands to the west of Sumatra the same process was adopted only so far as it was necessary to establish their longitudes, the latitudes having been left to follow the law of all other places situated south of the parallel of Akadra.

Of course, all these islands were very little known in Ptolemy's time, hence the great error in estimating their position.

*Identification of Ptolemy's places on the Chinese Coast—*  
I may now conclude this review of the methods of identification pursued with a few words in explanation of the reason why I decided to swing the farther coast line of Ptolemy's Magnus Sinus round the Lui chau peninsula taken as a pivot, until it came in juxtaposition with the coast of China, instead of allowing it to remain in the traditional position assigned to it by our geographer, and from which none of his commentators and elucidators ever dared to remove it. Evidently I must have arguments for justifying this desecration of the work of our eminently classic geographer. As a matter of fact, my justification rests upon but one single argument, sufficient though, I think, to meet all criticism, and this is, that when the farthest coast of the Magnus Sinus is mapped down in the traditional position, *but with its latitudes uniformly corrected according to the formula for places lying northwards of the parallel of Temala* and then projected upwards as shown in the map, all its gulfs, rivers, and towns will be found to coincide, or nearly so, with gulfs, rivers, and towns of similar names on the coast of China. When the names are not similar in pronunciation, the meaning conveyed



by the two names in each case is identical. This ought to convince us sufficiently that the coast of China was meant here by Ptolemy and no other. But how was he led to make it turn southwards? Certainly out of homage to the belief, so firmly and generally grounded among his contemporaries, that the coast of Sinai turned south, and then running parallel to the equator joined the coast of Africa at Cape Prason. Impressed with this belief, he mapped all distances from Aspathra onward in a southerly instead of in a north-easterly direction in order to fulfil the dictum of the philosophers of his time, and thus obtain an eastern limit to his *habitablis* and to his *Green Sea*.

That this must have been what actually happened with him, is plainly shown by a look at our map. As regards the reason why I selected Lui-chau as a pivot on which to swing Ptolemy's coast of Sinai upwards, it is because I discovered that this was really Ptolemy's Aspathra *Ho-p'u* (in Chinese) or *Hiep-p'ô* (in Annamite pronunciation) was, in fact, the ancient name of Lui-chau and of the whole of the homonymous peninsula, as I will show in the illustrative notes of the next section; and any tyro in philology will see that *Ho-p'u* and Aspathra are mere transliterations the one of the other. This striking identification of Ptolemy's extreme station to the east of the Tonkin Gulf—his *Magnus Sinus*—enables us to know exactly where the distortion of his coast of Sinai commences, and thus to correct it by bending the coast-line back to its true position as shown in the map.

With this the rectification of the main features of Ptolemy's geography of Further India is complete; and it will now appear how it would have been next to impossible to identify any of his stations in that region without having previously restored the principal among them to their true position. The errors and displacements detected not being uniform all over that zone, the uselessness and impossibility of a general formula that may serve as a panacea for so many different evils, becomes at once apparent. The reason of our success lies, therefore, in

having broken off for once with the old system of treating Ptolemy's work as if it had been the result of a regular trigonometrical survey of the regions in question, in which the only defect was bad mapping due to errors of projection and errors of scale by having underestimated the length of equatorial degrees and misplaced his prime meridian and equator

It is to be hoped that with the above explanations and the map that accompanies them, our process of elucidation of this portion of Ptolemy's geography will be easily understood, and recognized to be the only practicable and correct one, at least in its main lines. Of course it would be too much to expect intermediate stations to fit in exactly in the place they should occupy, but it will be seen that the majority of them come within a degree or so of their true position, a result, I think, that ought to satisfy the most exigent and pedantic of Ptolemy's critics

The map was drawn on the plane method, and not according to Mercator's system, the chief object being, not to preserve the real shape of islands and continents but to render the numerous graphical corrections to Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes easier of application and the more clearly understood. Thanks to the introduction of coloured outlines to represent Ptolemy's geographical features, and of particular contrivances to show the position of his stations as resulting from his data, and the direction in which the corresponding real stations are to be found when there is an error in the former, it is hoped that a clear graphical representation of what Ptolemy's geography is in comparison with what it ought to be, has thus been presented which will enable the reader to form at a glance a judgment and estimate of the differences between the two. For those who desire to verify the position of Ptolemy's stations as laid down in my map, I append tables giving the names and co ordinates of each as transmitted to us by the great Alexandrian geographer, together with their positions corrected from calculation, and the actual stations corresponding to them whenever they could be identified

## 3 REMARKS

(1) *Coast of the Airrhadoi*

The Airrhadoi, whose country embraces in Ptolemy's system the eastern coast of the Gulf of Bengal from the mouth of the Brahmaputra down to that of the Nāf, or, perhaps, even lower, to the mouth of the Arakan River, have been identified by some writers with the Kirātas, and their country with Ptolemy's Kirrhadia. This determination seems, however, hardly plausible, and for various reasons. In fact, though it be true—as attested by the Rāmāyana (canto iv)—that at an earlier period tribes of rude mountaineers, such as are generically termed Kirātas, occupied the region to the east of the Lower Brahmaputra even down to the sea coast and the islands of the Gulf of Bengal, it appears that in subsequent times they were driven back towards the hill tracts by invasions of Dravidians—chiefly Andhras and Kalingas from the opposite coast of the Gulf—who forced their way along the littoral as far as the limits of Arakan, and probably even to the Gulf of Martaban, establishing colonies as they proceeded. These Dravidian invasions must have occurred, and probably ended, before 295 B.C., the approximate date of Megasthenes' mission to the Court of Palibothra, since that author (in the extract quoted by Pliny the Elder) refers to the Kalingas and Andhras as being situated near the sea and on both sides of the Ganges in the last part of its course, and since a century later, in the Peutingerian Tables, the "Andre-Indi" are assigned a position corresponding to the coast between the left bank of the Ganges and the present Arakan River<sup>1</sup>. This being the region that Ptolemy calls the Coast of the Airrhadoi, it is reasonable I think, to infer that by this name he meant the

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Walter Elliot's discussion of this point in *Annuaire Orientalia* Centre of Southern India, pp. 9-15.

Coast of the Andras, especially as he does not mention any other people of an identical or even similar name in or about the same region. Some two centuries before Ptolemy's time, the Mahābhārata mentions—in conjunction with the Tīmrīptakas and other nations of Lower Bengal—the Śivas and Andras<sup>1</sup>. Andra is the name which, in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., Bhīṣmīra Ācārya gives to the eastern portion of Bhāratavarṣa (India), some time before termed Indra dvīpa in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and Śaiva means the people of Śiva, a portion of Plakṣa dvīpa which as I shall show in the sequel corresponds to Arakan and Burmā. All these are coincidences that concur in demonstrating that the coast now under consideration was the habitat of a people called Andhras or Andras, who appear in Megasthenes' extract as the Andarai in the Peutingerian Tables as the Andre-Indi and in Ptolemy's Geography as the Airrhadoi and who were evidently of Dravidian extraction and probably identical with the Andhras of Orissa and Telingana<sup>2</sup>. This people in conjunction with their near relatives, the Kalingas founded, it appears in that region, a kingdom consisting of three districts or separate communities called

<sup>1</sup> In some MSS. see Professor F. Hall's note in his edition of Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa vol. 1, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. of the Mahābhārata have the readings Andras Andhas and Andras which Professor Hall thinks are perhaps errors for Andhras. I should not be surprised if it were found that the names Andhras and Andre-Indi are both derived from Andra the designation for the region to the east of the Ganges as surmised above. As to the presence of the Andhras in Orissa and Lower Bengal see Sir Walter Elliot loc. cit. At the same time it is worthy of remark that one of the two classes into which the present Andamanese are divided is that of the *Aryantes* or *Coast dwellers* (see J. R. A. S. Vol. VIII pt. 2 p. 487). Whether this term was also applied to the Negr. to aborigines of the littoral now under discussion and whether it was retained by the later occupants of the country down to Ptolemy's time and preserved to us under the form of Airrhadoi is a mere conjecture but one that will perhaps repay investigation. Suffice it to point out in fact that M. Tuan Lin in his celebrated cyclopaedia (II de Saint Denis translation vol. 1 p. 504) refers to a Buddhist kingdom by the name of *Alaṭa*—hitherto unidentified—as having sent ambassadors to China as early as A.D. 430. There is every likelihood that the term *Alaṭa* stands for *Aryaṭa* *Aradha* or *Alradha* and thus applies to Ptolemy's country of the Airrhadoi. I can hardly think that it even in its alternative spell *Alaṭa* can refer to such a far away country as Aratta (Harat, or Airatda) i.e. Gujaraṭh.

Tri Kalinga or Tri linga, a name from which the term Telingāna was derived, and employed to designate the country of Kalinga proper, on the western side of the Gulf of Bengal, as well as the country of the Mōns or Talengs (Talaings) on the opposite shore, which had been colonized by them

Ptolemy's capital city Triglypton, or Trilingon, has been identified with the capital of this eastern kingdom of the Kalungas, but a difference of opinion still exists as to its site, some locating it at Tripura (*Tipperah* or *Tiparū*), others in Arakan, and others still on the Chittagōn hills, the three places just named pertaining each to one of the three districts which, in the opinion of Wilford, constituted the Eastern Trikalanga. Ptolemy places his Triglypton on the Tokosanna River, identified by me with the Kulādīn, and the position I obtained by calculation for that capital would fall on the main upper branch of the same river not far away from its source in Blue Mountain, and almost due east from Chittagong (Chittagōn) the supposed Pentapolis of Ptolemy. It may appear unlikely that a city of such importance could exist so far up the Kulādīn and in such a wild country as it is known to be. At the same time, it is narrated in the Arakan Annals that in about 850 B.C. Kan raja gyi, a descendant of the dynasty reigning at Tagōng in Upper Burma who became twenty four years afterwards king of Arakan settled in the Kyauk pān hills near the same river, and not more than forty miles in a direct line south of the position assigned to Triglypton by my calculations.<sup>1</sup> It is also stated that, before establishing himself in the locality just named Kan rīja gyi had dwelt for some time at or near another hill called Kālā, in the

<sup>1</sup> The summit of Kyauk pān daung is a gently undulating plateau several miles in extent. Though in the midst of a mountainous region inhabited by rude tribes recent exploration has discovered traces that it was once occupied by a civilized race. Palms and other trees which are not natural products of the surrounding jungle are found there. The remains of pagodas also exist and these though comparatively modern with the other evidences of former habitation in this secluded spot give support to the belief of its having been the resting place of the race which at a remote period gave kings to Arakan. — Hays: History of Burma p. 44

Kubo valley, west of the Chindwin. Here he was applied to for a ruler by the Kanran, the Sak and the Phyu tribes, and he appointed his son Mudusitta king over them<sup>1</sup>. This circumstance of a king by the name of *Mudu* or *Mudusitta* ruling over three tribes in a district called *Kale* even up to the present day, suggests at once a connection with *Mudu Kalunga* or *Trihalunga*,<sup>2</sup> and makes it probable that *Kalk* is really the place referred to as *Triglypton* by Ptolemy. The location of *Kalē* is within a degree or thereabouts to the north east of the position we obtained by calculation. It is also worthy of remark that *Mudu* is the name of one of the tribes wherewith *Kanmyeng* one of the early kings of Arakan, is said to have peopled his dominions<sup>3</sup>. This prince is represented as having come from India, and the legend states that he was appointed to rule over "all the countries inhabited by the Burman, Shan and Malay races" from Manipur to the borders of China<sup>4</sup>. Though undoubtedly exaggerated, this tradition appears to confirm the existence of the eastern kingdom of *Trihalunga* mentioned at the outset, and when compared with the account of *Kan raja gyi*'s establishment of a capital at *Kalk*, and subsequently at *kyouk pīn daung*, shows that the early seat of government of that kingdom was in the hill tracts between the coast of Chittagōn and the Chindwin. *Triglypton* must then be looked for either in the valley of the *Kulādān* or in that of the *Kubo*. Mr Thomas, concurring with the views set forth in Horsburgh's "India Directory," prefers to locate Ptolemy's capital city in the Chittagōn hills<sup>5</sup>. Yule took it instead to be Tripura, and at first I adopted

his identification, but reconsideration led me to reject it in favour of a place in the valley of either the Kulādan or the Kubo, as I have shown above. Yule's determination rests mainly on the fact that the name of Tripura, meaning "three cities," conveys the same idea of three separate settlements or communities as the term *Trikalinga*. Wilford<sup>1</sup> says that these three districts were Kamilā, Chattala, and Burmīnaka, or Rasūng (now Arakan), and that Kamilā alone retains the name of Tripura, the two other districts having been wrested away from the head rīja. This statement is apparently based on a similar legend to the one referred to above concerning the extent of the dominion of King Kan myeng, and in no way shows that the capital of the whole kingdom was situated at Tripura (Tipperah), the most northern of the three districts, which seems unlikely. As a matter of fact, the original term *Trikalinga* only remained preserved in its integrity up to the present day in the name of the *Talenge* or *Talaings*, the people of Pegu<sup>2</sup> and the descendants of that great ethnic stock which played in Indo China an analogous rôle to the Dravidians in Southern India superseding the aborigines of Negrito race, the anthropophagous *Rakshasas*. Since the Kalingas and the Andhras appear to have been, in the third century B.C., masters of the valley of the Ganges from the frontier of Magadha to the sea, it is easy to conceive on the one part that the Kalingas could penetrate into Western Burmā through Silhet, Manipur, and the Kubo valley, and establish thereat a dominion called Mudu Kalinga or Tri Kalinga, and that the Andhras, in their turn could easily advance along the coast line as far as the Naf or the Kulādan. Admitted that a dominion of the Kalingas as described above did actually exist, it did not evidently last long. As soon as their power waned, and they were driven away by later intruders towards the south of India—an event which

<sup>1</sup> Apud McCrindle op. cit. p. 232

<sup>2</sup> I find Pegu often designated *Kahnga rakkha* in old Indo-Chinese records

according to Sir W Elliot, happened about a century before the Christian era—their empire was broken up and only its name remained to attest its past existence. Hence in Ptolemy's time we would search in vain for such a dominion. We only find three capital cities—evidently the seats of government of as many separate kingdoms or districts—recorded in that region viz Tugma, Triglypton and Mareura.

The former is probably Tammu in the Chindwin valley or some other place between it and the Surmā River in Silhet, hence it represents the chief city of the district of Kachar or Manipur.

Triglypton apparently the former capital of the whole Dravidian kingdom corresponds, I think, with Kalē, and represents the chief city of the second district, including the Kubo valley, the Lower Chindwin, and extending probably across the Arakan Ruma into the valley of the Kulidān.

Mareura I have identified with Old Prome the capital of a kingdom which must have originally included the whole region of the Lower Irāvatī and its Delta in a word, all that country that formed afterwards the kingdom of Pegu in which alone the name *Taleng* (Trilunga or Trika linga) was preserved intact.

After the fall of the Dravidian power in the above three districts Manipur continued under Brāhmanic rule, Kalē was probably afterwards abandoned its people passing partly to Prome and partly into Arakan, and Prome continued as a capital of the Talaing kingdom until conquered and destroyed by the Kanran from Arakan in 90 A.D. This historical sketch is scarcely in accordance with the native chronicles of Burmā and Pegu but it must be remembered that legions supply in them the place for history in the earlier periods and that many of the events narrated, though authentic are antedated chiefly for religious or political purposes in order to connect them with events in the life of Gotama Buddha and of the Kshatriya kingdoms of Magadha and neighbouring states of India.



Besides the name of the Talaings already mentioned, and that of Kalē—the correct form of which appears to be *Kulā*—we have other linguistical indications of Kalinga domination in the region above spoken of. The Arakan River, for instance, whose valley is contiguous to the Kalē district is called the *Kuladan* (often wrongly spelled Koladyn) by natives of the country. *Kulā*, the term nowadays employed in Burmā to designate Western foreigners in general, more specially applies to natives of India, and above all to Dravidians. In Siam this identical term is used up to the present day to denote people from Malabar or Coromandel. It probably means a people of black or dark race, and also a barbarian, like the Sanskrit *Kāla* or *Kola*. Its connection with the Kalingas is demonstrated by the fact that *Kolamea* is an alternative name for the country of the Kalingas. It is also undoubtedly connected with *Kola*, *Kora* and *Cola* the denominations of the people that gave its name to Coromandel and to many places on the Indo Chinese littoral and in Malaya.

As regards the term *dan*, meaning 'a place' in Burmese it is easy to see that it is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *sthana*. The correct form of the name *Kulīdan* proves consequently to be *Kolasthana* or *Kulā sthāna* which conveys the meaning "place of the Kolas or Kulas," i.e. of the Dravidians (more properly Kalingas).

The linguistical evidence is therefore to the effect that the rule of the Kalingas had for centres three places at least namely 1 Kalē 2 the valley of the Arakan River, and 3 Pegu proper round the Gulf of Martaban.

Turning now to the Andhras, it appears that they did not advance beyond the Arakan River. In fact, it is at this point that Ptolemy makes his Coast of the Airrhadoi terminate and the territory of Argyra begin. Reserving our remarks anent the latter to a subsequent section we shall now proceed to discuss the identity of the cities and streams recorded by our author as belonging to the Coast of the Airrhadoi.

## Pentapolis (No 43 of the Tables)

It is evident, I think, that the foreign settlements on this coast were grouped somewhat after the manner of the Greek colonies of old, in clusters of cities and petty states. The very names of Trihinga, or Trikalinga, Catur grāma (Chittagong=four villages), and Ptolemy's Pentapolis, recall to our memory the Greek Tripolis, Tetrapolis, etc. Once this principle established, it is easy to see how such names would be multiplied everywhere the Kalingas ruled. In fact, beside the Trikalinga named by Ptolemy in the region now under consideration, we have another about the Kṛsnā and Godāvāri, and a third yet recorded as a feud of the Cedi rājas in Mālvi.

As regards Pentapolis, its name seems to be a rendering of the Sanskrit *Panca palli*, meaning "five cities." But it may be well to call attention to the fact that on the coast of India a short distance below Masulipatam, there is a port called *Modu palli* (meaning "three cities," usually noted Motapalli in the maps), which is referred to by Floris and other navigators of the early part of the sixteenth century as *Petapoli*, and by De Barros as *Pentepoli*, a surprisingly accurate approach to Ptolemy's Pentapolis. This is a capital example of the modifications that geographical names undergo at the hands of travellers not knowing, therefore.

"three cities"), which is the name of the district just close by. If, instead, it stands for "five cities," it will be probably identified with some other place in the same neighbourhood. But as to its corresponding to Chittagong—as surmised by some writers—I hardly can believe it, because the latter name distinctly designates an aggregation of four villages. Unless it can be proved that originally the villages were three or five and were collectively named *Mudupalli* or *Pañcapalli* respectively, or else *Mudugrama* or *Pañcagrama*, I do not see how the term *Pentapolis* can apply to them.

#### Katabeda River (Nos 44, 191)

Is by some identified with the Karmasuli or Chittagong River. Wilford went so far as to suppose that Ptolemy placed it by mistake to the north of Arakan, and tried to show that it must be sought for to the south, behind the island of Cheduba the name of which, he says, is *Katabandā*. He evidently meant *Catur thupa* or *Char dhuba*—"four capes" the name by which this island is known to the natives of India, and from which its European name has been derived. Its local designation is *Man oung*, and the classical name *Megharati*.<sup>1</sup> The only toponym in that neighbourhood which closely approaches to Katabeda is *Ga ts/a b/a*, the local name for the Kulīdīn or Arakan River.<sup>2</sup> But our calculations show that the stream meant by Ptolemy is much further north and in the neighbourhood of the island of Kutubdia (not Cheduba), situated about half way between Chittagong and Ramū. The name of this island is strikingly similar to that of Ptolemy's river, hence, without having—Wilford like—to assume that our author made any mistake in fixing the position of the Katabeda we may safely identify the latter with the *Mori River* behind the island of Kutubdia. Although there may not have been in Ptolemy's time any homonyms

<sup>1</sup> V. de. *Printed Burma Gazetteer* v. I. p. 352

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 1

between the island and the stream behind it, we may well imagine that navigators—as frequently occurs—might name the river from the island in front of it, thus saying, “the river behind Kutubdia island,” which expression by long use would become contracted into “the river Kutubdia.” It seems that some Latin translators or commentators of Ptolemy refer to this river under the name of *Cahncius*. If so, we would have here a repetition of the term *Kolamea*, indicating a connection with the Kalingas. It would be worth while to inquire whether the term *Cahncius* really refers to the Katabēda, or—as might appear more natural—to the Kulādān River.

Ptolemy carries, as we have already observed, his Coast of the Airrhadoi down to the Kulādān, thus including within its compass the mart of Barakura. But as we hold that the latter is intimately connected with Arakan, it will be dealt with under the next section.

## (2) Argyra (*Arakan*).

The region following next in order on the same coast is by Ptolemy named Argyra, and evidently corresponds to Arakan. The meaning conveyed by the term Argyra is that of ‘Silver Country’; and in order to mark it the more distinctly Ptolemy takes care to add that “*there are said to be very many silver-mines*”<sup>1</sup> Though this be a mere *dictum* collected from travellers not sufficiently acquainted with the interior of the country, it decidedly shows nevertheless that the latter was considered to be a silver region, and was accordingly named ‘Silver Country.’ If it can be proved that this was the case, Sir Arthur Phayre’s theory that the ancient name of the country was *Rakhaing*, on account of it being inhabited by *Rakhasas*, and that Argyra is but a transliteration or imitation of that name, naturally falls to the ground. This theory is really of native or rather Buddhist monkish origin; but the gallant General

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *op cit*, p 219

just named constituted himself its champion. I do not contest—on the contrary, I fully endorse—the opinion that the country was originally inhabited by savage tribes of Negrito race, similar to the actual Mincopies of the Andaman islands, or to the ancient *Rākṣasas* fabled to have been conquered by Rāma in Ceylon. But I object to the exclusivist view that such race had its habitat confined solely to the coast of Arakan. There are proofs that it extended at some time or other over the whole maritime region of Indo-China, in which case the epithet '*Rākṣasa-land*' ought to admit of a much wider interpretation. The Andaman islands, the island of Bhīlū-gyun in the Gulf of Martaban, and other places, were designated by the term *Rākṣasa*, or its local vernacular equivalent. Ptolemy populates the littoral all round the Gulf of Martaban with such cannibal tribes, while not mentioning any of them in Argyra.

The term Rakhaing can therefore be scarcely connected with the tradition of the *Rākṣasas* occupying at one time the land, and any such pretended connection put forward is undoubtedly the modern invention of Buddhist monks, anxious to find some explanation for the name of the country. Sir Arthur Phayre says that the latter was designated as *Rakkha-pura* by the Buddhist missionaries from India; but I should like to hear how far back in antiquity this name can be traced. It appears in the *Mahāvamsa* under the form *Rakkhanga* at so late a date as A.D. 1592<sup>1</sup>; and in the *Ain-i-Akbari* at about the same period under the form *Arlung*. Barbosa speaks of *Araguan* in A.D. 1520, and some earlier mention of it is perhaps to be found in other Portuguese authors<sup>2</sup>. But native records

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xciv, v. 97 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Since writing the above I have discovered an earlier reference to the country under the name of *Lo-k'eng* (Ra kheng or Rakhaing) in the extract from the Chinese traveller Ma-Huan (A.D. 1413), translated and published by Phillips in the *Journal, China Branch R.A.S.*, 1885, pp. 209 seq. Phillips wrongly took that name to apply to Rangun, a view which will be found refuted in full in the next section of this paper dealing with the islands named by Ptolemy in the Bay of Bengal. Soon afterwards, in *circa* 1430 A.D., Conti termed *Racha* the city of Arakan and its river (see Ramusio, vol. 1, f. 339, F).

refer to Arakan previous to that period as *Dhaññarati*, *Khemarati*, *Vaisali*, etc, the names of its capitals, never, I believe, as *Rakhang* or *Rakhang*

Ptolemy's *Argyra* cannot therefore be a defective rendering of either *Rakhang* or *Raksasa*, but rather a modification or an adaptation of the original name of the country, which must have meant either *silver* or something to that effect<sup>1</sup> We shall meet with other instances of the same name or meaning at Achin in Sumatra, and at Perak in the Malay Peninsula The original vocable is either *Perak*, *Prah*, *Praksa*, or *Plaksa*, meaning 'silver' It will result from my examination of the geography of the Purānas in a subsequent section, that the coast of Arakan, with its *hinterland* as far as the Irāvati or the Salwin, represents the region designated by the term *Plaksa dīpa*, apparently on account of a *plaksa* (Indian fig tree) growing there I found out, however, that the term *Plaksa* really stands for the Sanskrit *balaksa* and the Vedic *palaksa* both meaning 'white,' and, I firmly believe also 'silver' It is my conviction in fact that the Malay *perak* and the Khmer *prah* used to designate silver are derived from them In Mon (Taleng) there appears to have remained no trace of this name for silver, unless *son* (written *sran*), its present name, be a corruption of the terminal syllable of *plakṣa* *Bhau* or *bho* in Burmese still means 'pure silver', and *bhju* (written *phru*) means 'white,' being probably equivalent to the Mon *phu* From Barbosa it would appear that a portion of Upper Burmā was, in his time still called *Balassia* from which the so called 'balas rubies' were exported<sup>2</sup> In a Peguan (Taleng) work purporting

<sup>1</sup> Silver mines exist and seem to have been once extensively worked in the Chinthe valley not far from Arakan

<sup>2</sup> La balassi sono di specie di rubini: ma non così duri il colore è di rosato et alcuni sono quasi bianchi nascono in Balassia ch'è un regno dentro à terra ferma di sopra lega et Bengala et di là vengono condotti da i mercatanti Mori per tutto l'altre parti etc Barbosa in Ramusio: Delle Navigazioni etc vol. 1. 1563 edit. f. 301 E. The prevailing opinion is that the balas ruby was named from Badakhshan near the Pamirs but Upper Burma is evidently meant here It is quite clear to me—and my view will receive repeated confirmations in the course of the following sections—that the term *palakṣa* or *balakṣa* was

to be an account of Buddha's pretended peregrinations in Indo-China,<sup>1</sup> the Kingdom of Burmā is referred to as *Prazuluka-nagara*, or *Pasuluka*, a term which seems to me a corrupted form of *Balaksa* or *Palaksa*. All these are coincidences demonstrating that the name by which the Purānas designate the region of Burmā and Arakan has not been indiscriminately applied, but is simply an imitation of the early local name for the country. In languages which, like the Arakanese, the Malay, and Khmer, delight in the *r* sound, and have a monosyllabic tendency, *palaksa* and *plaksa* become easily transformed into *paraksa* and *piaksa*, *perak* and *prak*.<sup>2</sup> From *paraksa* the corrupted forms *araksa*, *arakkha*, and even *rakkha* may be easily derived, which would explain the name of Arakan and the growth of the tradition as regards the *rahsas* or *sahsasas* originally infesting the country.<sup>3</sup>

transplanted in this region from Badakhshan, with whose name it is undoubtedly connected. It forms but one link in the long chain of place names transferred from North Western India to North Western Indo-China.

<sup>1</sup> This work will be more particularly described in the sequel, in the paragraph devoted to Balongka.

<sup>2</sup> These forms become still further contracted in Sinitic languages as exemplified by *pak* in Cantonese, *bak* in Annamese, and *pa* in Pekingese. The early Vedic term *palaksa* may thus be traced all the way from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Yellow River.

<sup>3</sup> In the same manner I venture to think, was the name of Arakkhōna— notwithstanding that a very different opinion be generally held—derived from Badakhshan and with it was probably also connected that of Baktra. The latter is traceable to a form *Bahlila* or *Ballila* still represented in modern Balkh, and usually identified with *Bahis* = sand', but may not white or quartzous (*ephadika phadika*) sand be intended in which case the connection with *balaksa* and Badakhshan would become still more evident. It must be remembered that Ptolemy places in Arakkhōna a people by the name of *Baktrioi* and that the Parthians called the country—according to Indores of Kharax—'White India'. This must have been to some purpose very likely out of reference to its name meaning 'white' and being therefore derived from *balaksa*. In Further India it appears that Upper Burma or the portion of it bordering upon Arakan was known as Badakhshan or Balaksa while Arakan proper was named after its derivative *Araksa* or Arakkhōna. The term was however modified by Dravidian pronunciation in the manner of its namesakes on the Coromandel and Sumatran seaboards viz *Argakharas* (said to correspond to Ptolemy's *Argari* *Argeliron* or *Agkheiron*) and *Atyā Achā* or *ichin* (Ptolemy's *Argyrē*) which bears a striking similarity to *Agkheiron*. Hence Ptolemy's renderings *Argyra* and *Argyrē* for the names of Arakan and Arakh or Acche respectively. The story of the silver mines in Arakan must have originated from the fact of silver being imported thither from the Chindwin valley, and cannot be said to have been suggested by the name of the country exclusively. In fact Ptolemy is perfectly silent as to silver being found at

That the term *paraḷṣa* or *paraḷḷha* coexisted at one time in Arakan along with its derivative *aiaḷṣa* or *araḷḷha*, is demonstrated by several facts. Ptolemy places on the coast

either Argeiron or Argyrē. Though, in the case of the last-named town, he mentions gold among the productions of the surrounding country, he does not say a word in regard to the less noble metal.

Taking therefore Upper Burma to have been named after Badakhshan, and Arakan after Arakḥōsia, the Coast of the Airrhadoi would turn out to be a namesake of Arua (Arya, Aryaṭa<sup>2</sup>), that of Sandawan of Dranganē (Dranga, Daranda, Zarang), and the territory about Cape Negrois and the upper portion of the Gulf of Martaban would be found to play in Further Indian geography the rôle of Gedrōsia and Sindh. The parallel will at first sight appear very doubtful and unconvincing. A more exhaustive investigation, however, will disclose the fact that the nomenclature of the valley of the Indus and its affluents, with some of the names of the peoples, districts, and cities of that region, was at an evidently very early date transferred to the valley of the Iravati and surrounding territory in Further India, where they still subsist in part in a plainly recognizable form, fully testifying as to their place of origin. Once this fact is realized, many place names occurring in Further Indian topography for which we have long sought in vain an explanation, and others, modelled upon prototypes of the Indus valley, for which we are at a loss to account the *raison d'être*, in unclassical Burma, Pegu, and Arakan, become at once intelligible and their presence easy to account for.

Suffice here to call attention to a few of them only. The Chundwin, and the lower course of the Iravaddi (Iravati) from the Chundwin confluence to the sea, becomes identified in name with the Indus or Sindhu, as shown by the term *Sindhu*—or some of its derivatives—being still preserved in the denomination of the Chundwin (*Sindhu-in*, *Sauḍharin*?).

The Kubo, a right tributary of the Chundwin, corresponds to the Kubha, the affluent from the right of the Indus, the valley of the Kubo thus becomes an ideal counterpart of the Kabul valley, where Kalē probably stands for Puṣkaraṭa or Puṣkalavati. The Uru, a left tributary of the Chundwin further up, seems to have been named after the Haro, the left tributary of the Indus. The term Iravati was thus, at an early period, restricted to the portion of the Iravaddi's course lying above the Chundwin's confluence.

The names of the five rivers of Panjab appear to have been likewise transferred to the traditional five streams of Pegu, said to have their estuary at Punzalang or Panca long (Five Rivers), at the head of the Gulf of Martaban. The Salwin is the Sarasvati, the Sittang or Chittang represents either the Satley (Sataḍru) or the Chitrang (Sodra) the Illang flowing past Rangun town is taken as the continuation of the major stream, the Chundwin or Indus proper, while the Chinabakeer branch of the Iravaddi (termed Asita in the old records) represents the Chinab (Asikni). This puzzling name of the Chinabakeer River does not result, therefore, as Forchhammer thought ("Notes on the Early History and Geography of Brit Burma", I Shwe Dagon Pagoda Rangoon, 1891, p. 16), from *Pollhara* the ancient name of the Dala district through which it flows, but chiefly from the term *Chinab* by which it was designated. The term *Pollhara* may, at best play in the compound the secondary rôle of simple affix, though even under this form its presence is pretty well doubtful. In comparing toponyms of Further India with those of India proper we cannot of course expect to find them always in systematic positions, but it will be seen from my further remarks on this subject in the sequel, that a certain correspondence in location exists all over the field. Thus Further India may in this respect be regarded as a second India and certainly it was looked upon in this light by the Indo colonists who brought thither their civilization and made it, as much as possible, their second fatherland. This



My conclusion is, therefore, that Barakura represents the local name of Arakan in Ptolemy's time; that Argyra is but a derivation and adaptation of it; and that both can be traced back to an original term *Palakṣa* or *Balakṣa*, recorded in the Purāṇas under the form of *Plakṣa*, but locally changed in the course of time into *Rakkha*, *Rakkhami*, out of which the Portuguese and other Europeans made *Aracam* and *Aracan*. It remains now briefly to discuss the position of the various places named by Ptolemy in this region.

Barakura, a mart (No. 45).

In Ptolemy's time Arakan was apparently an independent state, and no longer subject to the sway of Kalē, as previously remarked. Its capital was, according to the local records, Dhaññāvati, situated about twenty miles to the north-east of the present Mro-houng or Old Arakan city. There, in A.D. 146, a king by the name of Candra Sūrya is said to have ascended the throne, and to have cast a famous metal image of Buddha, which he enshrined in the Mahā-Muni pagoda, built for the occasion on the Silagiri (now Kyauktaw) hill near by. Dhaññāvati remained capital up to A.D. 788, when it was replaced by Vaiśālī, a new city built in its neighbourhood. The position I obtained by calculation for Barakura exactly agrees in latitude with the site once occupied by the ancient Dhaññāvati, and only lacks correctness as to longitude, which is, however, only about 1° 14' short of the real amount. I have, therefore, not the slightest doubt that the latter city is meant. *Borongo* island, at the mouth of the Kulādūn, which forms a large harbour there, and *Paloung*, a village on the east bank of the same stream in the present Mro-houng township, most probably preserve, each in a modified form, the ancient name of the kingdom, district, and seaport represented by Ptolemy's Barakura.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Paloung see "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. ii, p. 472. Wilford calls it *Pa-oung*, and identifies it with the *Paalgun* of the Kṣetra-Samādā, according to which treatise, he says, another name for it was *Pharungdra* (see McCrindle, op. cit., p. 233). In this last term we have, it seems to me, a very

more detailed information on the intricate hydrography of the Arakan district is forthcoming that will allow of a more definite opinion being pronounced.

Sambra, a city (No. 47).

This must be identified, I think, with the city of Rāmavati, which is said to have once stood on this coast opposite the island of Rāmri; or else with the island itself which took its name from it, corrupted by native pronunciation into *Ram-brai* or *Rām-brī*. Ptolemy's Sambra is thus probably a clerical error for *Rambra*. The corrected latitude obtained by calculation corresponds to that of the northern end of the island.

Sados River (48, 189) and Sada, a city (49).

Whether the city derives its name from the river, or the latter is named after the city, is a question difficult to decide. One thing is certain, however, and this is that Sada corresponds to Sandoway. As this is reputed to be a very ancient settlement, it is reasonable to infer that it was, as told in its own traditions, a foundation from India, and that its original name was probably Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup>

Its pretended founder, Sammuti Deva, is fabled to have hailed from Benares; and the Nats or spirits built for him, it is said, the city which was called Dīrāvati. Its present name, *Than-dicai* (*Sandicē*), which is explained as 'iron-bound,' rests on a legend to the effect that the city had the power of soaring above the earth, out of reach of danger, when attacked by enemies from outside on a particular occasion, and had to be bound to the earth with an iron chain before it could be conquered.\*

If we read the name of the city as it is written, *Sadra* or *Sindra*<sup>1</sup> and allow for the softening of the *r* into *y* usually occurring in Burmese, we may trace it back to some Sanskrit form like *Sadendra*, equivalent, or nearly so, to the pretended ancient name *Dvāravatī* of the town. But I think that the latter and its district must be identified with the *Śānta* bhava region mentioned in the *Purāṇas* as belonging to *Plakṣa delya*. The letters *b* and *bh* are, in Indo Chinese languages easily and frequently interchanged with *r*, hence *Śāntabhava* can easily become *Sāntaraya*, which would then be written with the last syllable contracted, and read *Sanlue*.

In the early Portuguese maps Sandoway is noted as *Jadla*, *Le loa*, *Sedoa*. The latter form appears also in João de Barros, lib ix, ch 1. This shows it beyond doubt to be Ptolemy's *Sada*. Yet Yule, while thinking the latter might be *Izala* or *Zetta*—which appears in the legend of the foundation of the Shwē Dagon pagoda of Rangūn as the name of a seaport between Pegu and Bengal<sup>2</sup>—did not attempt to locate it, and overlooking the linguistic connection between *Izala* or *Zetta* (*Issada Sada*) and *Sada*, he identified Sandoway with Ptolemy's *Bêrabonna* without any apparent good reason or cause whatever.

At ch. xiii, § 7 of his introductory book, our author mentions Sada as the terminus of the sea-passage across the Gangetic Gulf (Bay of Bengal) from Palura, effected in a direct line from west to east, and covering a distance of 13,000 stadia. It was, therefore, the first port touched at in his time by ships proceeding from India to the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. Palura, hitherto taken to be the mouth of the Ganjam (about  $19^{\circ} 20'$  N. lat.), has been in my Tables placed at Conora, above Vizagapatam, in  $18^{\circ}$  N. lat., which is also the latitude I obtained by calculation for Sada. Some ships, however, took a more northerly route, and touched at the riverine port of Antibolē on the Dhakkū or Old Ganges River, before making out for Sada and the Gulf of Martaban.

With regard to the Sados River, its mouth, by calculation, is made to be  $18^{\circ} 42'$  N. lat. The present mouth of the Sandoway River is in lat  $18^{\circ} 32'$ . As Ptolemy places Sada city in  $18^{\circ}$  corrected, it follows that the Sados cannot be the Sandoway River, but some other stream further north, such as the An (Aeng), Ma-i, Tan-lwai, or Toung-gūp rivers. Though not conspicuous in size, the Tan-lwai seems preferable as being only a little distance above Sandoway, and as bearing a name not very dissimilar to it and Sados. Its old name was probably Sanskrit, such as *Sada-tari* (a river always bearing water) or *Śada* (mud).

Berabonna, a mart (No 50)

Yule identified it, as stated above, with Sandoway, which is undoubtedly wrong. By calculation, its position would fall about Gwa (Khwā) or on the river of the same name. Bērabonna seems to represent the Pāli *Paripunna* or the Sanskrit *Paripurna*. On the Khwā River there is a village called Pienne goon-rwa still within reach by boat during the spring tides,<sup>1</sup> and which might represent whatever remains of Ptolemy's station. In the map, by G. De l'Isle, dated A.D. 1781, inserted at the end of the first volume of

<sup>1</sup> "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. II, p. 253

Sonnerat's "*Voyage aux Indes Orientales*,"<sup>1</sup> there is noted just above Cape Negrais an islet or mart on the coast inscribed as *Barrebam*. This place I assume to be the same as that which Daniel Sheldon (in his report published by Ovington) calls *Periem*. Whether they both correspond to Pienne-goon-rwa or not I am unable to say; but it is clear, from their close similarity in name to Bērabonna, that Ptolemy's mart is identical with either of them

Tēmala River (51, 188).

My identification of this stream with the Bassein outlet of the Irāvati, called the Nga-won River, rests on the fact that Diamond Island at its mouth is called Thamee-hla-Kywon (i.e. Thamee-hla island),<sup>2</sup> a fair approach to Ptolemy's designation; and that, therefore, the river might have been so named in ancient times. The word Thamee-hla is really written, as I have ascertained, သီမီးလှ, which, according to the system of transliteration adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society, would read *Chumihla* or *Simihla*. It would seem, therefore, that we are here confronted by a name similar in form to that of *Simylla* or *Timula* (Tiamula?), which Ptolemy gives to a mart and headland on the west coast of India, and which is generally identified with Chaul and Chaul Point near the Indian Bassein (*Vasai*). As it is known, most names of cities in Indo-China are but repetitions of the names of ancient cities of India, the mother-country whence Indo-China received its civilization; a phenomenon which we see repeated in modern times in connection with the names of American and Australian cities, adopted from those extant on the Old Continent. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should find on the coast of the Indo-Chinese, as well as on the coast of the Indian Peninsula, and in symmetric positions, two identical names of cities such as

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1782

<sup>2</sup> "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. II, pp. 130, 723

Bassein and Timula (Simylla or Tēmala). But there are some difficulties in the proper location of these cities on the Indo-Chinese side, and a suspicion is aroused in connection with the native term *Simihla* given to Diamond Island. In fact, this term when analyzed and translated turns out to be a compound of the three Burmese words *Si-mih-'la*, which mean 'a beautiful lamp-fire'; and as the island has only recently been occupied by a station of the detachment in charge of the Alguada Reef lighthouse, erected  $3\frac{1}{2}$  leagues S.S.W. of it, it may have happened that the name 'Beautiful lamp-fire island,' by which Diamond Island is known to the natives, originated from that fact. On the contrary, if the name can be proved to be more ancient than the event referred to above, it may be held for certain to represent Ptolemy's Tēmala<sup>1</sup>. But even rejecting such connection, it is possible to demonstrate the existence in ancient times in this region of a city known by the name of Tamāla or Sāmala corresponding to our author's designation, as will be shown in the next paragraph. It will then result even more clearly that Ptolemy's Tēmala River is really the Nga-won or Bassein outlet of the Irāvati as surmised at the outset of the present inquiry.

#### Temala, a city (52)

In the introductory book of Ptolemy's Geography it is spelled Tamala—a word which may be at once identified with the Sanskrit *Tamāla*, meaning 'dark' or 'brown'—and placed at 3,500 stadia (2,330, corrected measurement) south-east of Sada, almost due north of Cape Negrais.

The position obtained from calculation for Tēmala (94° 27' E, 16° 36' N) closely agrees with that actually

<sup>1</sup> The name *Tha-mee-hla* (*Simihla*) appears in various other points of the country. We may adduce two instances, both in the Akyab district, from the "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. II, pp. 722-3.

Another island, identically named *Tha-mee-hla* Kywon, is to be found nearly opposite Mergui.

A lighthouse cannot evidently be implied in each of these instances, hence I think that the name *Simihla* really corresponds to the Sanskrit *Tamāla*.

occupied by Bassin (94° 46' E., 16° 14' N.); and I have not the slightest doubt that its site was identical with, or near to, the latter, on the Nga-won River, and not on the coast off Cape Negrais. There is nothing extraordinary in this apparent tampering with Ptolemy's order of things. If we examine the early Portuguese maps we may form an idea as to the confusion that reigned in the graphic representation of that seaboard even at that period, fourteen centuries after Ptolemy lived. We may there see that the Bassein River is made to debouch above Cape Negrais, and that the latter and surrounding land are depicted as an island. It will only be natural, therefore, to look for Tēmala on the Bassein River, rather than, as Yule did, on the barren coast above Cape Negrais, where it could hardly have been.

The ancient name of the Bassein district was *Kusimarrattha*; and of its chief town, *Kusima-nagara*, evidently imitated from *Kusuma-pura*, 'the city of flowers,' the old designation for Pātaliputra or Patna. The name *Kusima* for Bassein was in use up to the last century. Ralph Fitch, Mandelslo, and other travellers refer to it as *Cosmin*, *Casmin*, *Casmi*, etc., all corruptions of *Kusima*; and the same spelling is adopted in the old maps. The names *Pusin*, *Pasin*, *Pasun*, and *Basim*<sup>1</sup> appear to have been introduced at a comparatively modern period, otherwise they may be modifications of either *Kusim* or *Vasai*. The town itself seems to have been founded as late as 1249 A.D., but the old name of the district undoubtedly existed much earlier; and under the date of 625 A.D. it is mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Burmese ဝုသိန် = *Pusin*, and ဝုသိန် = *Pasin* Peguan (Talaing)

ဝါသိန် = *Phāchim* (*P'asim*) Siamese ปุสุม = *Pusin*, and ปุสุม = *P'asim* (*Basim*). In the summary of Oriental peoples translated from the Portuguese and published in Ramusio, vol. 1, 1563 edition, it is referred to as *Pasin*, p. 335. It requires, indeed, a great stretch of imagination in order to see in these forms the vestiges of Ptolemy's *Besynge*. A comparison with the name of the Indian Bassein shows that the old form should be *Vasai* or *Basai*.

in the Peguan (Taleng) chronicles as consisting of a confederation of thirty-two cities subject to the sway of the Mōns or Talengs of Pegu. Notwithstanding these facts, most of Ptolemy's commentators up to the present day have, with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause, endeavoured to connect Bassein with Ptolemy's Bēsynga, deceived, no doubt, by a mere fickle similarity of names. But this alone, we have repeatedly shown, is not sufficient evidence upon which to build up an accurate interpretation of his geography, and all attempts based simply upon such outward indications must necessarily fail.

We shall show at the proper time and place where Ptolemy's Bēsynga is to be looked for. Our present concern is Tēmala or Tamala, and before dismissing it we propose to demonstrate that it is the same city as that mentioned in the Rāmāyana (*Kiṣkindha-kāṇḍa*) under the name of Timira. *Timira* and *Tamala*, it must be premised, are Sanskrit words of almost identical meaning. In the Bengal recension of the Rāmāyana, after a reference to the Amgas (people of Campā, now Bhāgalpur); the Lauhitya River (Brahmaputra); the Kīrātas (people of Tipperah and Silhet, Ptolemy's Kīrrhadia), lands rich with silver-mines (*Argyra*), and mount Mandara (*Maiaandros* = Arakan Roma), there is a mention of the city of Timira abounding with gold and where silkworms are reared. These two peculiarities help us admirably in fixing the position of Timira in the region between the Arakan and Pegu Romas; that is, in the lower valley of the Irāvati, celebrated both by eastern and western classics as the Golden Region, and known as the seat of a people, the Zabaings or Zamengs, noted for silkworm breeding<sup>1</sup>. And as the name Timira conveys the same meaning as Ptolemy's Tēmala or Tamala (*Tamāla*), there should be no doubt left as to both designations belonging



to the one and the same city occupying a position close to, or on the very site of, the present Hsacem, as set forth above<sup>1</sup>

Once this point settled, the Cape (beyond) Temala, placed by our author to the south and a little to the west of the city of the same name, becomes identical with the present Cape Nagrais (*Nāgareśvara*), and any further discussion as to its site is rendered unnecessary.

### (3) *Country of the Zamīrai and Dabazai (Upper Burma)*

"Beyond Kīrrhādia"—our author (ch. ii, § 16)—"the Zamīrai, a race of cannibals, are located near Mount Maiandros." I am firmly convinced that Ptolemy's Kīrrhādia corresponds to the districts of Silhet, Tipperah, and Kuchīr, and that the habitat of the Zamīrai must as a consequence be sought for in the valley of the Chindwin or Kyendwen, that is, in the western part of Upper Burma. This region is now occupied by the Yaw (Yo) tribes, said—though I doubt it—to be of Burmese stock and speech, but it was probably, in Ptolemy's time settled by populations of Mōū Khmer race, such as, I believe, the Zabaing and Khami are. The Zabaings' territory is now restricted to the hill tracts of the Pegu Roma, between the Irawati and Sittang rivers. They are described as rude, wild, and ignorant by nature, cultivators and mostly breeders of silkworms by occupation. I have no doubt that the hills which form their present habitat represent but their last refuge, to which they have been driven by more powerful, and perhaps younger, occupants of the country. At the period we treat of they must have extended over a larger zone including the whole or nearly so, of the Chindwin valley, which they probably held in conjunction with the Khami. Their headquarters were probably at Kal, where we have noticed a motley agglomeration of tribes during

<sup>1</sup> I am convinced that it is the place mentioned under the name of *Tan me lu* by Chinese authors in this region.

the supposed sway of the Kalingas. In a preceding paragraph I have identified the zone just mentioned as their ancient haunts with the breeding land of silkworms alluded to in the Rāmāyana. I now complete that premise by connecting the Zabaing—and their probable kin, the Khami—with Ptolemy's Zamīrai and the *Samīras* of the Mahābhārata. The literal coincidence of the three names, Zabaing (or Zameng), Zamīrai (another reading for which is Zamerai), and *Samira*, is too evident to need demonstration; while there is a close likeness between *Khami* and *Samu* or *Samira*. In favour of the coincidence of location I submit that in the Mahābhārata (*Bhisma Parvan*) there are mentioned, together with the Samīras, the following peoples hitherto not identified, and which I subjoin in the same order as they occur in that epic, accompanied with the name of the country or people which in my opinion corresponds to them:—

1. *Tiragrahas*. I think I recognize in this name Ptolemy's Tilogrammon, a town on the Gangetic Delta which Yule identifies with Jesore.
2. *Śūrasenas*. Suratan (= *Śūra-sthana*?) was the name of Eastern Bengal, to be probably identified with Sonārgāon. (See "Brit. Burma Gaz.," vol. II, p. 9, n.)
3. *Īṣkas* or *Itikas*. (?)
4. *Kānyakāgunas*. (?)
5. *Tilabhāras*. Evidently Ptolemy's Tiladai, placed by him to the north of Maiandros, i.e. about the Garô Hills and Sikkim.
6. *Samīras*. The Zamīrai.

As our author places his Zamīrai beyond Kirrhadia and near Mount Maiandros, it follows that they occupied, with respect to his Tiladai, the same position as the *Samīras* hold in regard to the *Tilabhāras* in the Mahābhārata; and therefore the Zamīrai should be identical with the *Samīras*.

Concerning the connection of the Zamīrai or *Samīras* with the Zabaing or *Zamer*, enough has been said already, and

the probable relationship of the latter with the Khami has also been pointed out. But there are a few more points which deserve consideration. It is known that the habitat of the Khami was in the past in the upper valley of the Kulādān, and in the mountain ranges to the north east of Arakan, whence they were driven south-west by their more warlike neighbours the Shandū. Moreover, Ptolemy, speaking of the Golden Country, i.e. Lower Burmā, tells us that its "inhabitants resemble the Zamirai in being fair complexioned, shaggy, of squat figure, and flat-nosed." We have here a picture which applies as well to the Zabaing as to the Khami. The natural inference to be drawn from the foregoing considerations is this—That the Zamirai or Samiras represent the Zabaing and their co relatives, the Khami who were, in Ptolemy's time and for some centuries previously, located in Western Burmā, from the Irāvati to the Arakan Roma, whence they have since been driven to their actual homes by subsequent invaders, probably of Tibeto Burman race. The inroads of the new arrivals seem to have cut them through the centre, separating them into two portions, which found refuge on the mountain ranges encompassing the lower valley of the Irāvati—the Khami on the Arakan Roma, and the Zabaing on the Pegu Roma, where they still survive.

Having so far dealt with the more southern section of Upper Burmā proper, we must now turn to the portion of it extending northwards of the Irāvati's junction with the Chindwin and including the upper valleys of both these streams and those of their affluents. It is in this region that Ptolemy places his Dabasai—the most southern of the folks he names between the Bepyrros and the Dobassa or Damassa ranges, i.e. between the Pathei mountains and those forming the boundary between the Salwin and Me Khōng rivers.

Though Ptolemy appears to connect the name of the Dabasai with that of the Dabassa or Damassa mountains, in which view he is most probably correct as I shall point out in due course there is scarcely room for doubt that the

country which that people occupied was similarly known as the land of *Daba* or *Dabassa*. Owing to the interchangeability of the letters *d* with *l*, and *b* with *v*, in most East-Indian languages; and keeping also in mind the point that  $\beta$  very probably had in Ptolemy's time, from several indications to be found in his contemporaries, the value of *v* it possesses in Modern Greek, it follows that we may also read the term *Daba* either as *Dava* or *Lava*. Once this distinction has been made, it is easy to prove that the region now under consideration was of yore really designated by either of the three forms of the term *Daba* given above, or by some of their derivatives.

As regards the first two, *Daba* and *Dava*, we are told by Chinese writers that Upper Burmā, or part of it, bore, since the time of the Han, the name of *Tu-p'o* or *Shê-p'o*, a compound sounding in Annamese as *Dou-ba*, *Da-ba*, or *Hsa-ba*,<sup>1</sup> and apparently representing the Sanskrit *Dava*, *Java*, *Yava*. Then, as late as A.D. 1207, we find in a Cām inscription the mention of "*Pulām, Syām, Davran, Marai, Man*."<sup>2</sup> *Pulām* represents *Bulām*, i.e. Lower Pagan, the capital of Central Burmā at the time; *Syām* is, of course, *Śyāmadvīpa* or Lower Siām; *Davran* is the country, or people, of *Dava*, i.e. Upper Burmā; and *Marai* (or *Marai-man*?) is *Mara-raṭṭha* or *Maramma*, the land of the *Maras* or *Mro*, corresponding to the present Lower Burmā or, more properly, to the country about Promo.

Two and a half centuries later we meet, according to some authorities, with the term *Dava* in Conti's travels, which

appears, however, to be meant for either '*Aia*' or '*d'Aia*'<sup>1</sup>; and we find thenceforward the kingdom of Burmā designated *Aia* by most European writers up to the last century. The city of Ava was founded in 1364, and was also called *Shucé-ra*. The fanciful etymologies given of both these terms by the modern Burmese authors must of course be discarded in the present inquiry as utterly unreliable, for there is plenty of evidence to show that both *Aia* and *Shucé-ra* as forms of *Dara* had existed in the country long before that period, a fact which goes far towards explaining the ambiguous Chinese term for Ava,<sup>2</sup> capable of being read either *Shé-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*, and of being thus referred to both *Shucé-ra* and *Dara*. Ma Tuan-lu, whose work was composed during the latter part of the thirteenth century and published A.D. 1319, that is, nearly fifty years before Ava was built, already has *Shé-p'o* or *Tu-p'o* as second term in the compound *T'u-lo-shu Shé-p'o*, which, he states, is one of the names by which the country of *P'iao* was designated by its own inhabitants. The country of *P'iao* approximatively corresponded to the present Lower Burmā; but as the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*, the great Chinese cyclopaedia, mentions *Shé-p'o* among the eighteen kingdoms once tributary to *P'iao*, it plainly results that *Shé-p'o* must have been situated outside of *P'iao* proper. Later Chinese writers applied the same name, *Shé-p'o*, to the kingdom of Ava, which became known, therefore, as *Shé-p'o-luo* or *Tu-p'o-luo* (in Annamese *Hsa-ba-lok* or *Dabakok*). Though in these compounds the word *luo* properly stands for kingdom, it is possible that its introduction dates from an earlier period and was originally intended to do duty for the syllable *la* in *Darāla*, one of the alternative,

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio (Giunti, ed. 1563, vol. 1, fol. 340, A and F) invariably has *Ara* which read *ra*, of course, the reading *Dara* of other editions of Conti's travels rather doubtful. Phayre ('History of Burma,' Trübner's Oriental Series, p. 262) says that Conti calls *Dara* the river Irrawadi, basing himself upon a reading *Dārā* which appears to have been adopted in the Hakluyt Society's edition of Conti's travels (p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> 阿 里 or 阿 里 国 (*Shé-p'o-luo* or *Tu-p'o-luo*), "the kingdom of Ara", see Giles' Chinese Dictionary, p. 953, s. v. 9,783.

or rather derivate, forms of *Data*, under which we find the country referred to as early as the fourth century *Davaka*—or *Davalā* as it is spelled in the Allahabad pillar inscription—is, in fact, one of the five “frontier countries” whose kings, according to the epigraphic monument just named, paid homage to Samudra Gupta, the famous sovereign of Magadha who reigned *circa* A.D. 345–380<sup>1</sup>. Hitherto *Davalā* has remained unidentified and so has *Thafec*, the form under which the same country has been alluded to by the Arab travellers and geographers from the ninth century downwards. After a careful study of the subject I have not the slightest doubt left that *Davalā*, the tributary and coterminous state of Magadha in the fourth century, *Thafec*, or *Tafan* (i.e. *Daran*), the kingdom referred to by the Arab travellers of the ninth century and Masaudi as being situated in the mountains and bordering upon the powerful dominions of the Balhara (with the capital at Monghir) and of *Rohmy*, or *Rahman* (Rimanna viz Pegu and Arakan),<sup>2</sup> and *Daba*, or *Dara*, the country of the Dabasai of Ptolemy in the second century, are one and the same region corresponding with the Upper Burma of the present day. In 1228 it is spoken of as *Ta u* or *Ta uai* in the Shan Chronicles quoted by Ney Elias, who explains that ‘the situation of this district is said to be towards the north’ [of Burmā]<sup>3</sup>. In that particular instance *Atari* (the Pili name for the Mogaung and Mohnyin districts according to the Po U Daung inscription) may be intended, but this term seems to have been rather elastic it being sometimes applied also to the territory of Chieng Rung. *Ājavī* must therefore at one time have included the whole of the intervening country, being thus synonymous with *Davaka* or *Davūka*. The connection will readily become apparent when it is considered that the Sanskrit form of *Ājavī* is *Atari*, *atari* meaning like *dara*, a ‘forest’ a ‘wood’. *Davūka* would thus seem to

mean 'forest country'. And, as Ātavī, or Ālavī, designated in Western India a city and district of the Yavanas, it cannot cause surprise to find in Western Indo China its counterpart in a region which, we shall see further on, was also called *Yavana* (or *Yonaka*)-*deśa*, because occupied at one time by offshoots of the great Yavan, Yon, or Yuen race.

From *Tu-p'o* or *Shé p'o*, says the great Chinese cyclopaedia,<sup>1</sup> in eight days' march one may reach the kingdom of *P'o-hui lia-lu*, i.e., as identified by myself above, the state of Barakura or Pharuigara. This shows that *Tu-p'o* (i.e. Dava, Davika) must have extended to within a short distance of the Arakan Roma, since it took Conti 17 days to cross from *Racha* (read *Raka*), the capital of Arakan, to the Burmese watershed, and thence 15 days to reach the river of Ava (Irāvati).

Whom the Dabasai were and of what race, is the next point to be determined. In order to do this, however, it is necessary to refer to the third form of the term *Dava* as *Lava* (as *Ālati* = *Ālati*). It is evident that this term can but apply to two races known to have been present in the country in the early days, namely the *Lava* (*Laua*) or *Vah* (*Wa*), and the *Lau*. The *Lava* or *Vah* are mountain tribes, racially connected with the Negrito stock of aborigines inhabiting the Salwin and Me Khōng valleys. In Ptolemy's time, however, they were no longer in undisputed possession of the country, having had to withdraw to the mountain slopes of the Irāvati Salwin and Salwin Me Khōng watersheds, where they were repelled to by the Lāu. The *Lava* are also called *Doi*, or *Kha Doi*, terms which in Lāu mean respectively 'mountain' and 'mountaineer'<sup>2</sup> and which may have some connection with

<sup>1</sup> D Hervey de St Denis op cit, p 231 note

<sup>2</sup> In Siamese *Khā Doi*. This literally means 'mountain slaves' i.e. mountain savages usually employed as slaves by the conquering race which is the *Lau* or Thai race in this case. Some of their kin are termed *Thāt Hwa* i.e. slaves of the brooks because of their dwelling nearer to the banks of mountain streams. It must be remarked here that *Thāt* (in Sanskrit *dasa*) which is equivalent to *Kṛ* has in Sanskrit, like the latter in Siamese and Lau, the double meaning of 'slave' and 'savage'.

*Dava*. Owing to the similarity in names between the *Laiā* and the *Lāu* (Lāva) it is difficult to decide from which of these two peoples the country took its denomination of *Dava* or *Davāka*. The probability, both historic and linguistic, seems, however, to rest with the *Lāu*.

It is notorious, in fact, that at least from the first century of our era the *Lāu*—then known to the Chinese under the name of *Ai-Lao* or *Ai-Lau*—were in possession of Western Yunnan, where, in A.D. 59, the *Ai-Lao* and *Po-nan* districts were established in order to enforce Chinese supremacy in that quarter. Chinese writers do not, at this period, trace the *Ai-Lao* further west than *Momien*; but, from evidence which I have collected from the early records of the *Lāu* themselves, I am now convinced that they had extended over most part of the modern Upper *Burmā* long before that time, that is to say, from some five and a half centuries before the Christian era; and I propose to show below how the overthrow of the *Tagōng* dynasty is to be ascribed to them. Curiously enough, the name of the *Ai-Lao* is derived by the Chinese from the *Lao* mountain, which is stated to have been the cradle of the *Lāu* people. Which is the mountain so named, and where it is to be found, I am unable to say. Professor de Lacouperie places it at the intersection of *Hu-nan*, *Hu-peh*, and *Ngan-hwui*; other authorities believe it to be in Western Yunnan, in the old *Ai-Lao* district itself. Should the latter view prove correct, we would have a curious coincidence in the fact that *Ptolemy* also appears to refer etymologically the name of the *Dabasai* to the *Dabassa* range; and the country of *Dava*, *Dari*, *Alari*, or *Lara* would thereby prove to have been part and parcel of the *Ai-Lao* territory.

In ...



In the map appearing in the Nicholas de Donis edition of Ptolemy (A.D. 1482) the Dabasal are located close to the south west of Adeisaga the town or district which I have identified with the modern Yung chang. The Ai Lao or Nan Chao are said by Ma Tuan lin (op cit, p. 190) to border on the west on *Kia to* or *Chia ta* while in the Chinese history of the Nan Chao these people are described as coterminous in the same direction with *Molatto* i.e. Magadha<sup>1</sup>. Now it is curious to find in Ma Tuan lin (pp. 184-5) that the Ai Lao had relations westwards with Ta tsin (Syria). So had the kingdom of *Tan Chai Siki* or *Dan* which the Chinese locate beyond the Yung chang borders and of which we shall have to speak below: thus the curiosities of *Tsitse* came to China through the Ai Lao territory by way of Yung chang<sup>2</sup>. Though the communication was probably effected through some seaport on the coast of Pegu it no doubt took place also overland. So at least I think must be interpreted the Chinese statement that In the south west of the country of Shan [the *Tai* etc. spoken of above] one passes through to Ta tsin<sup>3</sup>.

If we take *Kia to* (or *Chia ta*) and *Molatto* to be identical and to refer both to Magadha there is nothing extraordinary in the statement as to the Ai Lao bordering upon the Magadha kingdom so long as we consider *Dardala* as part of the Ai Lao territory. The proof is supplied to us in Samudra Gupta's inscription already referred to where *Dardala* is mentioned not only as a frontier country or that monarch's dominions but also as a tributary state. This dependence further results from the fact of the Gupta Era being employed at least upon one Sanskrit inscription which was found at Pagan dated Gupta Samvat 163 (A.D. 481)<sup>4</sup>. There are besides numerous traditions of princes from Magadha having emigrated to Upper Burma.

<sup>1</sup> See Pa-ler in China Review vol. xix p. 3 note

<sup>2</sup> See Hirth's China and the Roman Orient p. 179

<sup>3</sup> Ibid p. 37

<sup>4</sup> See Dr. Führer's Annual Progress Report etc. for the year ending June 30 1894

Western Yunnan, and Lāos, where they founded dynasties several centuries previous to Samudra Gupta's period, and built temples amongst the ruins of which tablets bearing inscriptions in Gupta characters are still to be found. Then we have from Chinese writers the statement as regards the intercourse of the Aī Lao country with the West, to further confirm the close relations of Dava or Davīka with Magadha. All these data from Indū, Chinese, and local sources are perfectly consistent and mutually corroborate themselves.

However, according to at least one authority, *Kia-t'o* or *Chia-t'a* = *Chu-po* or *Shu-po* = *Piao* which bordered eastwards upon *Chên la* (Kamboja)<sup>1</sup>. In the great cyclopaedia *T'u shu ch'êng*, *Kie t'o* = *Chi t'o* or *Chieh t'o*, is mentioned among the eighteen kingdoms formerly tributary to *Piao*<sup>2</sup>. *Chu po* or *Shu po*, and *Piao*, I propose subsequently to demonstrate, mean not Upper, but Lower Burmā. They bordered on the east upon *Chên la*, and were situated to the south west of Yung ch'ing according to Chinese authors.

*Kia t'o* may, again, be Kacho or Katha, which is in Dava or Davāka. Should this identification prove to be correct, it would detract nothing from the results arrived at above. Both statements of the Aī Lao being bounded on the west, (1) by Kacho or Katha and (2) by Magadha, would yet be found consistent. Davāka being naturally considered by the early writers as lying within the sphere of influence of Magadha.

In conclusion, Davīka anciently designated the present Upper Burmā and its inhabitants the Dabasi, whether or not connected etymologically with the Lāu were undoubtedly a people of the Lāu (Thai) race.

#### Arisabion (54)

I feel certain with regard to my identification of this place with Shenbo Tshenbo or Tsenbo, above Bhamo,

<sup>1</sup> Vide extract from the *P'ei wen Fun fa* in Ma Tuan lin op cit p 160 note 21

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p 231

which I believe to have been the chief city of that ancient state of *Shen*, whose king, Yung Yu-tiau, according to Chinese records,<sup>1</sup> sent rarities to China in A.D. 97 and 120. This state was most probably a Shan kingdom.

The territory about Shenbo, as far down as Bhamo and Kaung-sin, was formerly called by the Burmese *Sein* (written *Sin* or *Cin*), classicized into *Cina-sattha*.<sup>2</sup> We find it mentioned in the great Chinese cyclopaedia *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*,<sup>3</sup> under the name of *Chan-p'o* or *Shan-p'o* (Shen-bo?), among the eighteen states once tributary to *P'iao* (Burmā). The Burmese chronicles supply us with some data for ascertaining the time and origin of this state of *Sein* or *Shen*. According to them, there existed not far south of Shenbo, on the Irāvati, the ancient Kṣatriya kingdom of Tagaung (Tagōng, or Hastināpura), founded in B.C. 923, superseded later on by that of Old Pagan (*Bhukam* or *Bukām*), established B.C. 523. The Tagōng kingdom was, in *circa* B.C. 550, overthrown by an invasion of tribes coming from a country to the east called *Gandhāra-sattha* (i.e. Yunnan) in the land of *Sein* or *Sin*.<sup>4</sup> The kingdom of Old Pagan was destroyed in a similar manner, and although it is not stated who the invaders were and whence they came, we may well conjecture that they were the same people of *Sin* or *Sein*, who renewed their inroads and succeeded at last in obtaining a permanent footing in the country, as proved by the fact that the Burmese capital was in the sequel transferred much further south, at or near Prome, about 483 B.C. Sir A. Phayre believes that the above events are historical, but that they have been

<sup>1</sup> See Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient," pp. 36, 37, and F. H. Parker's articles in the "China Review," vol. xix p. 71, and vol. xx pp. 338, 339.

<sup>2</sup> Occurs in this form in the Burmese inscription of the Po-u-daung pagoda A.D. 1774.

<sup>3</sup> *Hervey's* "Ma Tuan lin," part ii pp. 230, 231, note.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient *Kinsg tu* (now called Yuch sui) district represents in my opinion, what was classically termed *Gandhāra* in South Sz chuen and Yunnan. It undoubtedly is the *Ghandi* or *Cai* of Marco Polo, and must be regarded as including also both the *Jais* and *Charajang* (Karajang). It must be remembered in fact that Karajang was the name given by the Moguls to the capital of *Gandhāra* on the *Indus*. (See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," 1st ed. 1830, p. 53.)

antedated by several centuries, and ascribes the overthrow of the two Ksatriya kingdoms of Upper Burmā to people of the Shan (Thai) race, who, he holds, must have been driven westward towards the basin of the Irāvatī by Chinese expeditions into Yünnan in B.C. 122 and 109 and A.D. 9. I am inclined to believe, however—on the evidence of the early traditions of the Thai race—that the advance of the Shan into the Shweli (Nam Mau) and Tapeng valleys dates from the middle of the sixth century B.C.

The term *Arisabion* evidently represents some Sanskrit name like *Rsabha* or *Ārsabha*, or else like *Arīśambala*, *Arīśamanam*, for it is to be remembered that the old name of Pagan or Bukūm, was *Arī mardana pura*, a similar term, erroneously taken in the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. lxxvi, 38) as the name of the king of Rāmanua (Pegu). In some old maps, a city by the name of *Arian*, or *Ariano*, is marked at the place corresponding to either Shenbo or Bhamo<sup>1</sup>. This form *Arian*, as well as those occurring in Marco Polo's account of this region, *Amie* and *Mien*, are evidently connected with *Arisabion* or its probable local spelling as *Arisa mien* or *Arī sein myo*<sup>2</sup>.

I trust that I have now sufficiently demonstrated the identity of Ptolemy's *Arisabion* with the kingdom of *Shen* of Chinese annals, and the state of *Seim* or *Cina ratttha* of Burmese records. That the latter was established by invaders of Thai race from Yunnan appears quite certain to me, although the Burmese chroniclers relying on the mere fact that this people came from China, called them *Seim* (really written  $\text{ႤႬ} = \text{Sin, Ts'in}$ ), i.e. Chinese, taken

<sup>1</sup> *Arian* is in G. del Isle's map accompanying Sonnerat's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales* dated A.D. 1781 is placed in long 115° E. Ferro (—96° 40' E. Greenwich) and lat 24° 15' N. which is within a few minutes of the true position of Shenbo (long 96° 48' E. lat 24° 50' N.).

<sup>2</sup> A place by the name of *Tham en* or *Tham an gyi* is noted in modern maps on the left bank of the Irāvat between Shenbo and Bhamo. This proves that the term *Arisa mien* or *Arisabion* still exists in a modified form though perfectly recognizable in that region and confirms our identification of Ptolemy's city. It is worth remarking that the French manuscript version of Marco Polo's narrative has *Dan en* for *Anien* which if not a clerical slip for *Arisa mien* may be compared with *Thamien* above.

by latter-day authors to mean *Turup*, or *Taiul*, the term now applied in Burmā to the Chinese and Manchu. .

*Adeisaga* (69).

I take this place to be Yung-ch'ang, the chief city of the province which Marco Polo calls *Ardandan*. *Videha* and *Vaideha* were the ancient names of this part of Yunnan, and may be connected with Ptolemy's rendering *Adeisaga* (*Vaudehaghara* or *Vaideha-grāma*?), although the latter can be more plausibly referred to some word like *Vidiśa* or *Vaidiśā* (*Vaidiśāghar*, *Vaidiśāgrama*), which would appear to survive up to the present day in *Yi-hsi*, the name of the circuit comprising the part of Yunnan in which Yung-ch'ang is situated. Such forms as *Ādisarga* and *Ahisāgana* also suggest themselves to the mind. The latter designation would suit better 'Ta-ho or 'Tai-ho, the ancient Tali with its lake, the Êrh-Hai<sup>1</sup>; but the corrected position we obtained by calculation being within a few minutes of that of Yung-ch'ang, we adhere to the above identification, which seems confirmed by Marco Polo's *Ardandan*.

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(1) *The Gold Country (Lower Burmā).*

*Khrytē*, that is the Gold Country (*Χρυσή χώρα*), is situated, according to our author, "in juxtaposition to the *Bēsungeitai*" or "Cannibals on the Sarabakie Gulf," i.e. the Gulf of Martaban. It cannot then be literally taken to correspond to the *Suvannabhūmi* of Buddhist fame, except in part, and much less even to include the

whole of Indo China as exaggerated by some authorities,<sup>1</sup> and has nothing whatever to do with the Malay Peninsula or Golden Chersonese (*Χρυσὴ Χερσόνησος*), with which it has been so often confused. According to the Kālīnī inscriptions engraved by order of King Dhammaceti of Pegu in A.D. 1476 *Suvannabhūmi* was an alternative name for *Rāmanadesa*<sup>2</sup> which comprised the three provinces of Kusuma mandala (Bassein or Kusuma), Hamsavati mandala (Pegu proper), and Muttima mandala (Martaban). *Suvannabhūmi* thus embraced the maritime region between Cape Negrais and the mouth of the Salwin, where, as we have seen, the *Rāmāyana* places the city of Tīmura, abounding with gold, and corresponds therefore to the country that our author terms Coast of the Besyngetai. The *Interland* of this region was named *Suvannāparanta*, a designation usually syncopated into *Sunāparanta* or *Sonnāparanta* the "Further Golden Land," and, according to the Po U Daung inscription<sup>3</sup> included the districts of Kalē, Tenmyin Yaw, Tilin Salin, and Sagu, that is the country between the Lower Irāvati and Obindwin, and the Arakan Roma, but it evidently must have extended of old down to the head of the Delta, and east of the Irāvati as far as the Pegu Roma and the Sittang River, thus embracing the whole of Lower Burmā then subject to the sway of the kings of Prome and New Pagan. It is then this *Interland* now referred to that must be identified by coincidence both in name and position with Ptolemy's 'Gold Land' or *Khryse Khōra*,

<sup>1</sup> It would be difficult to define where Ptolemy's *Chrysē* (*Chrysē Chora* aut *Chrysē Chersonneus*) terminated eastward though he appears to give the names a special application to what we call Burma and Pegu. *Chrysē* then in the vague apprehension of the ancients was the region coasted between India and China. It is most correctly rendered by Indo China. —Colonel Henry Yule quoted in the preface to Colquhoun's *Across Chrysē*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sonathera* : pana Uttaratherana *Suvannabhūmi* *raffha* *sakkhāta* *Rana* *nadesa* *savanam* *put* *rthapetum* *poes*. [And sent Sonathera and Uttara to establish the Religion in *Rāmanadesa* which was also named *Suvannabhūmi*]. —Taw Sein Ko's *Kalyani Inscription* Bombay 1893.

<sup>3</sup> The Po U Daung Inscription erected by King Sabyun in 174 A.D. Rangoon 1891.

and not the maritime region below. Our author's statement that there are "very many gold-mines" would then find some confirmation in fact, as would also that with respect to its inhabitants resembling the Zamirai in features, which we have already discoursed at length in a preceding paragraph

#### Mareura or Malthura, a metropolis (55)

This capital I take to be Old Prome, founded, according to Burmese tradition, five to six miles east of its modern namesake, about 413 B.C. Its ancient name appears to have been Śrī Ksetra and not Śrī Ksatra, as I see generally written, it was the seat of a dynasty up to 95 A.D., when the monarchy was broken up. The last king fled to Mengdun which he founded on one of the bends of the Ma-htūn River, *circa* A.D. 100, naming it Bhūnavatī. Here he tarried for a while, and finally he founded the city of Lower Pagan in 108 A.D. Mengdūn and the Ma-htūn River, on which it was built, remind us by their resemblance in names, of Ptolemy's Malthura and I have no objection against admitting their probable identity. I firmly hold, however, that Mareura cannot be any other city than Old Prome. As regards the discrepancy of names between the two I may remark that this is only apparent, and disappears as soon as it can be demonstrated that Mareura Metropolis means the Mauryas or Mayūra's capital. It is known, in fact, that the dynasty which reigned at Old Pagan claimed descent from the Maurya or Mayura monarchy of Magadha and that it settled first at a place east of the Irīvātī, which it named Maurya, situated in about long 96° 35', lat 23° 55', between Tagong and Bhamo. The northern part of the Kubo valley, in the Upper Chindwin district, which is the direct route from Manipur towards Burmā by which the founders of that dynasty must have arrived is likewise according to Sir A. Phayre called Maurya, and is referred to as a district under the name of Mwéyin its Burmese equivalent in the Po U Daung inscription. Every subsequent dynasty that

reigned in Burmā claimed descent from the Mauryas or Mayūras through the princes who founded Tagūng and Old Pagan; hence the Burmese kings placed the peacock (*Mayūra*) on their coat-of-arms, and this bird became the national emblem of the country Burmā. It appears, therefore, natural that Old Prome, being founded by a scion of those princes who, only some fifty years before, had settled at and given their name to Maurya, should be called the Mauryas' or Mayūras' capital, which Ptolemy recorded as *Mareura*. The position we obtained by calculation: long  $96^{\circ} 20'$ , lat.  $18^{\circ} 42'$ , agrees very well with Old Prome, which is in about long  $95^{\circ} 25'$ , lat.  $18^{\circ} 47'$ . Mengdūn is another degree further to the west. It may be objected that Old Prome ceased to be a capital in 95 A.D., and that therefore *Mareura Metropolis* must mean either Mengdūn or Lower Pagan, which succeeded it as such in A.D. 100 and 108 respectively. But it seems hardly possible that Ptolemy—reputed to have published his *Geography* about A.D. 150—could, in those days of slow travelling and difficulty of obtaining information, receive news of the change, and accurate data as to the site of the new seat of government, in such a brief lapse of time. He might, at best, have received intelligence of the removal of the capital to the neighbouring Mengdūn on the Ma-btūn River, which would explain the alternative name *Malthura* ( $\approx$  *Mathura*?), which he gives evidently as a later addition. But as to Lower Pagan having been meant, it is out of the question, as this city is some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of latitude further north, and could thus never correspond to the position that our author assigns to *Mareura*. It seems, therefore, clear that the latter name is intended for Old Prome, the capital of the Maurya, or Mayūra, kings of Burmā.

Before dropping this subject, I may, however, make bold to suggest another interpretation of the term *Mareura*, which might, in the end, prove the right one. This term, it seems to me, is connected with *Maamma* or *Mranma*, the name of Burmā and its people. There is a great difference of opinion as to the origin of such an appellation;



but there is no doubt that Sir A. Phayre's theory of its derivation from Brahma is untenable, and must be dismissed on two grounds. The first—based on negative evidence, and already referred to by several scholars—is that the Burmese, in their liturgical records and literary works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, make use of the barbarous appellation *Marammā* to designate themselves or their country, which they would never have done had they known that their national name was derived from Brahma. The second—based on positive evidence gathered by myself, and not referred to as yet anywhere as far as I know—is that *Maramma* derives from *Mra* or *Mara*, which is the real ancient name for *Burmā* and its people. Already, in a former page I noticed the form *Marai*, or *Vaiṛai Man*—evidently designating the natives of *Burmā*—which appears in a Cīn inscription of A.D. 1207. I may now add that the Lāu (Shins) even up to the present day call the Burmese *Mans* or *Maras* and in several old manuscript chronicles of Upper Lāos I find *Burmā* and its king usually referred to as *Maraṣattā* and *Maraṣaja* respectively. *Mara* is the Lau and *Mara* the Pāli modified garb of the name, its correct and original native form is evidently *Mia*. That this was the ancient designation for the Burmese race, would appear from the fact that the *Mro*, *Mra* or *Mru*, said to be the pioneers of that race in the Obindwin valley and Arakan, are called after it. *Mru* or *Mro* is up to the present day, the Mro word for 'man'. Its actual Burmese equivalent *yo* or *yol* (ယော, ယောဝ်), is probably a derivation or corruption of *Mro*, explicable by the softening of the *r* into *y* as usual with Burmese and by the dropping of the initial *m* customary in languages which, like Burmese possess a monosyllabic tendency. The curtailed form *yo* is still the name of the Yo (commonly spelled Yau or Yaw by Europeans) branch of the Burmese race. *Mro*, or rather *Mra* was therefore the original name that the ancestors of the Burmese gave themselves or were given by the neighbouring populations and meant

simply 'a man' This is quite in accord with the custom prevailing in nearly all wild countries where the inhabitants are in the majority of cases named after their own word for man In the course of time the affix *ma* was no doubt added for euphony, and the name of the nation became thus *Mrama*, classicized into *Mamma* and *Maramma* Burmese pronunciation is responsible for the peculiar forms *Myamma*, *Byamma*, and *Bamma*, misled by which most authorities on Burmā and its language concluded that the original name of the country or race was *Mien*, and in some instances were even ingenuous enough as to accept the native stupendous fad of a derivation from *Brahma* I am perfectly convinced that the euphonic form *Mrammā* only came into use after the introduction of Buddhism and of the Pāli language into the country Up to that period the name of the race must have been simply *Mia* or *Mro*, just as it is up to the present day with that portion of their kin which still dwell in a quasi primitive state in the hill tracts of Arakan And it is very likely in such forms of these terms as *Mara*, *Mara*, *Mru*, or *Maru*—and in the corresponding designations of the country as *Mua rattha* or *Maru rattha*, contracted by the vulgar into *Mua rāth*, *Mru rāth*—that the origin of Ptolemy's *Mareura* or *Marua* is to be sought for This view, if correct, would be in antagonism with the tradition which locates at Promo the Phyu and not the Mro, and would credit the ancestors of the modern Burmese with a far more ancient footing in the country than the historical records of the latter lead us to assign them It may be observed, on the other hand, that the foregoing discussion has been based throughout on the assumption that the Mro belong as asserted by several authorities on Burmā, to the Tibeto Burman stock from which the present Burmese are descended Is this absolutely certain? Or, may not these Mro or Mru be the modern representatives of the ancient *Phyu* or *Brū* of tradition, and therefore may they not belong to the Môn Khmer race? Here is a doubtful point which requires to be thoroughly cleared up ere an ultimate judgment can be expressed The

phonetic transition from *Phû* to *Mrû* is just as easy in Indo-Chinese languages as it was the inverse one from *Mrammâ* to *Brammâ*. In the event of the *Mio* or *Mru* proving to be identical with the *Phyû* or *Brû*, it is to these people of Môn Khmer blood that the origin of the names for Burmā as *Mara rattha*, etc., will have to be ascribed, and not to the later settlers of Tibeto Burman stock. These latter would owe their present name of Burmese to the land in which they came to reside, just as several branches of the Thai race are indebted for their name of *Shân*, i.e. *Sīnaw*, to the fact of their having occupied a country originally known as *Sūm* which had been likewise held, prior to them, by populations of Môn Khmer extraction.

The pretended descent of the early kings of Burmā from the Maurya or Mayūra dynasty of Magadha is probably another fiction similar to that by which an origin of the people from Brahmā, or from the Brahma angels, is claimed. It is nevertheless certain that kings of Indū lineage reigned for some time at Tagōng and Pagan and probably at Kalē and Promo as well.

Be that as it may, the term *Mareura* used by Ptolemy to designate the capital of Lower Burmā finds adequate explanation in either of the two versions given above.

#### (b) *Coast of the Besyngetai and Sarabakic Gulf (Gulf of Martaban)*

This region includes the coast from Cape Temala (Negrais) to Berabai (Mergui), that is the country of the Môn or Taleng usually termed Ramanna and anciently, as shown above, Suvannabhūmī. How Ptolemy could have called this people Besyngetai, qualifying them as cannibals into the bargain, and their gulf, our present Gulf of Martaban, the Sarabakic or Sarabanic Gulf has hitherto been a puzzle to his commentators. These have always endeavoured to get out of the difficulty by connecting the former name with Bassein, which ingenious artifice we have shown to be untenable, and by passing over in

silence the name of the gulf. But we think that both terms can be easily explained, and reserving any further discussion of the first one to the paragraph devoted to Běsynga, we shall confine ourselves for the present to the second only. The epithet Sarabakie, the more correct reading of which is certainly Sarabarie, is given to this gulf from the Salwin River, the Pāli classical name for which is, as I find variously recorded in several palm-leaf MSS, *Saratari*, *Sātarari*, and *Sarawati*. The present vulgar forms Sanluen and Salwin are only corruptions of *Sallararin* and *Satatarin*. The mouth of this river being situated at the head of the gulf, it is natural that the gulf should be named after the river, just as it is now named after the town of Martaban, which occupies the same position. A remnant of the ancient name *Siradārika* or *Sarabarik*, borne by this gulf and the country along its shores, is, perhaps, to be found in the district and town called up to the present day *Sīriva* or *Sīrāvati*, usually noted in maps as Tharrawaddy, situated at the head of the delta of the *Irāvati*, and the name of *Siriām* (*Sulen*, *Sanheng*) is probably another instance of the wide application of that term to the whole extent of the gulf<sup>1</sup>.

With regard to the statement that the inhabitants were cannibals, it is in accordance with the tradition of the *Raksasas*, said to have once populated the coast and islands of this gulf. It cannot be held, however, that this statement applied to the whole extent of its shores. The tracts inhabited by cannibal tribes were probably to be found in the Martaban district alone, and in the islands near the mouth of the Salwin, one of which still retains the name of *Bhulu-gyun*, meaning the island of the *Raksasas*, or Ogres. The Peguan (Talaing) chronicles record that, previous to the foundation of the town of Martaban (A.D. 576), that district was covered with impenetrable forests. As regards cannibal — or, at least,

<sup>1</sup> Barago Point may also preserve in its name a vestige of the ancient appellation of the (*Sara*)*barik* Gulf.

head-hunting—tribes, they exist to this very day, not a long distance up the Salwin, and are known as the Wild Wahs (more correctly Lawās). Those inhabiting the region of the gulf in the early days were probably, as I already observed, of a Negrito race not dissimilar to the present Andamanese. They may be identified with the *Chiau yau* (Negrito pygmies), spoken of by Chinese writers as dwelling beyond the Yung-ch'ang borders. [It is curious to note that the term *chiau*, meaning 'scorched burnt,' has in Chinese the same sense as the Greek *Aithiops*, and sounds almost the same in the old Chinese pronunciation, which, as in modern Annamese, is *tiou*]

### Sabara, a city (56)

From similarity of names this city would appear to correspond to Syriam, with which I identified it at the outset, misled by a regrettable error in its longitude which appears in the pages of the "British Burma Gazetteer"<sup>1</sup>. But if we take the mart of Besynga to be the present Rangūn, as I am now strongly inclined to believe, the site of Sabara must then be looked for to the westward of the Rangūn River, somewhere about Dala, now called the An-gyī district. Here, on the site of the present Twantē, stood the ancient city of Ukkalaba (Utkalāpa), at one time capital of a Taleng (Kalinga) kingdom extending over the delta of the Irāvati frequently mentioned in the old native records. The position of Twantē (long 96° 0' 30" E, lat 16° 41' 30" N) admirably coincides with the corrected position of Sabara (long 95° 55' E, lat 16° 18' N). Near Twantē is the small village of Khabeng, which also marks the site of an old city classically known as *Kappunga-nagara*, and the Meruda Hill on which stands the famous Shwē tshandaw pagoda, said to have been built in 577 B.C. (!) by the then King of Khabeng. The term Sabara might represent the Sanskrit *Śibara* or *Satara*, meaning 'a mountaineer, a savage,' like the term *Kirata*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II p. 672. Here the longitude is given as 96° 19' E while it should be something like 96° 39' E. I believe I have met with a repetition of this same error on another page the number of which I regret not having noted down for future reference.

referred to elsewhere. This epithet may have been applied to the city under the impression that the city itself, or the surrounding country, was at one time peopled by wild tribes, probably of Kolarian stock like the *Śavaras*, found up to the present day in the hill tracts of the coast of Orissa on the other side of the Bay of Bengal. The presence on the shores of the Gulf of Martaban and in a district probably named after *Utkala*, i.e. Orissa, of such tribes, would perhaps explain certain affinities which have been traced between the Kolarian and Mōñ (Taleng) languages, and which have hitherto puzzled the philologist. The *Śavaras* of Orissa are referred to by Ptolemy as *Sabarai*.

The probability of tribes by the name of *Śabara* or *Śavara* having, at a remote time, occupied the region in question, is further enhanced by the fact that several Chinese writers speak of a people by the name of *Chu-po* or *Shu-po* who, they state, were the early inhabitants of the whole or part of the country known as *P'iao* at a later period. Now, *P'iao-kuo*—i.e. the kingdom of *P'iao* or of the *P'iao* people—is located by all the Chinese authorities at between two and three thousand *li* to the south-west of Yung-ch'ang; and it is made to border, on the north and north-east upon the *Nan-Chao* (Thai) States of Upper Burmā and Northern Siam; on the east upon *Chên-la* (Kamboja); and on the south upon the sea (Gulf of Martaban). It is therefore evident that by *P'iao* the tract of country now called Lower Burmā must be understood; and very likely *P'iao-kuo* is meant for *Pago*, i.e. Pegu, which existed, though interruptedly, as a powerful kingdom, including the whole—and at times more—of the present Lower Burmā, down to the dawn of the seventeenth century A.D.

Even admitting with Mr. E. H. Parker that *P'iao* designates the *Phyu*, a tribe said by the local tradition to have settled since about 484 B.C. in the country of which Old Prome was the capital—and elsewhere identified by me with the *Prū*, *Brū*, or *Bras* branch of the Mōñ-Khmer race—the term *P'iao-kuo* would still apply to Lower Burmā, the region which, from its having formed part of the

ancient Trikalunga empire, early became known as the *Talaung* (*Trulinja*, *Telinja*)—changed afterwards into *Pegu*—kingdom, while its people, Mōñ Khmer by blood, were thereby designated *Talungs* and *Peguans*, as they were called *Mōñ*, or *Mañ*, and *Rāmañ* (*Rāmaññas*) from *Rāmaññādisa*, the name applied later on to their country or the part of it which skirted the Gulf of Martaban.

The earliest Chinese notices of *Piao* go back to the time of the Wei and Tsai (A.D. 220–410),<sup>1</sup> *Chu jo* or *Shu po* as a name of a country or people must be referred to a far earlier date. In the *Hsi yü ch'uan* published during the Tang period (A.D. 618–907), the country of *Shu po* is spoken of as having been simply a portion of the *Piao* kingdom.<sup>2</sup> The fact that *Piao* was, according to Chinese accounts, conquered at least twice by the Nan-Chao, viz. in A.D. 755–757 under their king Ko lo fêng and in A.D. 832 under Feng yü, compared with the circumstance that from the very same period—or, exactly, from A.D. 781 according to the *Talaung* chronicles—and for the subsequent four centuries the history of Pegu presents a blank, indirectly corroborates our identification of *Piao kuo* with Pegu besides disclosing the probable reason for that blank. During those intervening centuries the kingdom of Pegu i.e. *Piao* must have been broken up into petty states subject for the most part to Shān (Thai) rule<sup>3</sup> until conquered in A.D. 1057 by King

<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan lin op cit pp 298–9

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p 228 note 3

<sup>3</sup> This assumption is well borne out by the Kalyani Inscriptions wherein it is said that during the period now under consideration the power of Rima—a descendant because civil dissensions arose and the ext. *anc. civ. try was broken up into a pa. ate principal tes* because the people suffered from famine and pestilence and because to the detriment of the propagation of the excellent religion, the country was conquered by the arms of the Seven Kings (Law Se u Ko op cit pp 7 and 37). The late Dr. Forchhammer thought (Notes on the Early History of British Burma u p 10) that by the *sattarajas* or—the arms of the Seven Kings—the seven clan chiefs of the Taunghus (*Tongs*) were meant who harassed the Talungs by their constant incursions. This must have happened he says in the ninth or tenth century A.D. Taw Se u Ko (in his Remarks on the Kalyani Inscriptions reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* pp 9–10) seems to share that opinion though making the Iar and Yabens also take part in those incursions of the Taungthus. It is evident however from the facts we quoted above that the conquest of the Seven Kings must be mainly ascribed to Shān (Thai) chiefs of Upper Burma while it is possible that the latter may have had the co-operation of chiefs of local clans such as the Taungthus etc.

Anuruddha of Pagan. The country then remained for a time under Burmese power; but after 1281 it partially recovered its independence under Warêrū, king of Martaban, and his descendants; while the sway of the Thai race was reasserted, and became almost general in both Upper and Lower Burmā.

In A.D. 802 the king of *P'iao* sent, it is true, according to Ma Tuan-lin and others, his younger brother to do homage to the Chinese Emperor; but the fact that this mission followed in the train of the embassy despatched to the same potentate by the king of Nan-Chao well shows that the so-called *P'iao* king was, at best, but a vassal *tsau-bicā* of the powerful Thai empire which then ruled supreme over most part of Northern Indo-China.

Once the fact established that *P'iao* embraced in the early days the region at present known as Lower Burmā, it is not illogical to infer that the whole or part of this region was originally occupied by a people probably of Kolarian race, identical, or nearly so, with the *Śabaras* or *Śataras* of Orissa, and whose name was rendered by the Chinese with the characters 朱波, which may be read either *Chu-po* or *Shu-po*. This people, driven towards the Gulf in about 484 B.C. by the Phylū advancing from Kalē and Prome, may have founded near its shores a settlement named after them, which is very likely the one recorded by Ptolemy as Sabara.

#### Bēsynga River (58, 187).

This stream may correspond either to the Salwīn or to the Hlaing (an eastern branch of the Irāvati) which flows past the town of Rangūn. The greater share of probability rests with the Hlaing or the Irāvati itself, on account of the name Bēsynga being evidently derived from the *Śrngā* or *Singuttara* Hill of Rangūn. It must be remembered, however, that the Irāvati and the Salwīn have, in nearly every instance, been merged into one river by cartographers even up to the middle of the last century. A glance at the maps of Gucudeville and his predecessors



will be useful as showing in what a muddle the geography of the Gulf of Martaban was even at that period, and will give some hint as to what Ptolemy's conception of that region must have been.

Bēsyinga, a mart (57).

The position of this settlement, as given by Ptolemy, is to the north-west of the mouth of the Bēsyinga River. At the outset of my researches I was strongly inclined to identify that river with the Salwīn and the homonymous city with Tha-htūn (*Sithon*), the ancient *Suddhamma-nagara*, which was so celebrated of old as a mart in that neighbourhood, and which may have been termed, in its early days, *Sinha-pura* or *Vara-sinha-nagara*, from the fact of its having been founded by a prince named Śiṅha-rūjā.<sup>1</sup> I have, however, since acquired the conviction that Ptolemy's Bēsyinga can hardly designate any other place but the settlement on the Ilaing near the *Singuttara* Hill, which has of later days grown into the town now called Rangūn. Various names are recorded in native chronicles for the villages that clustered, from high antiquity, round the celebrated hill; but it seems only natural that these, as well as the territory upon which they stood, should collectively be named in the first instance from the hill itself. The existence on the latter, and from a very ancient time, of a shrine supposed to contain relics of Buddha, which has subsequently developed into the present monumental Shwē Dagon pagoda, is confirmed by recent researches, especially by those of Dr. Forchhammer. The original shrine was a small spire, termed the *Singuttara-cell*. The surrounding territory was, and is up to the present day, known to the Burmese as the *Tsingkutsā* (their pronunciation for *Singuttara*) country. A palm-leaf manuscript that I had occasion to examine, containing

<sup>1</sup> As an example I may refer to the old capital of Kahga, which was at first called *Sinḥa pura* after its founder, Śiṅha-bahu, the father of Vijaya, the first recorded sovereign of Ceylon. See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 518.

a legendary account of the Shwē Dagon pagoda written in Pegu, tries to explain the Burmese form of that name by a legend to the effect that on that spot a centipede devoured an elephant. This is very well, and speaks volumes for the inventive genius of the Buddhist priests, always ready to concoct strange etymologies and stranger stories to support them, but the name is decidedly Pāli. The hillock on which the spire stands was probably known in the early days simply as a *Śṛṅga*, i.e. 'peak' or 'height'; to which name the prefix *tara*, indicating excellence, was probably added later on account of its sacred character. *Vara-śṛṅga*, the excellent or splendid peak, would thus become the general appellation for the hill and neighbouring territory, and which, corrupted by vulgar parlance into *Var-singa* or *Bar-singa*, may well represent Ptolemy's Bēsyinga. A second explanation of this term may be suggested, based on the fact that *Bi* is the Mōñ (Talaing) word for 'river.' The Hlaing, from the fact of its flowing past the *Śṛṅga* Hill, may have been called the *Bi-śṛṅga*, i.e. "the *Śṛṅga*-Hill River," and the mart near the famed spire may thence have received the name of "*Bi-śṛṅga* Mart," viz. "the Mart of the *Śṛṅga*-Hill River." The position of Rangūn, to the north and a little to the west of the mouth of the Hlaing, well suits the location which our author assigns to Bēsyinga with respect to the mouth of the homonymous river. The reasons given in a preceding paragraph, and the fact that Ptolemy places both his mart and river high up in the gulf (nearly 5° long. to the east of Cape Tēmala), ought to dispose definitely of their attempted identification with Bassein and its river respectively.

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(6) *The Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula).*

Marinos of Tyre and Ptolemy are the first to speak of the Malay Peninsula as the Golden Khersonese. The geographers that preceded them, among whom Eratosthenes, Dionysius Periegetes, and Pomponius Mela may be named, all refer

to it instead as *Khryse* or *Chrysé Insula* the "Golden Isle,"—and so does long before them the Ramayana, under the name of *Sutarna drupa* which conveys the same meaning. No stress has so far, been laid on this wide difference in representing that region on the one part as an island and on the other as a peninsula. I believe therefore, that I am the first to proclaim, after careful consideration, that both designations are probably true, each in its own respective time, that is that the Malay Peninsula or rather its southern portion has been an island before assuming its present highly pronounced peninsular character. The view I now advance is founded not only on tradition, but also upon geological evidence of no doubtful nature. Having had occasion some years ago in 1885 to pay a visit to Ligor and its district where I journeyed some thirty miles away from the coast I was struck with the curious appearance of the soil, stretching as an undulated sandy plain with occasional sand hillocks and a few ridges of rocky formation but of no relevant height, all these characters stamping that region as a former sea bottom which has emerged at a comparatively recent period. Being not at the time interested as yet in the researches which form the subject of the present paper, I did not think of pushing my explorations any further so as to reach the opposite coast of the peninsula, and have, therefore to depend for what I say in respect to it and the adjoining zone both to the north and south of the Ligor parallel on the scanty information I was able to gather of late. This is to the effect that the whole tract of country just mentioned that is between Singora and Bin Don on the east coast across the peninsula to between Kedah and Korio on the opposite side, presents with few exceptions a similar formation. The mountain ridge running along the middle of the peninsula here presents wide gaps where hardly any elevation above 100 feet is noticed. All geological evidences concur in pronouncing most of this country an old sea bed, probably a former succession of straits interspersed with rocky islands, but through which sea going ships must have

found passage from one side to the other of the peninsula. There are, indeed, traditions of ships from India and Ceylon having come across that way to the Gulf of Sīṁ, and travelling by boat is still possible at the present day, during the rainy season, nearly all the way between Pīk līu and Bīn Dōn, and also, for a good distance, between the Trang province and the inland sea of P'hattalung. The route that connects Kontam, the chief town of the Trang district, with Ligor, crosses the peninsula at a very slight elevation above sea level, and so will the newly projected railway between Kedah and Singora. If communication is yet so easy at the present day between opposite points of the peninsula, and could, but for the slightly raised barrier opposed by the main ridge, still be effected in one or two places by boat, I do not see why it should not have existed of old for sea going craft and why it could not be easily restored by artificial means, thus solving the problem of a ship canal across the Malay Peninsula, which presents so many technical difficulties at the Kra Isthmus. The old channel must have become obstructed partly through sands being heaped up at both ends by the action of the waves, and partly by upheaval or by gradual emersion of the country above sea level. A gauge of the amount the land has risen within a comparatively recent period is afforded by the numerous limestone caves, evidently the result of sea action, which are now found, at a height of one hundred feet or more, up the steep slopes of the hills of calcareous formation so frequent along either coast of the peninsula. It is plain that the blocking up of the channel across the latter must have coincided with the emersion of those caves above sea level, and judging from the detritus of marine shells and recent animal remains forming the floor of some among them, and from other indications the events just mentioned must have occurred within historical times. The rising movement is still proceeding as shown in the case of both Ligor and P'hattalung which, situated formerly on the sea beach, are now many miles distant from it, and will in a few years hence, become entirely inland towns.

The last authority to mention Khryse as an island is I believe, Pomponius Mela, *circa* A D 50<sup>1</sup>. As, less than one hundred years next to him, Marinus and Ptolemy refer to it as a peninsula, the passage across it must have become impracticable soon after the middle of the first century A D. It is from that period, then, that the island became connected with and formed part of what we now call the Malay Peninsula. The name of Golden Khersonese, given the latter, was transferred to it, no doubt, from the island of Khryse in fact, it is to be observed that the gold mines that would justify that appellation are to be found only in its southern portion, that which formed the supposed island, whilst the northern part constituting the old peninsula is noted chiefly for tin, and could never be properly termed a golden land.

In the Purāṇas the Malay Peninsula is called *Śālmali dīpa*, and the sea that bounds it on the western side, the *Sura* Sea. But this is, as I have found out, only another name for the *Lohita* or *Sīlohita* Sea of the Rāmāyana, which the Arab geographers and navigators transliterated as *Shelaheth*, and the Malays nowadays term *Selat*, or Sea of the Straits. This explains the names of *Celates*, *Salet*, and *Selat*, given to the native inhabitants of its shores<sup>2</sup>.

The term *Śālmali* justified to a certain extent by the abundance of the silk cotton trees (*Salimali*=*Bombax Malabaricum*) in the low jungles of the coast, is more or less, as in the case of the other *dīpas* of the Purāṇas a conventional epithet. I believe it to be a corruption of *Sucarna malī*, for Siamese MSS contain a legend of Buddha having left one of his holy footprints on the shining mount of *Suarnamālī giri* in the Tenasserim province, which I identify with the *Kuta śālmali* peal on whose summit the Rāmāyana places the abode of Vainateya.

<sup>1</sup> It is also referred to as an island in the Periplus Maris Erythraei whose date has been fixed at *circa* A D 89 while the information it is based upon undoubtedly belongs to an older period.

<sup>2</sup> *Celates* in Portuguese authors *Salet* or *Salettes* in Floris Travels. *Salet* is the Malay form from which the terms *Orang Laut* seaman and *Selat* a general name for the sea may have been derived also I think *selatan* south.

(Garuda). The name of the peninsula, *Malaya-dripa*, mentioned, besides in several MSS., in the Kalyāni inscriptions of Pegu,<sup>1</sup> is evidently connected with the alternative designations *Śālmali-* and *Sutarṇa-māli-dripa*; and probably was introduced from the Malaya districts of the extreme south of India and Ceylon, the early dark race of which, the descendants of the rude *Rākṣasas*, and their successors the Dravidians, have undoubtedly been the pioneer colonizers not only of the peninsula, but also of the islands and entire sea-coast of Southern Indo-China.

Ptolemy had as yet but a very hazy idea of the orography and hydrography of the Golden Khersonese. Having shortened it by about one-third, thus giving it a somewhat rounded shape, he made some rivers rising in unnamed mountain ridges to the north of it to unite and flow through the peninsula, detaching in succession the three streams which he names *Attabas*, *Khrysoanas*, and *Palandas*. His commentators carried this confusion to extreme lengths, and thus my patience was put to severe tests before some order could be evolved out of that chaos. How far I have succeeded, and how much yet remains to be accomplished, the following examination of Ptolemy's position of places on the peninsula will show.



Berabai, a city.

Ptolemy really makes his Golden Khersonese begin with *Takōla* beyond Cape Berabai (Boyce's Point), and end at *Balongka*, after which the region of the *Lēstai* (Gulf of *Siām*) commences.

His displacement of the base, or point of attachment, of the peninsula so far south is evidently due to his underestimation of the deep incavation northward of the upper part of the Gulf of *Siām*, which he does not carry beyond the 11th parallel of true North latitude. Hence *Bērabai* and the cape beyond it, which, according to his notion, do not as yet make part of

<sup>1</sup> Wherein it is stated that in A.D. 1181, or thereabouts, *Rahulathera* left *Ramāñādān* and proceeded by ship to *Mala-jadīpa*, whose king he instructed in the *Viṇaya*.

the peninsula, are included under this heading here, and treated on with the other places that in Ptolemy's treatise are located in the Golden Khersonese.

The identity of Bērabai with Mergui has been already demonstrated, on geographical grounds, in the first part of this paper. It now remains to deal with it from a purely philological and historical point of view. This is, however, no easy task; for, though it is known that Mergui is a very ancient town, and the famous seaport of Tenasserim, of which it is older by many centuries, nothing has come down to us of its early history. Captain Butler, after stating that in Burmese the district is called *Myatmyo*, but pronounced *Beitmyo*, proceeds to explain this term as follows:—"The word *myat* literally means a fringe or border, and was probably given as a name to the Mergui district from its forming the outer fringe or border of the Burmese dominions. How such a name came to be transposed into English as Mergui, I have been unable to discover, nor can I even suggest an explanation."<sup>1</sup> Here is darkness, and in it we would ever remain were we content to accept the fanciful etymologies, thoroughly unscientific and illogical—based, as they are, on mere phonetical coincidences and similarities—that satisfy the unpretentious natives of the Far East, and form the legitimate pride of their ignorant inventors, generally, as we have remarked, amateur chroniclers, and Buddhist monks of great leisure and ingenuity, but of no philological training whatever. If we investigate the etymology given above, we shall soon find that *amyt*, and not *myit*, is the Burmese for a fringe; and that the name of Mergui, though pronounced *myit* and *byit*, is really written  *mrīṭ*. This spelling is quite in accordance with the Siāmes form of the name,  *mōrīt*, which represents the Sanskrit *Mṛtsā* and *Mṛttikā*, and the Pāli *Mallikā*, meaning earth, clay, mud.

<sup>1</sup> "Gazetteer of the Mergui District," p. 1; by Captain J. Butler. Rangoon, 1854.

There is not the slightest doubt as to this being the correct derivation of the name for Mergui; but I shall go a step further, and suggest that the above is but its abridged form, and that it should be identified with the seaport *Rakta-mṛttikā* (red earth) mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription found in the northern part of province Wellesley, and translated by Dr. Kern, who fixes its date at about A.D. 400.<sup>1</sup> The eminent scholar was inclined to recognize in that name the port called *Ch'ih-t'u* by the Chinese, which name also means Red-earth, and is generally taken to denote Siām, or some ancient harbour on the Siamese coast. I do not contest this view, but as there are several places named in the same manner, both in the Gulf of Siām and the Malay Peninsula—among which I might mention *Tānah-mērah* (the Malay name for Red-earth), a point on the west coast of the peninsula a little to the north of Koh (or Palo) Lantar<sup>2</sup>—I hold on to my identification of *Rakta-mṛttikā* with Mergui, also because of the latter being situated on the same side of the peninsula as Province Wellesley, where the inscription was found, and not very far from it. There is, moreover, evidence of other places on the same coast having names of which the word *mṛttikā* or its Pāli equivalent form part. As an instance I might point out *Gola-mattika-nagara* (the present Ayethèma), mentioned in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu as having been so called because it contained "many mud-and-wattle houses resembling those of the *Gola* people."<sup>3</sup> All evidence, including the red appearance of the soil, seems therefore to be in favour of Mergui; hence I take the latter to be the ancient and famous harbour of *Raktamṛttikā*, or, at least, *Mṛttika*, the origin of its present name, *Mrit* or *Mārit*.

But it remains yet to show how Ptolemy's name for it, Bērabei, can be explained and accounted for. Up to the present day the island of the Mergui Archipelago opposite

<sup>1</sup> See "Essays relating to Indo-China," vol. i, pp. 224, 225, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Another strip of land of the same name is situated in proximity to Cape Rachado, in the Negeri Sembilan district, further down the peninsula.

<sup>3</sup> Taw Sein Ko's "Kalyani Inscriptions," p. 6.




Mergui is named *Pa ree kywon*<sup>1</sup> (i.e. the *Par* island) Here is to be found I think the origin of Ptolemy's name for Mergui. In fact by early Indū colonists and navigators such as dotted all these coasts with Sanskrit names any harbour or refuge for ships behind the island of *Par* would be called *Par* *abhaya* that is *Par*'s protection or safe place which, by rule of sandhi would become contracted into *Paryabhaya* vulgarly pronounced as *Parabblaya* whence *Berabai*. But even independently of the name of the island *Par* Ptolemy's term might be explained as *Parabhaya* the opposite or further (place of) safety i.e. harbour speaking either in reference to the coast of India whence the ships crossed to the Malay Peninsula or in relation to the *Par* or other island of the Mergui Archipelago<sup>2</sup>. I think this district to be the *Paribhadra* region placed in Śālmala dvīpa (Malay Peninsula) by the Puranas.

As regards the present European name for Mergui it presents in my opinion much less difficulty. By looking at the European maps of Further India that appeared from the second part of the sixteenth to the first part of the eighteenth century we find that town successively noted as *Mirgira* (A.D. 1580) *Mirgim* (Van Langren 1595) *Meigi* (Janssonius 1638) *Mig* (Pere Placide 1684) *Merg* (Gueudeville 1713). We see that the form

British Burma Gazetteer vol. II p. 477 s.v. *Pa ree kywon*

<sup>2</sup> *Pa abhaya* = excellent protection might also be suggested which by the usual change of *a* into *ā* would become also *Parabhaya*. In the Palatine Law Code of Ayutthia promulgated in A.D. 1360 among the Southern States tributary to Siam is mentioned that of မာရ် (Ma a) hitherto unidentified which might turn up to be identical with *Berabai*. The transition from *Parasar* through *Ba aba* is quite possible.

In the account of Iko Mesa translated by Groeneweldt and published in *Essays relating to Indo China*, vol. I 2nd series p. 104 it is stated that in the year 1270 he [Iko Mesa] was sent by the emperor across the sea as an envoy to the kingdom Pa lo pe. He came back in 1274 bringing with him people of this country who carried precious articles and a letter of tribute. The translator makes no attempt at identifying Pa lo pe. It seems to me that *Berabai* may well be the place meant which was at the time a petty State tributary to Siam.

*Mergui* immediately succeeded the form *Mirgin*; just as on the opposite coast of the peninsula, in the upper part of the Gulf of Siām, the reverse happened for the name of Cape Kui, previously written *Cui*, and which was afterwards changed in the maps into *Cape Cin*, by a simple transposition of the dot on the *i*. Thus *Mirgin* or *Mergin* could easily become *Mergui*. It must be admitted that there is a funny side also to the apparently dry and stern science of geography. As to the early names *Mirgira* and *Mergi*, they originated from the Mōū (Taleng) form of *Marit*, which is also written  *Mrik*, and could thus easily become *Ming*, *Mirg*, etc

The main line of communication between *Mergui* and the opposite coast of the peninsula was, and is, by the *Khan Mōn* (Pillow-mount) pass, termed by the Burmese *Mo-dong* (Tired hill), which is about 750 feet above sea-level. This track, as I ascertained myself *in loco*, was once practicable to bullock-carts, and remained so up to the end of the last century. It reaches the Gulf of Siām a little below *Kui*, the famous *Cin* spoken of above.

*Takōla*, a mart (79)

Several places of a similar name existed along the western coast of the Malay Peninsula and in the Malay Archipelago. We have in the first instance a *Tak-kulā*, or *Takkulā*, near the present Ayetthēmā (Ayetthīma), in the Sittōng subdivision of the Shwegyin district. This *Tak-kulā* is the corrupted form of the name of the ancient Gola-mattika-nagara referred to in the Kalyānī inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It appears in early Portuguese maps as *Tagalla*. Professor Forchhammer considered it to be a foundation of the Gaudas, from Northern Bengal; whence its name, formed out of the corresponding Pāli term *Gola*. But this seems by no means certain. In some MSS, in fact, the Pāli name of

<sup>1</sup> *Tak* in Mōū (Taleng) and in Burmese, like *Tak* in Siamese, means a masonry building in general, but, more properly, a loam, earth, or brick structure, thus conveying in some measure the same sense as the Pāli *mattika*.

Taik-kulā is written *Gulāmatikā* and *Kulāmatikā*. Now, *Kulā*, as we have already remarked, is a term applying to Dravidians, and designating more especially the dark people of Malabar and Coromandel. *Gulā* is the name which the Siamese give the Taungthūs (*Tōngsū*), still so numerous about Ayctthēmā and Thatōn, which country they claim as their original home. But *Gulā* is probably only a corruption of *Kulā*, and was applied to the Taungthūs simply because of their being held in subjection by the numerous Dravidian (Kalinga and Kola or Cola) colonies on that part of the Gulf of Martaban. The evidence appears, therefore, to be in favour of Taik-kulā having been a foundation of the Kolas or Kalingas, and not of the Gaudas. Its name would then mean "The Kola (or Cola) Buildings."

The second instance is that of a *Tagala* in the Tavoy district, referred to in João de Barros (lib. ix, ch. 1) among the seaports of the Malay Peninsula, in a list with the following order: Vagaru, Martaban, Ro [Yay], Tagala, Tavai, etc. This *Tagala* is probably *Thagara-myo* (Takkala or Sāgara?), built in 751 A.D. by the Talengs on the western bank of the Tavoy River, and nineteen miles distant from the present Tavoy town, now known as *Myo-houng* or Old Tavoy. Professor Lassen marked it on his map as *Takkala*, at a few miles north of Tavoy.

A *Tagal* on the north coast of Java might be adduced as the next instance, and reference be made also to *Tagala*, the name of a people and language in the Philippines. It might be interesting to investigate the origin of the last two forms of Takkala, and to determine whether any relationship exists between them and those given above.

The last place in this discussion we have reserved for Ptolemy's Takōla, which, as already mentioned in the first section of this paper, we have identified with a harbour in the district of Takōpa (*Takūa-pā*), situated probably in the Pāk chān inlet, near the Kra Isthmus. It seems, however, that the whole region on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, south of that isthmus as far as Papra Strait or further, was, in Ptolemy's time, named Takōla, Takkula, or

**Takkala** In fact, the three districts included within its compass are, up to the present day, designated by terms of which the word *Takūa*, the Siamese corruption of *Takōla* or *Takkula*, forms a part. The three districts alluded to are

- 1 *Takūa thar*, called also *Ranōng* district
- 2 *Takua pā*, called by Europeans and Malays *Takōpa*, or simply *Kopa*, generally noted in maps as *Kopah*
- 3 *Takūa thung*, termed also the *P'hang-nga* (in Malay, *Panga* or *Punga*) district

This shows that *Takua*, or, anciently, *Takola*, *Takkula*, or *Takkala*, was the generic name for the whole region. *Takūa* in Siamese means a black metal, and is indiscriminately employed to designate either lead or tin. Its allied word *Takō* still enters to form part of terms used to indicate something of black colour. Thus, *Tōn takō* designates a tree with a black bark, *Dam takō* means a black colour, and *Hin takō*, *Thab takō*, *Nin takō* denote respectively a black stone, hut, jewel. My contention is that both the terms *takua* and *takō* originate from the Sanskrit *kala* or some of its South Indian derivatives corrupted into *lūa* and *lō*, and prefixed with the particle *ta*, or *tak*, as done for many other words in Siamese and other Indo Chinese languages.

The Sanskrit *kala* is usually explained as meaning 'black', but the examples I shall adduce directly will show that Southern Indian and Eastern forms of this word undoubtedly designated also a black metallic ore, more especially of lead or tin. In fact, we find tin or tin ore mentioned in all early Portuguese writers as *calim* or *calin* (*kālin*), the name by which it seemed to be known at the time in India and all over the Far East.<sup>1</sup> This term can be traced back to the form

<sup>1</sup> See also Balbi (Venetia 1590 p. 173) *Taiue [Tavoy] dove nasce assai cala in lingua loro ma in nostra lingua si chiama Cala a Turpā (Hist du Roy de Siam i p. 214) and Tachard (Second Voyage de Siam) also write calim and say that this metal is the same as tin. Other authors have endeavoured to believe it to be an alloy of lead and tin. The term *calim* or *kālin* is probably connected with the Western word *galena*. From it the Chinese have made *līm* which in their language means both 'lead' and 'tin ore' (see Giles Chinese Dictionary s. v. 7118).*

*alkali* or *al-kali*, used by Arab geographers and travellers to designate the same metal as early as the ninth century<sup>1</sup> *Kalhen* is, up to the present day, the name for tin works in certain parts of the peninsula, such as, for instance, Perak and Jala<sup>2</sup> *Kala* and *Kol* are both Sanskrit names for the planet Saturn, and may, therefore, be connected with either lead or tin, in fact, the former denotes also a kind of plumbago It is also worthy of remark that the town of Kaulam or Kollam (Quilon) on the Malabar coast is, in the French relation of Oderic of Friuli, published by De Backer,<sup>3</sup> termed *Plumbum*

All the above considerations tend to show that in Southern India, at least, the terms *lāla* and *lola* were employed to designate either lead or tin, but more especially the latter metal, and that they were spread all over the East under the form of *lālm*, out of which the Arabs made *al kali* and the Southern Indo Chinese *lūa* and *lō*, which, by the addition of the prefix *ta*, became transformed into *ta kīa* and *ta lō* Ptolemy's Takola designates, therefore, a mart and a district rich in tin and cannot better apply than to the region of the Malay Peninsula under consideration where tin mining has been carried on from time immemorial I have not the slightest doubt that this is the country which Abu Zaid names *Kalah bar*, and also the peninsula (or island) of *Kalah*, and describes as being eighty parasangs of surface (or length?), as lying about midway on the sea route between Arabia and China, and as forming the centre of trade for aloes, camphor, sandal wood ivory, *al kali* (i.e. tin not lead)

<sup>1</sup> See Abu Zaid's narrative in Renaud's *Relat on des Voyages fa ts par les Arabes et les Persans* etc p 94 and the translator's notes at pp lxxi lxxv of the *Discours préliminaire* Ignoring the facts brought to light by us above Renaud translates *alkali* as *plomb alcaiy* whereas it should be tin or calin

<sup>2</sup> See Journal Straits Branch RAS No 16 p 316 Also Bangkok Calendar 1873 p 119 art A visit to the mines of Jala This famous mining district is situated inland to the south west of Patani and sometimes appears in the maps as Yala I do not know what authority Professor Keane has for calling it *Jalap* and *Jala* in the second edition of his *Geography of the Malay Peninsula* etc 1892 pp 14-19

<sup>3</sup> 'L'Extrême Orient au Moyen Âge p 99

ebony, etc.<sup>1</sup> It is here, in fact, that Edrisi and Masaudi place a mine of tin (*al-kali*)<sup>2</sup> The former of these two geographers is said to make of Kalah an island, if so, this may be taken to be the island of Junkceylon (termed in Siamese *Thalang* and *O'halang*), also well known for its richness in tin-ore. But it is doubtful whether an island is meant, as the same word is used in Arabic for both an island and a peninsula. It is easy to see that Abu Zaid's alternative appellation *Kalah-bar*—which may in Arabic be read also *Kolah-bar*<sup>3</sup>—denotes *Ta-kūa-pā*, i.e. *Takōpa*, without its prefix, and thus represents the Malay contracted form of the name of the district. *Kōpah* (or *Kōpu*).

As regards Abu Zaid's statement that in his time (851-916 A.D.) Kalah was a dependency of the kingdom of Zabedi (Malay Archipelago), it may be due to the very probable act of Takola being, like Taik-kulī on the coast of Pegu, a foundation of those Kolas or Colas from Southern India who had established colonies all over the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, as well as a very powerful kingdom at Palembang in Sumatra which exercised a nominal suzerainty over them all. In an analogous manner we find it stated in Ma Tuan-lin<sup>4</sup> that *Chu-lien* (Cola or Coromandel) was, in A.D. 1068-1077, tributary to *San-fo-ch'i* (*Sri-Bhoja* or Palembang), which shows that at a later period even the mother country itself of those colonists acknowledged in some measure the paramount authority of the empire they had founded in the Archipelago. *Takōla* seems, however, to have attained far greater importance than the cognate settlement Taik-kulī on the coast of Pegu, for in the section devoted to Piao of the great Chinese encyclopædia *T'u-shu-chi-ch'ing*<sup>5</sup> the latter is modestly

referred to as *Hsiao-k'un lun*, while the former is magnified as *Ta-k'un-lun*, terms which mean respectively "Little K'un-lun (Kola)" and "Great K'un-lun" settlement, or "Little and Great Takola" K'un-lun, we shall demonstrate in the sequel, is a term corresponding to the Burmese and Siamese *Kula*, and denoting like it populations of Dravidian race; but, more properly, the Malayas and the Kolas or Colas referred to above. From the last named people—if not from the abundance of tin-ore as already surmised—the country about Takola may have been termed *Kola-rara* or

[Kamalaṅga] and the tribe or city called *Lu yu* [in Annam pron. *Luk ro* = *Lagor*, the *Lagor* of Joao de Barros] there is the kingdom termed *Ta k'un lun* [Great Kolas = Ptolemy's Takola] more powerful than that of *Mi ch'en* [Macham]. From the royal residence of the *Hsiao k'un lun* marching half a day, one reaches the city of *Mo ti po* [Martaban] a dependency of the kingdom of *Liao*. The identifications between brackets are all my own. *Mi ch'en* may also be meant for Bassem or else for the territory of the ancient *Besynga* without modifying in any way the identifications of the other places named above. I have however preferred to suggest *Macham* or *Macha* as an equivalent for *Mi ch'en* because this place appears noted in most old maps and must therefore have been well known at least to navigators. Owing to the fact of Macham being at the mouth of the Pegu River its name seems to have been employed at one time among foreigners to denote Pegu under the abbreviated form *Chin* or *Chen*: witness the following passage from the *Yin i Album* of Aluf Faxi.

Near to this tribe [of *Irak ng* i.e. Arakan] is Pegu which former writers called *Chen* accounting this to be their capital.

As regards the term *Hsiao k'un lun*, it evidently applied in particular to Takola but in general to the whole territory settled by the Kolas which probably included also that of *And juring* from the fact that the king of the *Hsiao k'un lun* tribe resided at only half a day's march from Martaban. That it may have been the place of his residence although this statement as it stands should not be taken too literally. The *Hsiao k'un lun* tribe mentioned here is of course that of the Tamnūths of Tlutoh and Ayetibemā who inherited the name of *Gila* or *Kula* from the ancient Kola settlers that first developed the country.

The remark as to the *Ta k'un lun* State being "more powerful than that of *Mi ch'en*" and so entitled as to occupy the whole tract of the west coast of the Peninsula between the Kamalaṅga and Lagor kingdoms—that is from the Kra Isthmus to the Straits or even farther—gives the measure of the importance of Takola must have attained thus justifying our identification of it with the *Kalāh* and the *Kalāh* bar region of the Arabs.

Before concluding this note it may be well to call attention to the fact that the term *Hsiao k'un lun* is applied by some Chinese writers also to the island called *Lulo* Conlor by the Malays, owing, probably to the latter having been occupied at one time by some Dravidian or Malay settlement but this insular *Hsiao k'un lun* situated in front of the coast of Cochin China has of course nothing to do with the continental *Hsiao k'un lun* now under discussion which is so distinctly located near Martaban and within the territory of *P'ao* or *Pegu*. Again the state of *Ta k'un lun* is mentioned by several Chinese authorities to include the whole of the region anciently colonized by offshoots of the Dravidian race: wit the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago and part of Cochin China but its boundaries are so clearly defined in the passage quoted above from the *T'u shu chi ch'ing* as not to need any further discussion.

Such favourable topographical conditions, coupled with the natural resources of the soil in its immediate vicinity, sufficiently account for the speedy growth of Takōla into one of the most thriving emporiums on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and for the renown of its harbour as one of the most spacious, secure, and most frequented by sea-going crafts. A proof of its being already well known from over a century before Ptolemy's time is to be found in the famed Pāli work *Milinda Pañha* (vi, 21), where it is referred to under the form *Takkola* in the following passage: "Just . . . as a shipowner . . . will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to *Vanga*, or *Takkola*, or *China*, or *Sovira*, or *Surat*, or *Alexandria*, or the *Koromandel* coast, or *Suvannabhūmi* . . ."<sup>1</sup> Professor Rhys Davids has designated<sup>2</sup> *Karkota* on the coast of India as the probable place corresponding to the *Takkola* of the text; but I think it quite certain that Ptolemy's *Takola* is meant. This appears from the place itself assigned to *Takkola* in the list of countries and seaports named—first the text mentions those situated on the sea-route to the east, to wit *Vanga* (Bengal), *Takkola*, and *China*; then it turns to places in the west (*Sovira*, *Surat*, *Alexandria*); next to places in the south (*Koromandel Coast*); and finally, again reverts to places in the east, e.g. *Suvannabhūmi* (coast of Pegu)<sup>3</sup>. The inference is, therefore, that the *Takkola* referred to in the text was a country or seaport situated on the ship-route to the east, between Bengal and China.

From the same passage it also follows that *Takkola* was not in *Suvannabhūmi*, since this latter country is named separately. *Takkola* cannot, therefore, be identified with *Taik-kulā* on the Peguan coast; but is, from every indication, the very same place recorded by Ptolemy as

<sup>1</sup> See p. 359 of Professor Rhys Davids' translation of "The Questions of King Milinda" in the "Sacred Books of the East" Series, vols. xxxv, xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xliii of Preface.

<sup>3</sup> While on this subject, I would suggest that the *Nīlumbā* referred to at p. 327 of the same work and left unidentified may be Negumbo, a place on the coast of Ceylon a little north of Colombo.



Takōla, which we have located lower down the Bay of Bengal, on the coast of the Malay Peninsula.

*Takkola*, as it occurs thus spelled in the text of the *Milinda Pañhā*, is a Pāli word designating a particular sort of perfume made from the berry of the *Kakkola* plant. As a place-name, however, I think that it must be considered a mere rendering, in Pāli form, of either *Tak-kāla* or *Ta-kola*, the ancient and original designations of the Takōpa District and its chief town. Be that as it may, the existence of Takōla as a country, a mart, and a seaport is thus fairly well proved from the very beginning of the Christian Era, the period at which it is believed that the work on *Milinda* was composed.

Some two centuries later on—or, more exactly, during the Wu dynasty of China (A.D. 229–265)—an embassy having been despatched by the king of Fu-nan to India, it is stated in the Chinese records<sup>1</sup> that it returned by the mouth of the *Tau-kiao-le*, continuing its route by sea in the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) in a north-westerly direction; it then entered the bay (of Bengal) and ultimately reached India. In this account, the mouth of the *Tau-kiao-le* has been by various translators taken to mean either the mouth of the Salwīn or that of the Irāvātī, which is evidently absurd. It seems to me, if the identifications of the two bays named in the account prove correct, that we should read *Tau-kiao-le* as Takōla, and take it as a name given the Pāk-chān River, from the fact of the city of Takōla being situated at or near its mouth. The position of *Tau-kiao-le* would then suit all requirements with respect to the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) and the kingdom of Fu-nan (Kamboja), which at the period the embassy took place included Lower Siām, and no doubt also the northern part, if not more, of the Malay Peninsula. It would then seem but natural that the embassy in question, instead of taking the long sea-route round the southern extremity of the peninsula, should proceed in small shifts or overland to C'hump'hōn, and thence across the Kra Isthmus to the mouth of the Pāk-chān, to

<sup>1</sup> See the translations from Ma Tuan-lin in the J.R.A.S. Bengal, 1837, p. 64.

embark at the famous port of Takōla on its journey to India. This is no doubt the usual route that was anciently followed by a great part of the trade between India and the Gulf of Siām, in order to avoid the difficulty and dangers of a long sea navigation through the Straits. The Kra Isthmus was the most northern point of the Malay Peninsula at which the latter could be most easily and speedily crossed; hence it was chosen as the point of transit and transshipment of merchandise from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siām, and *vice versa*; and the two harbours which formed the termini of the navigation on both sides, as well as the overland route that connected them, must have in consequence acquired great importance. And they must have retained their prominence for a long period until the advent of the Portuguese, and the introduction of more improved methods of navigation. But, notwithstanding all this, we find trade routes across the Malay Peninsula at the Kra Isthmus, and further north at Mergui, much frequented up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The causes that contributed to their being abandoned after that date were, in the first place, the stoppage of trade brought on by the continuous Siāmo-Burmese wars that raged up to the beginning of the present century, having mostly for theatre the northern part of the peninsula; and secondly, the final absorption into the British dominions and loss to Siām of the province of Tenasserim, which severed the bonds between the two latter countries, and prevented any continuance of the former intercourse between them being renewed.

Takōpa first appears in the maps of the "Neptune Oriental," A.D. 1781, as *Tocapa*. Papra Strait in this and preceding maps is noted *Papera*. The correct spelling is *Pak-p'hiah*; which in Siāmesese means "Strait (or Mouth) of the Saint," probably owing to some legend of Buddha or some statue of his having passed through it.

Kokkonagara (82).

Yule suggests for this *Ullala* (meaning undoubtedly *Ullalāba*, i.e. the modern Twanté in Pegu), mentioned in

the Mahāvamsa as having been captured by a Ceylonese expedition sent against the king of Rīmañña. He notes also that the Indo-Chinese countries appear, from Tīranītha's "History of Buddhism," to have been anciently known as Kōlī, and adds that Kokkonagara may, again, be perhaps the Kākula of Ibn Batuta.

It seems to me that Tīranītha's Kōlī is, like the similar term *Kochi* employed up to quite recent times by the Malays to designate the Annamese Empire, merely a modified form of *Kao-chih*, the older name for that same region, and that therefore Kōlī has nothing whatever to do with the place name now under discussion. But in the account of the Ceylonese expedition against Pegu, about A.D. 1180 I find (Mahāvamsa c. 76, 57) a place by the name of Kīkī-dvīpa referred to which may indeed have some connection with Ptolemy's Kokkonagara. We cannot, however, rely upon a mere similarity of nomenclature<sup>1</sup>. The last named city is, by our author placed in the Golden Khersonese or Malay Peninsula, and its corrected position falls a little to the south east of Korbie Bay, just opposite Pulo Lantar near the mouth of the stream noted as Khlong Kasei (Kīsai) in the maps<sup>2</sup>. The correct Siāmesese reading of Kasei is Prakasai, but in earlier maps, such as that of Pallegoix it appears as Cassai. Added to the name of Korbie (Sanskrit *Kapī*, pronounced *Kabī* and *Kīabī* in Siāmesese and meaning a monkey) it forms the name of the province designated in Siāmesese *Muang Kīabī pīalai*, and in Malay, but corrupted *Korbie* or *Ghubī*. This province is so far, but little known and very imperfectly represented in the maps. With its *muangs* or districts of *ḡṡ* (*Gua*) *ḡṡṡ* (*Kora*) *ḡṡṡṡ* (*Gurol*) respectively noted in maps as Corah or Kora (Crawfurd's and Survey

<sup>1</sup> In the map of Indo-China published under the direction of Colonel H. R. Thwaiter Survey of India Office December 1893 there is a place marked as Kōkai on the coast of the peninsula just below Takua-pa, but too much importance cannot be attached to such coincidences of names.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Map of the Malay Peninsula 1887 published by the Straits Branch R.A.S.

of India maps); Korak and Korat (Pallegoix's map); and the neighbouring district of पञ्चन (P'han-ngā, Ban-ngā) or Puṅga, it formerly depended from the Takūa-pā province. Korbie, resting as it does on a well-sheltered bay of easy access to ships, and whence easy tracks lead to the opposite coast of the peninsula, may have been an important place in ancient times. Its name of 'Monkey-city' recalls that of Myouk-ū ('Monkey's egg') of the old capital of Arakan. How it ever came to be applied to it is difficult to account for, unless its origin can be found in the fact of a branch of the *Vānāvas* or Monkey-tribes of the opposite coast of India having anciently settled here. But some monkey legend is more probably at the bottom of it. The names of Gura, Korā, etc., may very likely be Malay corruptions of the Sanskrit *nagara*; hence the probability of an ancient city having stood here which bore a name identical with, or similar to, Ptolemy's *Kokkonagara*. That the country was settled at an early time by colonists from India, is proved by ancient remains scattered about the land, among which I may mention a brass statue of Buddha found some forty years ago at Takūa-thūng near P'han-ngā, bearing on its back a circular plate in the form of a *calra* inscribed with the "*Ye dhammā*" stanza in Pāli, in Northern Indian characters, said to belong, probably, to the third century. Whether Ptolemy's *Kokko* represents the Sanskrit *Kāka* ('a crow'), *Kōla* ('a wolf,' 'ruddy goose,' 'cuckoo,' and also 'wild date-tree'), or *Kullura* ('a dog'), is for the present almost impossible to say. The latter reading would seem preferable in view of Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low's statement that an impression of a dog's foot, together with an image of that animal, are reported to have once existed upon a rock at the northern point of Junkceylon Island, which are said to be held in veneration by the Malays along the opposite coast.<sup>1</sup> If this hearsay report, which Captain Low

<sup>1</sup> Captain Low's "Buddha and the Phrabat," London, 1821, pp. 11-12 (re-  
 Unkled from the Transactions R. A. S., vol. 12).

acknowledged he had no opportunity of verifying by a visit to the spot, be confirmed in fact, we would then possess satisfactory evidence that the coast opposite Junkceylon—that is, the present Takūa-thùng and Korbic provinces—was settled by tribes of dog-worshippers (probably offshoots of those *Kukluras* mentioned in the Purānas and the two great Indū epics as living in the south of India), who possessed a city known as *Kuklura-nagara* on or about Korbic bay, corresponding to Ptolemy's Kokkonagara, surviving yet, but in name, in the corrupted Malay forms *Gua* and *Kora* (for Kura and Kuk-kura?), and *Gurōt* (Kurāta?), now applied to small districts or townships in the same territory. If the object of worship were a wild dog, or still better a wolf, such as is designated in Sanskrit *Kola*, the name of the chief city of the tribe would then assume the form *Kola-*

and is represented in the "Kedah Annals" as having been applied to the country by the prince from Kedah who first occupied it, after a silver-pointed arrow he shot from his bow on taking possession of the territory. My impression is, however, that the name is far more ancient. According to the "Malay Annals," Pêrak, or part of it, was formerly called *Manjong* and was an ancient and great country, that gave *Achîn* its first king. One of its chief cities was *Gangā-nagara*, situated on a steep hill, with a fort on the bank of the *Dinding River*. This city was taken by *Rāja Sūran* of *Bijnagar* in about 1030-1050 A.D. (Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 9).

The territory of Pêrak was, in former times, undoubtedly more extensive than at present, and probably stretched as far as Kedah, embracing the whole of the present Province Wellesley. Ancient remains as well as Pāli and Sanskrit inscriptions were found in the latter, which attest the existence, at a very early period, of Indū settlements along its coast. The *sima* slab, inscribed with the "*Ye dharma*" stanza and a few additional lines recording its erection by "the great ship-owner *Buddhagupta*, an inhabitant of *Raktamrttikā*"—already mentioned in the paragraph devoted to *Bêrabai* as having been assigned a date not later than the fourth century—was found in the northern part of the province; while seven Pāli inscriptions on a granite rock and monograms on bricks were discovered by Captain Low near the centre of the province at *Tolūn*, in about lat. 5° 27', or almost directly east of *Pinang town*. An inscribed slate-stone was found yet lower down, near *Būkit Mertajam*, in about lat. 5° 23'. Though I am not aware of any equally ancient remains having been discovered as

to designate silver. The Perak district is in Siamese called *มณฑลปราชญ์* (*Muany Prā*), *prā* being a contracted form of the Malay *Perak* (pronounced *p'ra*).

It is the country called *Pu-lah-lia* by the Chinese, which *De Poser* ("Les peuples Orientaux," etc., 1836 edition, p. 163, wrongly takes to be an error for *Man-lah-lia* (Malacca). In some cases the name *P'ra*'s seems also to apply to it, rather than to *Bali* or to the northern coast of *Sumatra*, as thought respectively, by *De Poser* and *Groeneveldt*.

yet in the present district of Pêrak proper, I have not the slightest doubt that some important settlement existed here from a very early period, corresponding to Ptolemy's Palanda. For it is evident that there is a linguistical connection between the latter name and that of Pêrak; the Pêrak River and Ptolemy's stream Palandos being similarly named after the district or its chief city. Hence it is logical, I think, to conclude that Ptolemy's city was the capital of Pêrak situated on the upper part of the Pêrak River, somewhere about Kwāla Kangsa, the present seat of the government of that district.

Tharrha, a town (83).

The corrected position of this town falls within two or three minutes of either longitude or latitude of Trong, a small place at the head of the Kwāla Trong inlet, just below Lārut. Names like Trong, Trang, Drang, etc., are frequent on the Malay Peninsula and the Gulf of Siām; and one finds them usually noted in old maps as Tarrana, Torano, etc., forms which closely approach the one adopted by Ptolemy in the present instance. Though there seems thus to be a perfect coincidence between Tharrha and Trong, which I could not help admitting at the outset in the map, I now feel strongly inclined to reject it, and to identify Ptolemy's place with Tringano, further to the east on the other watershed of the peninsula. My reasons for this change in opinion are two. In the first place, Ptolemy assigns to Tharrha a position of  $1^{\circ}$  to the east of his Palanda, which he describes as an inland town and thus locates considerably away from the coast. It results, moreover, that at this point of the peninsula he made an error of displacement of his towns and coast to the west of their true position. This error is of about  $42'$  at the mouth of the Pêrak River, and becomes greater as we proceed down the peninsula, reaching its maximum of  $2^{\circ} 13'$  at Kwāla Kangsa (true long  $101^{\circ} 3'$ ) to be Palanda (Ptol. corr. long.  $100^{\circ} \text{ E.}$ ), Tharrha should be found at  $101^{\circ} 3' - 100^{\circ} = 1^{\circ} 3'$

further east of its own corrected position which is  $100^{\circ} 44'$  according to the table, hence the rectified longitude of Tharrha would become  $100^{\circ} 44' + 1^{\circ} 3' = 101^{\circ} 47'$ . This carries us across the watershed into the boundaries of the Tringano district, and we would thus be justified in identifying Tharrha with the latter from a geographical point of view.

My second reason in support of the same identification is linguistical. Though Tringano and Treng-gīnu be the usual spellings that obtain, among Europeans and Malays respectively, for the name of that district, the Siamese spelling is  $\text{တာၤဂၢၤ}$  (*Taranganū* or *Tranganū*), which suggests a possible derivation from the Sanskrit *Taramga* ('a wave'), *Taramgini* ('wavy, undulating'), or *Taramgini* ('a river'). The latter designation would well apply to the stream flowing through the territory still termed the Trengan Valley. The probable old form of the name of the district is then *Tarangana* or *Tarungana*, which may well represent Ptolemy's Tharrha.

#### Sabana a mart (86)

I take this place to be the Selāngor district or its chief town. The corrected latitude resulting for Ptolemy's mart would show it to be placed near Kwala Selingor, that is, the mouth of the Selingor River, where there is a small harbour. But it may be Kwāla Sembah further east, up the same stream. A place called *Sabah* exists at some forty miles further to the north near the mouth of the Bernam River, but whether it is a modern or an ancient settlement I do not know. At any rate there is an evident connection between the names Sabana, Selingor, Sībah, and Sembah, and without going into further particulars I think it is safe to hold that Sabana represents a mart in the Selingor district. From a linguistical point of view, Sembah seems preferable, in fact in Malay *sembah* means 'obedience, worship' and its origin can thus be traced to the Sanskrit *serana*, which has the same sense and well represents, when



it be borne in mind that *ι* and *δ* are often interchanged in Sanskrit-derived terms, Ptolemy's Sabana

With this explanation I trust that I have clearly demonstrated that our author's three towns in the Golden Khersonese, to wit Palanda, Tharrha, and Sabana, correspond to settlements or chief cities in the districts of Pêrak, Tringano, and Selāngor respectively. I hardly think that, given the imperfect state of our present knowledge, a more satisfactory elucidation of Ptolemy's geography of the southern part of the Malay Peninsula can be offered. The examination of the remaining places of the peninsula situated on the coast of the Gulf of Siām will further confirm the foregoing results

Cape Maleu Kolon (87).

This is a term of evident South Indian extraction. We have in the Malabar and Dakhan districts many places of a similar name: for instance, a city called Malai-Kurram (near Nāgapattān), Kollam or Quilon, which in the relation of Abu Zaid is termed Kulam-malai; the Kolla-malai Hills, etc. I have not the slightest doubt that the terms *Malai* or *Malaya* and *Kola*, *Kala*, or *Kolan* have been imported to Further India by that stream of Southern Indian emigrants of dark or Negrito race, the descendants of the so-called *Rākṣasas* of old, and by their early successors the Dravidians, who constituted the pre-Āryan population of India; and who—driven to the south of the peninsula and compelled to take refuge in the islands by the Āryans advancing from the north—flowed on

so named from the *Malaya* range of mountains which is said by Bhavabhūti<sup>1</sup> to be encircled by that stream. *Malaya* was, in a word, the ancient name for the southern end of the Indian Peninsula, part of which is still termed Malayālam, Malayavāra, or Malabar. The Southern Indian emigrants above spoken of applied the same term *Malaya* to the Malay Peninsula evidently because of the latter forming the southern end of the Indo-Chinese continent. Hence the Malay Peninsula became known as *Malaya-dīpa* and its inhabitants as *Malayas* or *Malays*. This people anciently consisted of two distinct principal elements, namely: the Negrito autochthonous and the Mōū-Khmer, to which the Negrito-Dravidian or pre-Āryan from Southern India soon added itself; and should not be confounded with the modern Malay nation, which has apparently resulted, at least in the Peninsula, from a fusion of the descendants of the above-named races with later comers, from both the Archipelago and the Indo-Chinese continent. We must, therefore, distinguish between the ancient *Malayas* or *Malays* and the modern *Malays* or *Malayās*. The *Malayas* are mentioned as an Eastern people in the Bengal recension of the Rāmāyana; and enumerated along with the *Tyayas* in the Mahābhārata. Though both these names may refer to peoples in the east of India proper, who had nothing to do with the ancient Malays, yet we shall see in the sequel that *Tyaya* was the name of the portion of the Gulf of Siām next to the Malay Peninsula. This circumstance would tend to show that the ancient Malays (i.e. the early population of the Malay Peninsula) were the people meant in the two epics referred to above. The name *Samangs*, given to the savage Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula north of the Pêrak River, is also probably imported from Southern India, where the Mahābhārata mentions the *Samangas*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In his "Mahavimsacarita," v, 3. date, seventh century A. D.

<sup>2</sup> The Mahābhārata's list has "Samangas, Karakas, Kukkuras, Kokarakas" etc. All these we find represented in the Malay Peninsula, in the names of the *Samangs* the township of *Kara* or *Kera* mentioned above, and the name of Ptolemy's city *Kokkonagara*.

As regards the terms *Kōla*, *Kōlam*, *Cola*, etc., they appear to be etymologically connected, and to have in the early days designated the dark-coloured pre-Āryan population of Southern India in general, for they still survive in many place-names of that region, such as Coromandel (*Cola mandala*), Kollam (Quilon), etc., and are met with in the old records in such toponymies as Kolapattana (a seaport on the Coromandel coast mentioned in the *Milinda Pañhī*), Kolānca (a name for the country of Kalinga), etc. There is, besides, the evidence adduced in a former page, that in both Sīma and Burmā the people from Southern India are up to this day called *Kula*. In Sīamese the term *Kula* (ကုလ, ကုလကုလ) is more particularly applied to the natives of Malayavāra or Malabar. It would thus appear that, as far as Malabar and even the whole of the ancient Malaya region of Southern India are concerned, *Malaya* and *Kula* (or *Kōla*, *Kōlam*, *Kulam*, etc.) are synonymous ethnical terms. This explains how the Chinese came to apply the names of *Ku lun* and *K'un-lun* (evidently derived from either *Kulam* or *Kōlam*, transferred from Southern India to the Malay Peninsula along with the designation *Malaya*) to the ancient population of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. That this population included a large proportion of Negrito-Dravidian elements would appear from a passage of I-tsing (A.D. 671-685), who, speaking of the people of the *Ku-lun*, or as he terms it *Chueh-lun* (i.e. *Colam*) country, says that its inhabitants are of a black complexion, with crisp hair<sup>1</sup>. The close connection we have noticed between the terms *Malaya* and *Kōla* as applied to the southern end of the Indian Peninsula (the ancient *Malaya* country) also explains the fact that we find them in that region coupled together in many a place-name, such as Malai-kurram, Kulam-malai, Kolla-malai, etc., already referred to above. In the same manner we find both those

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes' I-tsing, pp. 63-64 note. In the Pāmayana, notes its eminent Italian translator Gorresio the Rakṣasas are described as being of a complexion as black as collyrium with curly woolly hair and thick lips. This picture thoroughly coincides with the one left us of the *Ku lun* by I-tsing.

terms combined on the Malay Peninsula—where they were transplanted from Southern India—in the name of the cape recorded by Ptolemy under the form of *Maleu-kolon*, which is evidently a transcription of the compound *Malai-kolan* or *Malai-kulam*. It will be noticed that this promontory occupies on the coast of the Malay Peninsula a similar position to that which the town of Malai-kurram holds on the coast of India. This circumstance would justify the assumption that near the cape now under discussion there may have been a settlement named after Malai-kurram on the Coromandel coast, and that the cape came in the course of time to be designated after such a settlement. By calculation the position of the cape aforesaid would be fixed on that point of the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula where runs the line of demarcation between the states of Pahang and Tringano; a point noted for no less than four rather conspicuous promontories distinguished in the maps as North and Middle Cape; South Cape or *Tanjong Puing*; and *Tanjong Kuāntān*, the most northern of all, the actual latitude of which is  $1^{\circ} 8' N.$ , exactly as calculated for Cape Maleu Kōlon. I therefore do not hesitate to assume *Tanjong Kuāntān* to be the headland meant by Ptolemy. My predecessors have almost invariably jumped to the conclusion that the promontory our author had in mind was Rumenia (or Rumenia) Point at the southern end of the peninsula. I must, however, differ from them on account not only of the calculated result obtained, but also on the score that Ptolemy evidently knew nothing of the configuration of the peninsula below the fourth parallel of North latitude. Hence he made the peninsula terminate abruptly at Palanda (Pirak) on the western side, and at Cape Maleu Kōlon (Tanjong Kuāntān) on the eastern; assuming, I suppose, that the coast ran straight, or nearly so, between the two places, since he assigns to both the latter the same latitude, and makes them  $2^{\circ}$  of longitude apart. The correct distance is  $3^{\circ}$  of true longitude.

A similar name to that of the headland now under

consideration is that of the town of Malacca, on the opposite coast but further south. Though a possible derivation from *Āmalaka*, the Sanskrit name for the Emblic myrobalan, has been suggested (why not from *Malaka* = the *Nimba* tree?), I cannot credit it, and prefer to hold that the name of Malacca is either a modification of *Malayakolam* or *Malayaka* (meaning the 'country of the *Malayas*'); or that it is identical with *Malaka*, the name of a Southern Indian tribe mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, transplanted, like many others, on the soil of the Malay Peninsula.

Attaba River (88, 184).

This stream cannot be other than the Tringano or, I think preferably, the Labih River. Both have their source in the vicinity of Mount Batu Ātap, a conspicuous peak in 4° 33' N. lat. In Malay *batu* = 'a rock,' and *ātap* = 'thatch.' Hence either of the two streams may have taken its early name from the mountain, and become known as the '*Ātap* stream,' converted by Ptolemy into Attaba

Kōli, a town (89)

This is Kelantan, more correctly spelled Kalantan. Its probable ancient name, Kōli, appears to have been introduced from Northern India, where a city called Kōli (from the *Koli* or jujube tree, it is said) is known to have existed near Kapilavastu, and reputed to have been the birthplace of Māyā, the mother of Buddha. The present name (Kalantan) of both the district and its chief city presumably was formed by affixing to the word *Koli*, or to some one of its dialectal forms *Kolom*, *Kolam*, either the term *thāna* (or *tanah* in Malay), meaning 'place,' 'country,' or the particles *anta*, *antan* (limit, boundary), thus obtaining the compounds *Kolamtānah*, *Kolantan*, etc., which by vulgar parlance soon became modified into Kelantan and Kalantan. The district so named is, no doubt, the country of *Ko-lo* or *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo*, described in the *Annals* of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907)<sup>1</sup> and in *Ma T'uan-ling*<sup>2</sup> ...

south-east of both *P'an-p'an* (S W. Sīm) and *Wan-tan* (Bīndōn) The words *Ko-lo Tu sha-lo* may represent either *Kolī badara*, *Kolī bhadra*, or *Kola bazār* In the first reading, *Kolī* and *badara* are, respectively, the Pāli and Sanskrit designations for the jujube tree, the Sīmesese name of which is, however, *P'husu* (= *Budra*), evidently from a Prīkrt or other Indian vernacular form *Budara* or *Busar*, plainly represented in the Chinese transcript *Fu sha lo* In the event of this surmise proving correct, our identification of Ptolemy's *Kolī* with the *Ko lo* of Chinese writers would receive a complete confirmation That *Ko lo* was a very ancient place appears from Ma Tuan lin's (loc cit) statement that it was heard of by his countrymen since the time of the Han dynasty (B C 206 to A D 221)

There is also frequent mention in Ma Tuan lin and other Chinese writers of a seaport called *Ku lo*, which appears to have been much visited by Chinese traders during the early times of the Sung dynasty (A D 960-1127) But though the location of this port was evidently on the Malay Peninsula, it is doubtful whether it was the same place as the ancient *Kolī* or *Ko lo* and the present *Kalantan*

*Kalantan* is, no doubt, a very ancient foundation, early referred to in the Malay annals as a powerful kingdom, while its abundance in natural resources and mineral wealth places it in a prominent position among the Malay States Hence it must have been from a very ancient period one of the principal resorts of trade on this coast

#### *Perimula* (90)

The corrected position obtained for this town agrees very closely with *Ligor*, the longitude of which is about  $100^{\circ} 1'$  and the latitude  $8^{\circ} 23' N$  The old city, however, appears to have been situated further south than the present one Besides *Ligor*, a very ancient foundation itself, there are two other towns in this region which claim a very respectable antiquity, namely, *P'hattalung* and *Singora* (*Sukhalā* or *Sunkhalā*) While formerly quite accessible from the sea, and connected by overland routes with the marts on

the western coast of the peninsula, those three towns have now almost entirely lost the high importance they had of yore as seaports, owing to the silting of their harbours and the accumulation of sands that ever tend to block them. Ligor is already an inland town, no more accessible but by small boats through a winding tidal creek, while P'hattalung may still be reached by light draught vessels through the inland sea—now almost completely landlocked—encompassed by the island of Pulo Tantalam, and Singora, from being situated at the outlet of the same inland sea, enjoys yet a relatively better position as a maritime town than the two former, though also doomed to become an inland city at no distant date. While the earliest mention I can find of Singora and P'hattalung in the old Siamese records does not go further back than the thirteenth century, it is known, nevertheless that both these towns coexisted with Ligor as Indū settlements prior to that period.

As regards Ligor, I find it referred to as an independent kingdom, and under the name of *Nagara Sri Dharmaraja*, in a Pāli MS chronicle of Lamp'hūn (*Labong* of European writers) discovered by me in Siam, as early as A.D. 924, when its king moved with a fleet to attack Lop'haburi (*Latapura*). It is next mentioned in a Sukhothai (*Salha daja*) inscription—dated Saka 1214 = A.D. 1292 and now preserved within the precincts of the royal temple *Wat Phah Kru* in Bīnglōk—among the southern provinces of Siam subject to the sway of the kings of Sukhothai.

The foundation of Ligor is ascribed by tradition to Prince Dantakumārī, who with Princess Hemamālī, fled from Dantapura on the coast of India near the mouth of the Godāvarī in A.D. 310, taking with him a tooth relic of Buddha, and was wrecked on the 'Diamond Sands' of the Malay Peninsula where now rises Ligor.

The famous tooth :

centre of the present city of Ligor; and this monument is thus regarded as one of the most ancient in Siām. The story as vulgarly told is, that (a descendant of) king Śrī Dharmāśoka, driven by pestilence from his own land of Magadha, set sail with a remnant of his people in a golden junk, and was wrecked on the 'Diamond Sands.' These sandbanks, once sea-covered, are now the sandy plains in which stands Ligor, and the natives of the place call them up to the present day *Sāi-p'het* (ရွှေပုဆိပ် = *Vajra-rālukā* in Sanskrit). A large body of Brāhmins still live in the city, remaining distinct from the Siānese, and yearly performing the Swing Festival and other propitiatory ceremonies. They are commonly reputed to be the descendants of those that came with the founder of the city. The above is nothing more than one of the many Buddhist traditions transplanted on Siānese soil from India; traditions which, when their origin remains undetected, may lead astray the searcher after the ancient history of this country. It is well known that the 'Diamond Sands' of this legend are to be found not at Ligor, but on the coast of India, at or near Dharanīkoṭa, in the neighbourhood of the present Masulipatam. In that country, inhabited by Nūgas, a relic-casket containing one of the original eight divisions of Buddha's remains, existed enshrined in a costly stūpa. It was, according to the Mahāvamsa, carried off thence to Ceylon in the fifth year of the reign of Dutthagāmanī, i.e. B.C. 157, and enclosed in a great stūpa at Ruanwelli. But, according to other accounts, in A.D. 310, when prince Dantakumāra fled from Dantapura, and was wrecked on the Diamond Sands of Majerika, these same relics were still preserved there, being removed to Ceylon three years later, that is in A.D. 313, which date General Cunningham thinks more correct. A gorgeous, magnificent stūpa existed, in fact, on the sands of Majerika between the Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, as ascertained by General Cunningham; and there stood also the city of Vengī-pura, the capital of the country, which we find recorded in Ptolemy under the name of Malanga.



That country had early relations with the Malay Peninsula and Siam as proved by the Vengi characters employed in inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of the stupa of *Phah Piatton* in Lower Siam as well as in the province of Lagor and other parts of the peninsula. Hence it can be explained how the legend of the relics could be transplanted into Siam and referred to the 'Diamond Sands' of Lagor long after Buddhism was introduced therein. I have no doubt that it is only at a later period perhaps in the eighth or ninth century that Lagor and its district was given its present classic name of *Nagara Sri Dharmaray* an evidently Buddhist designation 'vulgarly curtailed into *Nagara* pronounced in Siamese *Nahon* and corruptedly *Lallon* out of which the Malays and Europeans have made *Lago*.

But the place had existed long before as an Indian settlement under a name which I think closely identical with that left us by Ptolemy *Perimula*. It must be observed, in fact, that the sandy plains about Lagor are up to the present day called by the natives *Tale sai* (ทะเลทราย) i.e. 'Sea of Sands'. As I previously remarked they were once a sea bottom and a communication probably existed through them across the peninsula which became blocked by sands thrown on the coast by the waves and disappeared through elevation of the land above sea level. Thus the extensive sandy plains about Lagor and the large island of Pulo Tantulum skirting the inland sea between Singora and Phattalung were formed. This phenomenon is very common on both coasts of the Malay Peninsula. Where it occurs the country appears lined with sandbanks raised above the surrounding land looking like as many sea beaches or ridges thrown up by a meeting of currents forty to fifty yards broad and very long. In Sanskrit one

of such sandbanks would be called *pulut*, and a long succession or accumulation of them might be termed *pulut mûla*. This is, I think, the origin of the Malay word *permatang*, which, according to Logan,<sup>1</sup> is employed to designate them. From this fact, I notice, a tract of land situated just above Kûlî Selîngor on the opposite side of the peninsula, is marked in the maps<sup>2</sup> *Permatang*. In a similar manner this term might be applied to the coast of Ligor, where the same sandy formation of the soil is perhaps more extensive and characteristic than anywhere else on the eastern coast of the peninsula or on the remaining part of the Gulf of Sîm.

From *Pulut mûla* and *Permatang* to *Pul mûla*, *Perimula* and *Permuda* is an easy transition, and that it is so, is shown by a map of the Malay Archipelago by Porro,<sup>3</sup> where in the place of the Gulf of Sîm we read "*Golpho Permuti*." Such is then, beyond doubt the name by which that gulf was known in Ptolemy's time, and a name it received from one of its principal parts, i.e. *Perimula* afterwards known as *Nagara Sri Dharmarâja* or Ligor. From the first syllable, *Per* or *Perr* of its name the Chinese navigators and traders of the sixth and subsequent centuries made *Po li* and *Po lo*, terms which, by Groeneveldt and other Sinologues, have been in every instance taken to mean the island of Bali. I have reason to believe however that in some particular cases they designate *Perimula*, whilst in others they apply best to *Palanda* (Pêrak).

Towards the tenth century we begin to meet with the terms *Lo yu*, or *Lu yu* (already noticed at p. 90 above, as the name of a State adjoining *Ta k'un lin* or *Takola* on the south) and *Lo yuch* (a country located by Ma Tuan lin and others at fifteen days' navigation to the south of *Tan mei lu* or *Temala*), which warn us that by that time *Perimula* had changed its name to Ligor. A few centuries later on we find Ligor referred to in Japanese accounts as

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Malay Archipelago vol. 1 p. 398 footnote

<sup>2</sup> Map of the Malay Peninsula published by the Straits Branch R. A. S. 1887

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the 1676 edition of Porcacchi's *L'isole più famose del mondo*

*Rikkon*, *Rokkon*, in imitation of its vulgar Siamese name, *Lakkhōn*.<sup>1</sup>

Balongka (91).

This is mentioned by Ptolemy, along with Kokkonagara, Tharrha, and Palanda, as an inland town of the Golden Khersonese, and must not be confounded, as often has been the case, with Balonga Mētopolis (121), which we shall meet in the sequel on the coast of Annam. The corrected latitude of Balongka, obtained from calculation, indicates its position to be on the Kra Isthmus of the Malay Peninsula; and I have therefore identified it with C'hump'hōn (चुम्प or चुम्प), the eastern terminus of the ancient overland route across the peninsula at that point. It is doubtful, however, whether the place-name C'hump'hōn (*Jumbara*, a vernacular corrupted form of the Sanskrit *Udumbara*) can claim so high an antiquity as to be already in existence, much less well known, in Ptolemy's time. I have, in fact, reason to think that Kra, as a name of the village, mountain-pass, and isthmus in this region, must have been the better known, though under a more classic form, at a far earlier period. Hence the actual C'hump'hōn village, though already in existence at the time, must have at first acquired notoriety either as the port of Kra or as the eastern terminus of the route across the Kra Pass. *Kra* in Siamese (คร๑, literally *Krah*), and *Kwa* in Malay, are both names for the mottled land-tortoise (*Testudo elongata*, Blyth), so plentiful about the Kra Isthmus. Several personal visits to that district, and a protracted residence in its neighbourhood, make me certain of this fact; and I may add that more

than once I took part in tortoise-hunting expeditions in the valleys of that region, which form one of the sports one can have there after a shower of rain. The natives keep trained dogs for the purpose, which are taught to pursue the tortoises and to overset every one they may catch upon its back, belly upwards, rendering its escape impossible. In this manner the beautifully shell-clad Chelonians are easily and very soon captured by the dozen. One of the Sanskrit names for the tortoise is *palāṅga*, which well represents Ptolemy's *Balongka*. I therefore hold that *Palāṅga*, or *Palānga*, is the original name of the port and district, which was later on translated by the Siāmesse into *Krah*, its actual designation. In this opinion I am further confirmed by the fact that some of the Siāmesse records mention a *Muang Piong*, i.e. an ancient district by the name of *Piong*, which appears to have included the territory of *Kra*, or rather to have been identical with the present *Kra District* itself. In *Piong* one may plainly recognize the original term *Palāṅga*. I believe, moreover, that this is the country which Chinese writers of the *Liang* (A.D. 502-557) and *Sui* (A.D. 589-618) dynasties term *Lang-kia*, *Lang-chia-hsu*, or *Lang-ya-hsu*, and represent as having sent an embassy to the Chinese Court in A.D. 515 with a letter, one passage of which says: "the precious Sanskrit is generally known in this land."<sup>1</sup> I quote this sentence in order to show the possibility of the country being given a Sanskrit name such as *Palāṅga*, which I proposed above as the equivalent of either *Kra*, *Balongka*, or *Lang-kia* (*Laula*, *Langa*). In the same extract occurs also the statement that "the people say that their country was established more than 400 years ago," which carries us back to the first century of our era, and proves the existence at that early period of the port, district, or kingdom of *Palāṅga*, giving Ptolemy full time to be aware of it. After the legend of the sacred relics from Dantapura had been brought over and localized to Ligor, as previously

<sup>1</sup> Groeneveldt (p. cit., p. 135 seq.) For other particulars see De P'eny, p. cit., pp. 203, 214, and Ma Tuan-lin, p. cit., vol. II, pp. 45, 458.

noted, the name *Palanga*, corrupted by vulgar pronunciation into *Balanga* and *Malanga*, had become probably identical, in the minds of the people, with *Malanga* (Vengī-pura), the capital of the Nāgas of Majerika. At the same time, the vernacular form *Krah* having originated, it may have been brought into use coupled at first with the ancient classical name of the country in its corrupted form, thus: *Kra-balanga*, *Kra-malanga*, etc. Here we have the kingdom of *Kia-mo-lang-hia* (Kāmalankā or Kamalanga) spoken of by Hwen-tsang about 638 A.D., and located by him to the south-east of *Shih-li Ch'a-ta-lo* (Śīr-ksetra or Prome) near a great bay. Of all localities named by ancient authors in Indo-China, none has perhaps more puzzled scholars as this kingdom of Langa or Kamalanga, especially as next to nothing is heard of it after the seventh century. One solitary authority is, however, found to state that *Lang-ya-hsin* is near to the country of *P'an-p'an*<sup>1</sup> (South-western Siām). Ma Tuan-lin locates *P'an-p'an* in the northern part of an island (Malay Peninsula) separated from *Lin-i* (Campā) by a little sea (Gulf of Siām).

The kingdom of Kāmalankā or Kamalanga must have originally occupied the region of the Malay Peninsula above the Pāk-chān inlet and the Kra Isthmus, being thus conterminous with the district of Takola on the south. Northwards it must have extended as far as the Salwīn; for the kingdom of *K'un-lang*, which in a former page (89 *supra*, note 5) we have identified with Kamalanga, is located by the great Chinese cyclopaedia between *Hiao-k'un-lun* (Taikuli) and *Ta-k'un-lun* (Takōla). In Hayton's Travels there is mentioned a province called *Kalaan*, which is said to form the eastern limit of the Kingdom of India.<sup>2</sup> This term *Kalaan* may apply to the same region or district called *Kalah-bār* by the Arabs, *Kāmalanga* by Hwen-tsang, and *Camelin* by the Portuguese writers.<sup>3</sup> Another name of

<sup>1</sup> De Rosny, *op. cit.*, p. 241, quoting from the "Yuen-kien-lu hsi" .

<sup>2</sup> De Lachère's "L'Asie Orientale au Moyen-Âge," p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> In Danvers' "Portuguese in India" a mention of *Camelin* occurs in the full wing passage from vol. II, p. 126. Libeiro [in A.D. 1602] gained a victory over King Manuira, in the province of Camelin, in which the king was slain.

country may be quoted which is probably derived from *Kamalanga* and as such may show that the *Kamalanga* Kingdom must have at one time extended well up the Salwin valley. The country alluded to is *Kammalan* which I found mentioned as a kingdom (conquered by Warerū the chief of Martaban, towards the end of the thirteenth century) in the 'Rājādhirāja' a chronicle of Pegu preserved in Siām. The kingdom of *Kammalan* is, perhaps, to be identified with the present *Kamanlay* (situated on the Salwin to the north of Martaban), which may have been its capital. It is evident, from the above considerations, that the ancient kingdom of *Kamalanga* must have been at one time pretty well extensive. In connection with the etymology of its name I may add a few more observations.

In a Peguan (Taleng) work, or rather romance recounting a supposed journey of Buddha, followed by his Mōn (Taleng) disciple Gavampati therā throughout Indo China and the Malay Archipelago<sup>1</sup> it is stated that Buddha after paying a visit to Achin in Sumatra crossed over with a retinue to a place on the Malay Peninsula where the celestials had provided for him a stone bench (*pallasta*) upon which to sit cross legged. And thus did the great Teacher rest upon it for awhile and from this fact that place was thenceforward known by the name of *Pallanka* i.e. 'stone bench'. Some commentators believe *Pallanka* to be Malacca but there is no likelihood of the latter place being meant. It is quite evident that the allusion is intended for *Palunga*—Ptolemy's *Balongka*—for which the author of the romance invented a new etymology, endeavouring to justify it by the above legend. It is in

Through the kindness of the Rev Edward O. Stevens up to 1898 doing useful mission work among the Burmese and Mons at Moulmein I have lately obtained a complete copy of the Peguan text of this work which I had so far seen but partially in a Siamese translation. Though based on pure fiction the work is valuable because it contains many interesting particulars on the ancient geography and history of several countries in Indo China more especially Pegu. It is the work alluded to in the first page of the introduction to Haaswell's Grammatical Notes on the Peguan Language. Rangoon 1874.

the same district or in its neighbourhood, in fact, that, as I have previously remarked, a *Sri-pāda* or holy footprint is said to exist on the *Suanna-mālī* mountain, which is believed to have been left by Buddha as a memento of his visit on that same occasion.

Of the land-route from the Pāk-chān inlet across the Kra Pass to C'hump'hōn I have already spoken. The distance between the two termini is no more than twenty-three miles, and the elevation of the range does not exceed 500 feet. The bights on both sides offer even now good anchorages for ships; hence it is no wonder if a large portion of the Far Eastern trade passed through this way in the early days. The overland route across the Kra Isthmus must have acquired great favour after the disappearance of the supposed sea-passage between Trang and Ligor about the beginning of the Christian Era. Hence we hear of *Lang-hia* or *Lang-ya-hsiu* being established as a State in the first century A.D. Ancient remains of temples and of earthen ramparts are still to be found in the environs of the present village of Kra, which would justify the assumption that it was, for some time at least, the chief city of that State in its early days. Adjoining the Kra district on the north is the province named *Lan-ya* or *Legnya* and, in Siānese, เมืองแลงญ่า (*Muang Lang-gya* or *Lankha*), which name is probably another linguistic relic of the old designation of the kingdom of Palānga, alias *Lang-hia* or *Kamalanga*. There are besides the two islets of *Lankachiu* (*Koh Langkachtu*)—one only of which is shown in the charts and wrongly marked "Koh Katu"—lying nearly opposite C'hump'hōn Bay, to attest up to this day the true location of the seaport of *Lang-ya-hsiu*, so much frequented by Chinese junks during the seventh century (see Chavannes' "Pélerins Bouddhistes," by I-tsing, pp. 57, 78, and 100)

(7) *Northern Siam and Laos*

The region of the Eastern or White bellied Lāu lying to the south of Yunnan and encompassed by the two great bends of the Mě Khōng on the west, by Tonkin on the east, and by the eighteenth parallel of latitude on the south, was known to Ptolemy as the country of the Doanai—a people living, he says, along the river of the same name. He does not give us any further particulars about either the people or the country, but simply states that to the latter succeeds a mountainous region adjoining the land of the Lestai wherein are found elephants and tigers. This mountainous zone must be identified I think, with the territory of the present States of C'hieng mū and Nān that is, Western Lāos, and with the hill tracts that bound the Mě Khōng's bend at C'hieng Khin on the south and form the watershed between it and the Mě Nam. In this region elephants and tigers are plentiful, in fact, up to this day, and the designation of *Lau c'lang* given from times immemorial to the territory of Eastern Lāos and its capital—and adopted by the Chinese under the form *Lan ts'ang* for the stream that runs through that territory, namely, the Mě Khōng River—contains an allusion to the presence of elephants in the region now under consideration. *I in c'lang* means, in fact as I shall point out with more details in the sequel, 'the Elephants' pasture grounds.'

Previous to this designation being applied however, or soon after its origin, the country of the Lāu was classically known as *Māhira desī* or *Māhā*, a name which it retained up to quite recent times, but under the corrupt forms of *Mālī*, *Mālī* or *Mālāra*. In native records of the last four centuries the State of C'hieng mū is often spoken of as the *Mālā* or *Mālāra* country, and those of Luang P'hrāh Bīng and Wieng Chū as the



*Savaka Valū*, or *Savaka Malava* kingdom<sup>1</sup> But in Ptolemy's time, and probably for several centuries earlier, either the latter kingdom or its capital city was as we learn from our author himself, named *Dasana* or *Doana*. As the term *Malava* collectively applied to the whole region of *Līos* was imported from Central India where it designated the country presently known as *Mālvi* so was the term *Disarna* introduced from the same quarter, and as there it denoted the eastern part of *Mālava* it was by analogy given in Further India to the corresponding portion of the Indo Chinese *Mālava* i.e. Eastern *Līos*. The term *Daśarna* thus becomes identical with Ptolemy's *Dasana*. It must be remarked that, but for our eminent geographer, we could never have known that Eastern *Līos* and its capital once bore such a name. For although we shall meet with traces of it in the legend of the foundation of *Iuang Phrah Bīng* it is certain that *Daśarna*, as an appellative for that district and town has long become forgotten, being superseded by the alternative designation *Savaka Mālī* and others, which we shall have occasion to notice in the sequel.

into the country which forms the present habitat of their descendants, retained their name of *Īāo* or *Īāu*, by which they have been known up to this day. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the region in which they settled was designated *Mālava* or *Mālva* with special reference to their tribal name. In the dialect of the Northern Shans (*Īāu*) the term *Muang*, meaning a country, is pronounced *Mō*; hence *Īāu's* Land, called in modern Siamese *Muang Īāu*, would be termed *Mō-Lāu*, a name which immigrants from the districts of Northern India where Prākṛt tongues were spoken, would soon classicize into *Mālava* or *Māla*, thus identifying, as it were, the new country with a district of their venerated fatherland.

As regards the *Lawās*, *Lawah*, or *Wah*, known to have occupied from a very early period the whole mountainous region between the *Mē-Khōng* and the *Salwīn* rivers, and now restricted mostly to the wild tracts of the main watershed between the 18th and 23rd parallels, they are essentially a hill people, as exemplified by the term *Dōi* (meaning a mountain), applied to them by the *Īāu*. Though they appear to have at one time held the country to the east and south of the upper *Me-Khōng* bend as well, they were driven off to their present haunts by the *Īāu*; hence it is unlikely that they are the people alluded to in the name *Mālava-pradeśa* applied to the country whence they were so early expelled. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the *Lawās* were actually so called at that period. The only name recorded for them or the early ancestors of their race is that of *C'hieng*, meaning an elevated place, hill, or plateau, which I think to be identical with the Chinese 嶺 (*ching*). Their cities, from being generally built on some eminence, were likewise termed *C'hieng*, e.g. *C'hieng Tung*, *C'hieng Rung*, etc., which the Burmese write *Kyaing Tōn*, *Kyaing Yōn*, etc.; and their country was called the *C'hieng*, i.e. 'Hilly,' Country.<sup>1</sup> The branch of

<sup>1</sup> I cannot agree with Mr E H Parker's opinion expressed in the *China Review* (vol. xiv p 76, n 65, and vol xx, p 340), that the prefix *Kiang* [*C'hiang*] of *Kiang-tung*, etc., is identical with *Kien*, the Nan Chao

the Thai race that conquered their territory was, as a consequence, named *Thai-C'hieng* or *Lau-C'hieng*, and continued to prefix the term *C'hieng* to the names of the cities it established in the sequel, such as, for instance, *C'hieng-mūi*. In the course of time the word *C'hieng* thus became synonymous with *Muang*, the Thai term for city, district, etc. But its original sense remained embodied in several expressions employed to designate products of the hills and woods, e.g. *C'hamot-c'hieng*, *Kòt-c'hieng*, etc., meaning up to the present day, respectively, musk and medicinal bulbs of the hills.<sup>1</sup>

word for 'department,' and that it "practically means the same as *mūang*." The actual Siamese word for department is *khom*, and this is, I think, what *khien* means. The *C'hieng* here alluded to is evidently identical with the Chinese 京, which means, as explained in Giles' Dictionary, s. v. 2140, 'a height, an eminence. A capital, a metropolis.' The same interpretation applies, word by word, to the term *C'hieng*, which denotes at the same time a height and a city. The Sanskrit *Mālak* or *Mālam*, denoting a mountaineer and also a high ground, is pretty well equivalent to *C'hieng*, and the name *Mulā-pradesa* may have been derived from it, in which case it would mean 'the highlands,' 'the country of mountaineers.'

<sup>1</sup> According to the traditions of the Lawās, or *C'hiengs*, their ancestors had founded a powerful State, several centuries before the Christian Era, which extended eastwards to the frontiers of Tonkin. Their chief or king, styled *Khun Chūang*, resided in the city of *C'hieng Chūang*, now called *C'hieng Chong*, situated somewhere about Muang Lam, near the watershed between the Me-Khong and the Salwin. It was also the *C'hieng* who established the once famous State of Muang Yong or *Mahiyangana-nagara*, further down the Me-Khong Valley. The latter was overthrown, as I learn from the Muang Yong Chronicle, about 100 years before the Buddhist Era, or circa 644 B.C., by Sunanda Kumara, the second son of the Thai chief of *C'hieng Rung*, who murdered all the *C'hieng* chiefs, making himself master of their country. The defeated *C'hiengs* then fled towards Lan C'hang, and settled along the Me-Khong.

After the Lau had conquered *C'hieng Rung*, Muang Yong, and other foundations of the *C'hieng* people, and had practically become masters of the region occupied by the latter, they were thenceforward known as *Lāu C'hieng*, i. e. 'the Lau of the *C'hieng* country.' They are, however, also termed *Lau C'hieng*, on account of their still worshipping, in common with the Lawas and other hill tribes of non-Thai race, several objects which they say once belonged to a superior being, perhaps a king or hero of the former *C'hieng* (Lawā) empire, by the name of *C'hieng*. These objects are —

1 The *Makoradika* drum, a brass tymbal open at the bottom and ornamented on the top by four raised figures of frogs disposed round the rim at equal intervals, whence its vulgar name of *Khong-kob*, meaning 'frog-drum.' It has

The peoples of the Thai race are, contrary to the Lawās and other mountain tribes, a valley-dwelling population, and are wont to settle only on the banks of streams or lakes. Hence the Chinese called them *Pa-i*, a term meaning 'valley barbarians'.<sup>1</sup> The corresponding Sanskrit word is *Dronaka*, the sense of which is 'people of valleys,'<sup>2</sup> or rather of lakes, and occurs as the name of a tribe in the Mahābhārata's list, where *Proṣṇaka* is given as an alternative term. In Northern Indo-China the term *Dronaka* appears to me to be represented by

Ptolemy's *Doānai* and the *Ts'uan* of the Chinese, while its alternative *Proṣala* remains probably preserved to us in the name of the *P'u-tsz* or *Peh-tsz*, a tribe undoubtedly of the same (Thai) race, which may be connected with the city of Western Yunnan that Ptolemy names *Posinara*.<sup>1</sup>

One should not be in the least surprised at finding so many Sanskrit names of peoples, regions, and cities transplanted here from India, especially from its northern part, and often distributed in a similar topographical order as they originally occurred there. This latter circumstance is peculiarly interesting, and constitutes, perhaps, the most striking example of what we may be permitted to term toponymic mimicry that we know of. Already we have noticed the homology in the distribution and relative location of geographical names, between the coast of Arakan and the western seaboard of India at similar latitudes. Want of space prevents us from going into further details, beyond saying that the same imitation is carried on with some degree of accuracy, in so far as the relative positions of the topographical names are concerned, from the Gulf of Martaban across to Lāos and the greater part of Northern Indo-China. In fact, while we have here a second *Mālvā* and another *Daśrīna*, representing, respectively, Western and Eastern Lāos, as already noticed, we find further north, in Yunnan, a second *Gandhāra*, as well as *Mithilā* and *Vuleha* or *Vuleha*; a *Campā* in the east (Annam), and a *Malaya* in the south (Malay Peninsula).

The rule does not, of course, apply to every place of Indo-China; but, in general, it may be assumed that its northern districts have been given names corresponding to ancient districts of Northern India; while its southern divisions, including the Malay Peninsula, were called after

similarly located regions of the south of India. Such coincidences are due to the fact that a double stream of emigrants from India flowed into Indo China at a very early period. One, proceeding from the north, advanced overland through Manipur and Burmā and influenced the northern part of Indo China as far as the Tonkin Gulf and the Chinese borders, the other, coming from the south, reached Indo China by sea, and its influence extended mainly over the Malay Peninsula, Siām, Kamboja and Southern Annam. Thus it will be seen that Northern Indo China owes its early civilization to settlers from Northern India while its southern portion, including the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, is indebted for its ancient development to adventurers and colonists from the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. Once this point never hitherto cleared up is well understood, much that is yet incomprehensible and obscure of the early history of Indo Chinese nations will appear more distinct.

For the present we are concerned only with that stream of emigration which flowed into Northern Indo China from Northern India. That such a movement occurred is amply proved by the fact that during the three or four centuries preceding the Christian Era we find Indo dynasties established by adventurers claiming descent from the Kṣatriya potentates of Northern India, ruling in Upper Burmā, in Siām and Lāos in Yunnan and Tonkin, and even in most parts of South Eastern China. From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin Gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty States ruled by those scions of the Kṣatriya race, using the Sanskrit or the Pāli languages in official documents and inscriptions building temples and other monuments after the Indo style and employing Brāhman priests for the propitiatory ceremonies connected with the Court and State. Among such Indo monarchies we may mention those of Tagung Upper Pugūn, Prome, and S'ān wī (Theinni), in Burmā, of Muang Hing Chieng Rung Muang Khwīn and Da-sarna (Iuang Phrah Bang) in the Lāo country, and of *Agranagara* (Hanoi) and Campā,

in Tonkin and Annam As far as Yunnan is concerned, we learn from Chinese historians that a Jen kwo claiming descent from Sukladhīnva rīja fifth son of Śrī Dharmī ol a of Magadha was as early as B.C. 122 reigning at Peh ngai to the south east of the Tali Lake, and had shortly afterwards, conferred upon himself from the Chinese emperor the sovereignty over the whole territory of Tien (Yunnan)'. We hear, moreover, that 'the oldest traditions connect the Ai Lao State of Yung ch'ang with *Meng chia ch'uo* son of Asoka''.

If we do not know more of the Indū dynasties founded in the south of China and on the shores of the Gulf of Tonkin it is due no doubt to the fact that the Chinese looked upon the States lying outside the borders of their empire at that period as barbarous and therefore concerned themselves very little about them But the names of peoples and cities recorded by Ptolemy in that region, however few and imperfectly preserved are sufficiently significant to prove the presence of the Indu ruling and civilizing element in those countries undoubtedly not so barbarous as the Chinese would make them appear A different complexion is thus put on the past of those

countries and of China withal, for while, according to Chinese accounts, the Chinese appear as the civilized nation *par excellence* and the populations outside their southern borders as barbarians, the truth seems to lie rather in the opposite direction, as it was evidently through the medium of those barbarians that China received part of her civilization from India. As a matter of fact the Chinese never yet mentioned or admitted this, but it is as plain as can be that their astronomical knowledge, their calendar, and many of the arts and sciences for which they stood long celebrated as the original inventors, were introduced among them by Indū travellers or acquired by the Chinese themselves through contact with the barbarians of their southern borders where Indū influence had long been predominating. The embassy that the emperor Ming is sent in A.D. 65 to India, whence it brought Buddhism to the Chinese, was very likely prompted by and despatched upon the advice of Indūs then at the Chinese Court. It seems, in short, to me that there is ample evidence as to the presence, within Chinese borders of Indū and other western foreigners—whether adventurers, traders or missionaries—early, before the Christian Era and before active intercourse by sea could have been established. The presence of this western—chiefly Indū—element and its influence upon the development of Chinese civilization at a far earlier period than has hitherto been known or even suspected, commands attention and can henceforth be hardly overlooked by Sinologists. But, reserving our further remarks on this highly important subject to a more suitable occasion, we shall here resume our discussion on the Doanai and their country just a moment ago interrupted.

As we remarked Ptolemy's Doanai represent a valley dwelling people such as are termed in Sanskrit *Dronaka* and in Chinese *Pi*, and undoubtedly correspond to the *Ts'wai*, *Tuan* or *Doan* tribes of Eastern Yunnan. It was they apparently who overthrew the Indū kingdom founded at Daśarna or Luang Phrah Bing. They were—like the *Āi Lau* and their kinsmen, the *Kau* still existing at present



in the Lower Me-Không valley under the name of *Iâu-Kau*—a people of Thai race. Ma Tuan-lin<sup>1</sup> mentions the *Ts'uan* (Doanai) as inhabiting, in the seventh century, the territory of K'un-ming to the east of the Tali Lake, thus bounding on that side the State of Nan-Chao or Thai empire of Mêng shê, now Mêng-hwa T'ing. Parker, in his article on the Nan Chao,<sup>2</sup> says that the *Ts'uan* tribe "must have extended far east into Kwang si, for the *Sui-shu*, which treats of a period earlier than this by two centuries [fifth century], says that General Shi Wan-sui was appointed commander in chief of a force sent to quell an insurrection of the Nan-ning barbarian *Ts'uan Wan*, and that he advanced as far as Nan-chung." But, early before that period, the *Ts'uan* must have extended to the south as well, thus occupying the high valleys of the Song k'i, of the Song k'oi or Red River, and of the Song bo or Black River, whence they advanced into the basin of the Nam-Ū through Dien Bien p'hū or Muang Thén (*T'ien*), and thence to Luang P'hrāh Bīng and the Middle Me Không, as told in the chronicles and traditions of the Eastern Lāu. In A.D. 550 we find them in the country termed *Da nan dong* by the Annamese annalists,<sup>3</sup> situated about the sources of the *Dao giang*, a stream which I identify with the *Nam Tan* or Red River, Ptolemy's *Dorias*. About 960 A.D. we find the *Dóan* (*T'uan* or *Ts'uan*) tribes in occupation, jointly with the *Kau*, of the same territory on the Red River<sup>4</sup> which was, several centuries previous, held by the *Āi Lāu*. Moreover, in A.D. 819 we hear of the *Huang dong* or *Huang-tong*, tribes of the *Hsi-yuan man* inhabiting the valleys of Huang-ch'êng on the eastern borders of the territory of Nan Chao,<sup>5</sup> attacking Tonkin and killing its Chinese governor.

Although the term *Doan*, *T'uan*, or *Ts'uan* disappeared,

and so did in Indo-China its Sanskrit equivalent or prototype *Doṇāla*—only those of *Lāu-Kau* and *Lau-kiao-wā*, *Jaiā* or *Chua* (老撾), remaining—the Doans may be easily recognized in Ptolemy's *Doānai*. They, evidently were a non-tattooing population, unlike the *Āi-Lāu*, who, on account of their tattooing their bodies with dragons and wearing tails to their clothes, were nicknamed *Ngieu*, a *Lāu* term identical with the modern Siamese *Ngū*, which means 'snake'. For the same reason their successors in Yunnan, the Nan-Chao, were by the Chinese termed *Lung-wei*, i.e. 'Dragon-tails.'<sup>1</sup>

"The *Ts'uan*," says Parker,<sup>2</sup> "are stated by K'ang-hi to have been an influential clan in modern Yun-nan Fu." Ma Tuan-lin has a notice on the *Ts'uan*, under the name of *Liang ts'uan-man*, meaning 'the two [clans of the] *Ts'uan*,' to wit, the 'white' or 'western' (*Pai Ts'uan*) and the 'black' or 'eastern' (*Wu Ts'uan*). According to his information, they must have extended from the headwaters of the Red River to as far east as Kwang-si. This coincidence in location of the *Ts'uan* with the *Doan*, or *T'uan*, and the *Kau* of the Annamese historians, coupled with the fact that *T'uan*, or *Doan*, is the Annamese pronunciation of the Chinese term *Ts'uan*, is sufficient evidence to show, I think, that they really were the same people.<sup>3</sup> Similar coincidences in names and location also indicate them to be identical with Ptolemy's *Doānai*. It is therefore pretty certain that in our author's time a conspicuous portion of this people had already advanced into Eastern Laos or Daśirna, which they held under sway.

The tradition of the *Lāu* of Lúang P'hrāh Bāng is, that their early ancestors settled first at Muang Thén, the Dien

<sup>1</sup> See Ma Tuan lin, op. cit. vol. II, p. 189, article *Nan Chao*, and p. 271 seq. also Parker in *China Review*, vol. XIX, No. 2, p. 68, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 73 note.

<sup>3</sup> A clan of a similar name, the *Tuan*, ruled over Nan-Chao, and subsequently over the Ta-h State. All these tribes were evidently of the same i.e. the Thai race. Mr. Parker thinks the *Ts'uan* to have been the forbears of the *Lolos* (see *Sina Periero*, vol. XXIII, p. 182), but this has yet to be proved. *Lo-lo* is a very vague and elastic tribal designation, and it may have formerly been applied to peoples of Thai race (*Lora* or *Lara*), the *Ts'uan* included.

Bien-p'hu of the Annamese, so called, to my belief, either from 滇 (*Tien*), the ancient name of Yunnan, their preceding seat, or 天 (*T'ien*), the Chinese word for heaven and its Lord, identified by the Lāu with the Indra of the Indūs. The latter hypothesis seems preferable from its being in accord with the legend of the Lāu as to their having received, while settled at that place, a king from heaven by the name of Khún Borom (*Parama*), meaning 'most excellent ruler.' He was the son of *P'hyā Thén*, i.e. 'the Lord *T'ien*,' whom the Lāu now identify, as I said, with Indra. Soon after his advent they divided into seven branches, each led by a son of Khún Borom, and set off for the surrounding countries, which they occupied as far as the frontiers of Tonkin on the east, Burmā on the west, and China on the north. The northern branch settled in Yunnan, where it founded the kingdom of *Muang Hō*, or *Hō-te*, by which I believe the Nan-Chao State is meant, as Ma Tuan-lin gives *Ho-ché* (鶴柘), or *Ho-shih*, as one of the names under which the Nan-Chao were known.<sup>1</sup> The eastern branch is said to have founded the kingdom of *Culanī*, *Culāmanī*, or *Cullamāhni*, which must be identified, as we shall see in the sequel, with *Lin-ti* or *Campa*. As the above legend is possessed by the Lāu of Lúang P'rahā Bāng in common with the Mau Shans (Thai Mau) and the Ahom of Asam, it is likely that the branching off took place rather at Tien (Yunnan) than at Muang Thén, and at a date much earlier than the one obtained by Ney Elias from Mau records, i.e. the year 1111 of the Buddhist Era, or 568 A.D. If we are to judge from the fact that in the first century A.D. the western branch of the Lāu had already founded the kingdom of *Shen* in Northern Burmā and their eastern branch occupied the Middle Me-Khōng valley, becoming soon afterwards known to Ptolemy under the name of *Doānai*, we must place the event of the first branching off of the Lāu from Yunnan at a date not later than the beginning of the Christian Era; but I think that two or

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 189, article *Nan-Chao*.

three centuries earlier represents perhaps a more approximate estimate, as these people must have taken some time on the way before reaching their present seats<sup>1</sup>

At any rate, the branch that wended its steps towards the Nam U and, descending its course, reached the Mē-Khōng at Luang P'hrah Bāng, found, according to the chronicles, the *Khā Kamang* tribe in occupation, who blocked the passage at the confluent of the Nam Ū, and had to be overcome before any further progress became possible. The *Kamrang* were driven up the Me-Khōng as far as the districts of P'hū Lāu and P'hū Khā, near the present C'hieng Khóng, where, from their arranging the hair in a lump tied on the top of the head, they were since known as *Kha Kau*, in Siamese, *Khā Klun*. These Khā tribes, say the chronicles, were of the *Cheh*, i.e. the C'hieng, race<sup>2</sup>. They evidently came from Kwang si and Kwei-chou. It is worthy of remark that tribes of an identical or a very similar name, the *Kamian*, are mentioned in the chronicles of Burmā as having constituted,

together with the *P'hŷū* (*Prū*) and *Sak* (*Suk*, *Cheh*, *Chek* ?), its early population. They are said to have subsequently shifted on to Arakan. This shows that the advance of the Lāu or Thai was, both in Northern Siām and Burmā, confronted by populations of the same (*Mōñ-Annam*) race, by the name of *Kamān* and *Prū*, who had long been in occupation of the country, and who had either to be repelled or subdued. The early *P'hŷū*, or *Prū*, and *Sak*, on the Siamese side, are still represented by the present *Prū*, *Por*, or *Poru*, and *So*, *Suk*, or *Sak*, of Kamboja. From linguistical and other affinities I have, moreover, come but recently to the conclusion that the *Khamu* of Arakan and the *Khamu* of Lúang P'hrah Bāng must have been in origin the same tribe.

According to Professor Lacouperie, the *Por*, *Poru*, or *Prū*, and their cognate tribes in Kamboja, were driven out of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si B.C. 215. This appears to agree with the statement of the Lúang P'hrah Bāng chronicles that the *Kamāng* and similar tribes were of *Cheh* or Southern Chinese origin, though the date given above refers, no doubt, to the exodus of the last remnants of those tribes; judging from the fact that the first inroads of the Lāu into the Middle Me-Khōng valley must have occurred within the two centuries preceding the Christian Era, as I suggested above, and that at that period the Lāu found the *Kamrāng* and other tribes of the *Cheh* stock already in occupation of the country. As to the elder offshoots of the *Cheh* race, such as the *C'hieng* or *Lawā*, they must have found their way to Central Indo-China much earlier, and the *Mōñ* and *Khmer* must have long preceded them, the date of their advent most probably coinciding with that of the establishment of their kinsmen on the shores of the Gulf of Tonkin some eleven or twelve centuries B.C. In the *C'hieng S'en* Chronicle the *Khōm* (*Khmer*) are spoken of as having been in occupation, long before 675 B.C., of the tract of country between the Me-Khōng at *C'hieng S'en* and the headwaters of the Me-Nam, whence they were not finally expelled by the Lāu until A.D. 376.

The *Pouu*, *Drau*, or *Prû*; the *Bahnar*, and cognate tribes, were very likely the Barrhai whom Ptolemy places to the south of Yünnan and to the west of the Kudutai and Indoi of Tonkin.

From the foregoing considerations the movement and distribution of races in the north of Indo-China appears in a clearer light than hitherto depicted; and it becomes evident that prior to the advance of the Lïu or Thai in Siâm and of the Tibeto-Burmese into Burmā, both these countries were occupied by tribes of the Mōū-Annam race originally from Southern China, chiefly from Kwang-si and Kwei-chou, who had long preceded them. These tribes were obviously of the very same stock both in Siâm and Burmā; hence the unexpected disclosure follows that the famed *Kanrân*, *Prû* or *P'hyû*, and *Sal*, hitherto held to have formed the bulk of the Burmese nation, were instead tribes of the Mōū-Annam race whom the Tibeto-Burmese found already settled in the country, and whom they had to face and repel before being able to obtain a footing in it<sup>1</sup>.

According to Aymonier,<sup>2</sup> the popular name of *Joh* or *Chok* applied to the Annamese by the Chîm, is synonymous with the literary term *Yuan* or *P'ean* (Yavina) by which the former are designated throughout Indo-China, except in Annam itself, and which the Annamese pronounce *Nguen* or *Nguyen*. This term I take to be identical with the Chinese 原 (*yüan*), meaning 'a high level, a plateau,' and synonymous with 京 (*ching*) or *Ching* and the Sanskrit

*Māla*. It occurs in the name of the *Hsi-yuan-man*, called *Tai-nguyên*, or *Têi-nguen*, by the Annamese, whom Ma Tuan-lin<sup>1</sup> locates on the north-eastern frontiers of Tonkin and makes conterminous with the Nan-Chao on the west. It follows, therefore, that the early settlers in Tonkin and Annam must have been of the same stock of the *C'hieng*, who peopled *Māla* or *Mālala-deśa*, i.e. the present Lāos, before the Lāu or Doans. Both the *Nguyen* or *Nguen* and the Lawā or *C'hieng* originated from the race and country of Yuan, i.e. Kwang-si, which was part of *Yueh*, i.e. Southern China; hence we see the terms *Chok*, *Chel*, *C'hieng*, *Yavana*, and *Javana*—which mean, respectively, 'tribes of South-Eastern China,' 'hill tribes,' and 'mixed tribes'—applied both to the early invaders of Tonkin and to the elder settlers in Lāos.

One of the ancient names of Lúang P'hrah Bāng was, in fact, *Jarā* or *C'hauā*, which the Lāu found on their arrival thither, and which they pronounce *Sarā*. I have not the slightest doubt that this term is but an abridged form of *Javana* or *Yavana*; while its existence at so early a period is a proof that the city and the surrounding country then really belonged to the Yuan or *Yueh*, namely, the *Yavana*, *C'hieng*, or *C'hieng*. The name *C'hauā* or *Jau* was preserved in the country up to comparatively recent times, when the Chinese wrote it down as 𣎵 (*Chua*, *ch'ua*, *chua*, or *lúa*) and 老 𣎵 (*Lao-Chua* or *Lau-Ch'ua*).<sup>2</sup> On the other

<sup>1</sup> Op cit, pp 236-7

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to remark that the Miao tze term the Chinese *shua* (vide *China Review*, vol ix, p 341) is this term corresponds, as I suppose, to the *C'hauā*, *Sau*, or *Jauā*, mentioned above, it must have been originally employed by the Miao to designate not the Chinese people proper, but the pre-Chinese populations, chiefly of Moñ-Annam race, inhabiting in the early periods the southern portion of China. Concerning the above term Mr. E H Parker observes (op cit, vol xii, p 59) that the concurrence of sounds such as *shua*, *ma*, *sha*, etc., "would seem to point to some general name for the southern Chinese or some Chinese aboriginal race." The Hakkas, the same authority proceeds to say, often call *P'ntes* (the natives of Kwang-tung) *Sha-ma*, a term which may correspond to the *Sia-po* of Fu-chou, the *Zik'aba* of Wen-chou, etc. It seems to me quite possible in fact, that *Sia-po* and *Sha-ma* are connected with *Sarā* and *Jarā*. The inference would thus be that *Sarā*, *Jarā*, *Chōh*, *Sia-po*, *Shua*, etc., represent, under different forms, the name of the race which

hand, from *Jata* or *Sarā*, and *Māla* or *Mālāva*, sprang the denomination *Jaraka-* or *Saraka-* (often wrongly spelled *Seraka*) -*Māhī* for the same district, which we have mentioned at the outset. The first term of this compound toponymic was, in its turn, recorded by the Chinese annalists under the form 提家 (*Chia-hia*), and at times employed in the place of its synonym *Lao-Chua* to designate the State of Lúang P'hrah Bāng.

It strikes one as very curious in this connection that, while the Lāu of Lúang P'hrah Bāng ought, like their western kinsmen and for the same reason, to be termed *Yuan* or *Yuen*, they reserve this epithet, under the Pāli forms *Yona* or *Yón*, and the Sanskrit dress *Yavana* modified into *Yuen*, for their tattooing relatives of the C'hieng-māi principality. Hence the designation *Yonaka-desa* for the region of Western Lāos so often met with in local literature. Evidently no race likes to be called *Yavana* or 'mixed,' and the Annamese do not feel less aversion for such an epithet. The C'hieng-māi Lāu, however, retaliate upon their brothers of beyond the Me-Khōng by calling them *Kēu*, thus insinuating that the latter are of the race of, or dependent from, the *Kiao* or *Chiau* of Kiao-chi (*Chiau-chih*) or Tonkin. Remnants of the ancient *Cheh* race still bearing the original name exist up to the present day in the state of Lúang P'hrah Bāng, and they are called *Khā* *Cheh* or *Khamu* (*Khamuh*). They dwell on the mountain slopes, a fact which evidences their character of hill tribes; like their kinsmen the *Khā Káu*, the *Só* or *Kasó*, and the *Suk* or *Sak*, etc., they speak a language of the Mōū-Annam class; and prove extremely meek and submissive. They consider themselves, in fact, as slaves of the Lāu, and accept without reluctance this condition of inferiority and

originally occupied the greater portion of Southern China before the advent of the Chinese proper, and that such a denomination continued to be employed to denote the natives of the various provinces of that region (whether or not connected by descent with that race) in order to distinguish them from immigrant Chinese from other provinces. Thus the terms referred to lost their original significance and became synonymous with 'indigent,' 'native.'



subordination to the latter, owing to a legend of their own according to which their ancestors were worsted in several competitions with the pioneers and progenitors of their present masters. The disgrace of the Khū Chh dates, in fact, from the day that the Līu entered their country. Prior to that period they, and their kinsmen the Khū Kanrīng (Khī Kau), appear to have been blessed with a far more civilized status than at present, for, as the chronicles of Luang Phrah Bīng declare, at the time of the Līu's advent into the country, the Khū Kanrīng were governed by a chief with the title and authority of king, who appointed ministers over the agriculture, fluvial communications, forests etc., and they had brought under cultivation the territory along both banks of the Mē Khōng, as far up as the Nam-Phī—an affluent joining the Mē Khōng at Chieng Lap, below Chieng Khōng (Kēng Cheng of the maps) and Muang Sing. From these data we are enabled to form an estimate of the extent of that ancient kingdom of Eastern Mūlava or Dasarna founded by the *Cleh* race under Indū auspices and conquered afterwards by the eastern branch of the Līu, T'wan, or Doans. Indū influence had no doubt, made itself felt in the country long before the Līu's advent, as it had indeed spread also further east and north into what we now call Tonkin and Yunnan, the probability is, therefore, that monarchs of Indu descent occupied the throne in Da īrna as they did in many a neighbouring State.

The foundation of Luang Phrah Bīng is, in fact, ascribed by the native historians to adventurers from Indū, a circumstance which sufficiently demonstrates the Indū origin not only of the reigning dynasty, but also of the names for both city and State. *Dasarna* was apparently the denomination given the latter, while *Java*, *Javaka*, or *Tavana* more properly designated its capital, as well as the race that peopled the country. Already I have pointed out the connection of these terms with *Yuan*, *Fuch*, *Ching Chieng*, and *Cleh* or *Chol*, more especially with *Ching*, which I consider as a Thai synonym of the

Chinese *Yueh*, in Annamese *Yuet*.<sup>1</sup> I believe that it is this term *C'hieng* which suggested to the early Indū adventurers the Sanskrit word *Yavana* as a designation for the race whom they found in occupation of the country. It may be safely asserted at any rate that *Yavana*, *Yona*, *Yón*, and *Yuen*, if not translations of *C'hieng*, must be imitative renderings of *Yuan* and *Yüeh*.

Having thus shown the origin and meaning of the terms which Ptolemy has preserved for us in connection with the people and country of Lāos, we shall now proceed to briefly examine each individual name of cities and rivers in this region.

Doanas River (Nos. 118 and 182).

According to our author it is formed by two streams, one from Bēpyrrhos and the other from the Damassa range, which unite in about long 99° 31' and lat. 22° 37', corrected. The confluence would thus fall a little to the north-west of *C'hieng Rung*. While the branch from Bēpyrrhos is made to rise in the Southern Himālayas of Asam, a little to the east of Tawang, the source of the eastern branch from Damassa is located in the north of Yunnan, a little west of Yung-ning—a very close approach indeed to the true position of the upper course of the Me-Khōng. Misled by a similarity in names, Ptolemy makes the Doanas debouch through the Dahan or Thuān-an River on the coast of Annam, in the Quang-tri district. He appears, in fact, to have been quite in the dark as regards its lower course; while, on the other hand, he traces it with remarkable correctness from the neighbourhood of the Ta-li Lake in Yunnan down to Lúang P'hrah Bāng and even further, as a glance at our map will show. Its name of

<sup>1</sup> The sense of *C'hieng*, 'mixed crossed, overlapping, diagonal,' seems to me to be presented to some extent by the Chinese *Yueh*, Annamese *Yuet* (越), meaning 'to overstep, to encroach on, to transgress, to cross.' Compare also *K'eu* and 交 (*kau*, *liau*, *chiai*, *giao*) = 'to interlock, to bleed' = *Yavana*, *Yavana*.

Doanas he derived either from the people inhabiting its banks, the *Doan*, *T'ican*, or *Ts'ican*, or from the Dahan or Thuīn-an River, its supposed outlet. No such or similar name has, within my knowledge, ever been given to the Me-Không. The denominations which I find recorded for this important watercourse are, in its upper portion, that flows in Thibetan territory: *Nam-Chu* and *Chiamdo-Chu*. After it enters Yunnan, it goes by the name of *Lan-ts'ang*, by which it has always been known to the Chinese. There is no doubt that the latter named the river after the country or State of *Lān-c'hāng*, the Lāu designation for the territory of Lúang P'hrah Bāng.<sup>1</sup> The Western Lāu term the

Me-Khōng *Nam khai*, the Eastern Lāu call it *Nam Khōng* or *Mē-Khong*, and the Siānese, with but little variation, name it *Mē-Khōng* or *Mē-nam-Khong*. I find, moreover, in native records, among which is the Muang Yōng Chronicle, that the portion of the Me-Khōng running through the Lāu States was termed *Yamuna nadi*, probably in analogy to the Yamunā or Jumna of Northern India, some of whose affluents flow through Mīlava and Dāṣṛna. At times it is mentioned under the name of *Mahanadi*, whether in allusion to the Mahā or not I am unable to say. In the Pīlī history of the *Sihm* statue of Buddha, compiled in Chieng mǎi by Bodhiramsi Mahātheri towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Me-Khōng is referred to (ch vii) as *Khuanga-mah nadi*, while in the Chieng sēn Chronicle it is, at the outset, termed *Khaya nadi* or *Huei Khai*, and the denomination Me-Khōng is introduced later on, with a futile attempt to explain it by an absurd Buddhist legend, which it would be mere waste of space to reproduce here. *Khaya nadi* means 'the rough, or fierce, river', *Huei Khai* may be rendered as 'the stream that extirpates, or ravages'. This is also, on the whole, the sense conveyed by the word *Khong* 'impetuous, violent'. But in the lower portion of its course, which lies through Kamboja, the Me Khōng is, in some native accounts, styled *Sidantara*<sup>1</sup>. This word, commonly pronounced *Sithandon*, is also the official Siānese name for Muang Khōng, a township on an island in the middle of the Me-Khōng, above Stung-treng. The suggestion made by some authorities<sup>2</sup> that

the name of this township is a corrupt form of the Siānese *Sī-p'han-dōn*, meaning 'four thousand islands,' is simply ridiculous, to say the least of it.

The popular notion among Siānese and Lāu alike has ever been that the Me-Khōng flows through *Nóng Sī'*, i.e. the Ta-li Lake or Hsi-êrh-hai, and that before reaching it, it travels underground through a tunnel for a distance taking eight days to a boat propelled by means of poles to traverse. Here and there, tell native accounts, funnel-shaped holes in the roof and sides of the tunnel admit of the passage of light. This is, of course, but a repetition of the tradition concerning the Hsi-êrh-ho, the stream which crosses the Ta-li Lake, joining afterwards the Yang-pi, an affluent of the Me-Khōng, and has nothing whatever to do with the last-mentioned river. Colborne Baber deems it impossible for boats from the Me-Khōng to reach the lake through the Yang-pi and its small tributary.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, there is no indication as to the Me-Khōng ever having borne the name of Doanas assigned to it by Ptolemy,<sup>2</sup> and we feel therefore justified in assuming that this name must have been given to it by our author either in reference to the people on its banks, the *Doans* or *Doānai*, or to its supposed outlet on the coast of Annam, the Thuān-an River. A very early, if not the oldest, name for the Me-Khōng is no doubt the one by which it is still known to the Chinese, i.e. *Lan-ts'ang*—or, as the Siānese pronounce this term, *Lān-c'hāng*—which is alluded to in the ballad quoted by Ma Tuan-lin as being already old in

his time,<sup>1</sup> and cannot at the present day be ascribed an antiquity less than some fifteen centuries.

Rhingibēri, a city (No. 72).

This is no doubt C'hīeng Rung—the Kiang Hung of the maps<sup>2</sup>—the well-known capital of the twelve *P'han-na* townships of the *Lū-Shans* (*Sib-sōng P'han-nā Lū*) on the Upper Me-Khōng. Its official name is *Jolana-pura rajadhāni*, 'the Resplendent Capital,' appearing under the form *Jolinagara* in the Burmese Po-U-Daung inscription of A.D. 1774. The derivation is from the Sanskrit word *Jyotis*, meaning 'light' or 'brightness,' which occurs in *Prāg-jyotiṣa*, the ancient name of Asam.

Rhingibēri may be easily recognized in the compounds *Ringi-pura*, *Ranga-pura*, *Rung-pur*, etc., which have as well their counterparts in Asam, in *Rangamati*, *Rangā-bāti*, or *Rangabari*, on the Brahmaputra. This homonymy has misled Saint-Martin and Yule into actually locating Ptolemy's Rhingibēri in Asam. But, accustomed as we are to such repetitions of topographical names from India in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, of which we have given many an instance, we shall not fall a victim to the same error, especially since our calculated results indicate a place of the exact latitude of C'hīeng Rung, and not very different from the latter in longitude. The very name C'hīeng Rung, in its present Siamese form, well represents the Sanskrit compound *Raṅga-pura*, for in it the prefix *C'hīeng* stands for *pura*, 'a city,' and the second term *Rung* for *raṅga*, which means 'colour,' 'hue,' and thus conveys a sense not very dissimilar from the word *jyotis*, in Pāli *joti*. But I shall now demonstrate that the denominations *Ranga-pura*,

*Joti-nagara*, and *Jotana-pura* are but classical adaptations by Indū adventurers of the original name for the city and district, which undoubtedly was C'hieng Rung—in Lāu pronunciation, *C'hieng Hing*—and had a similar meaning *Rung*, in fact, in modern Siāmesese, and *Hung* in Lāu, mean a 'rainbow'<sup>1</sup>—in Shan (Lāu of Burmā

branch of the Thai people inhabiting that region. The other two divisions were Muang Yong and Muang Sing, hence, according to the Muang Yong Chronicle, the three princes once ruling over them—who were brothers, being all sons of the C'hieng Rung king—became vulgarly known, respectively, as *Āi Chih*, *Yi Yong*, and *Sim Sing* (*Āi*, *Yi*, *Sim Sai*, *Ngua*, *Loh*, etc., were the ordinal epithets employed up to a comparatively recent period to distinguish male children in the order of birth—as may be seen from the law of A.D. 1731 in the collection of the Old Laws of Siam, vol. II, pp. 7-26—and mean 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. From this we see that the prince ruling over Muang Choh was the eldest, the Muang Yong one the second, and that of Muang Sing the third of the sons of the C'hieng Rung king. The prince of Yong was, in the present instance, the Samudra Kumara referred to at p. 119 above.) This political division of C'hieng Rung into three principalities continued until A.D. 1399, when, in consequence of an attack made by the Chinese from Yunnan upon Muang Yong and C'hieng-mū which was successfully repelled by Prince Khau Sēn from the last named State Muang Yong became part of the C'hieng-mū dominions. The rearrangement of C'hieng-Rung into twelve *p'han-nū* districts for administrative purposes then followed, but Muang Choh and Muang Sing continued to retain their character of principalities. The state of affairs prior to

or *Ti u Lān*) རྒྱུ (Hui), or རྒྱུའྲ (Hui Lu)—and are identical with the Chinese 輝 (*Hui*) conveying the same sense. *Runj*, moreover, in a slightly different tone in Sīamese *Hūn* in Lāu and in Shan (𑜉𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 or 𑜉𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫 in Chinese), mean 'bright,' 'shining.' Whether it be for the reason that the idea of colour is associated with that of light or brilliancy in the rainbow, or that the two terms expressing separately these ideas are easily mistaken the one for the other, owing to an almost imperceptible difference of tone existing between them, the fact is that the early Indū travellers who arrived into the country by the Manipur route from Asam translated *Hui* or *runj* by *raigt* and *jolis*, thus transplanting on the banks of the Me Khōng two of the topographical names which they had met with en route on the banks of the Brahmaputra. Ptolemy's Rhingiberi becomes therefore identical on both geographical and linguistic grounds, with *Lai gti p ia* or *Chieng Rung*.

**Lariagara** a town (No 73)

Probably Muang Lam, or Lam which has its exact latitude and is situated on the Nam Lam a right tributary of the Me Khōng. Muang Lam is nowadays the centre of the country of the independent Lawi or Wah. The name of the town here referred to by Ptolemy may have some connection with a possible Pīkrt form *Lariagara*. In India we have *Lai* or *Lai desa*, in Sanskrit *Lata*, a *Laurija* in the ancient Mithil east of the Gandak River, and a *Lelū* and *Lariagari* towards the north west frontier



As names of peoples we have *Iāngi* as a variant of *Bhāga* in the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>1</sup> also *Lāṇḍa*, meaning 'warrior,' which is the designation the Hor of Sing Bhūm give themselves.<sup>2</sup> So little is known of Muang Lam and of the surrounding country that it is for the present impossible to ascertain whether any of the above terms apply to its territory or to its inhabitants.

In the tables I suggested also, but doubtfully, *Legva* often appearing in the maps as *Leideah*. Its real name is however, purely Thai, and ought to be written *Lāi lāi* which is the Lāu form of the Siamese expression *Dū lā* (Shan လူလူ), meaning 'slaves [were] obtained [here]'. Iorchhammer was mistaken in believing the name of *Legva* to be of Indū derivation, thus identifying it, wrongly, with the *Lalīya pura* of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions of Pegu (A.D. 1476). At the same time not far to the south east of *Legva* and to the north east of its sister Shan town of Mone (more correctly *Mo Lai* = *Muay Lai*, anciently *Manj Plung*) Dr Richardson in his journeys of 1830-37 discovered some ancient ruins with sarcophagi and other monuments which may mark the site of some forgotten chief city of the Chieng or Lawī and thus justify the name *Pajajit* which I find applied in native records to either *Legva* or some other city in its neighbourhood.

In my opinion however *Legva* is too far out, both in latitude and longitude of the position where we should expect to find Ptolemy's city. If due regard is to be had to the location assigned by Ptolemy to *Laniagara* in respect

of Rhingibêri (Chlung Hlung), we see that the site of Muang Lam is the one which best answers all requirements. I do not therefore hesitate to discard Legya, and to pronounce myself in favour of the above named township.

**Lasippa or Lasyppe** a town (No 76)

This city proves no less difficult of identification than the preceding owing to the scarce and at the same time conflicting evidence which we obtain from the maps. Its name at once suggests *Sipoh*, the Thibo of European maps in the Shan State of *S'ha wa* (Theinnee),<sup>1</sup> or, what may appear to be yet more preferable Lashio in the same district. Though the resemblance in names especially in the case of the last mentioned place is striking the positions in latitude of both *Sipoh* and Lashio of some four degrees to the north of Ptolemy's city, dispose of at once I think, of their identification with the latter. If I referred to them here and in the tables it is more for the sake of completeness than because I deem either of them to be really the place meant by our authority. My opinion is in fact that in the case in point as well as in analogous ones when close similarity of names comes into play, we must not rely

upon homonymy alone, discarding the evidence afforded us by calculation, unless the results issuing from both sources are in fair agreement. Taking, therefore, for our guide the calculated result which has, in other instances, proved so remarkably near the truth, we see that the position of Lasippa falls between C'hieng-māi and Nān, and precisely at Muang Ngū, closely above which Monsieur Pavie's map notes a small township under the name of—I use the same spelling—*Wiang Syou-lay*. In the neighbourhood we find similar geographical names, such as: *Muang Saieb*, a little to the east; and a small stream, the *Si-pan*, an affluent of the Me-Yom, on the south. Of course, we must not become too sanguine in the face of these results. But in a country which, like that of the Lāu, has seen so many political revulsions, half-forgotten names of out-of-the-way and nowadays comparatively insignificant places often represent cities and marts once important and flourishing; and must be carefully examined into before being definitely rejected in a retrospective inquiry like this.

Besides, names similar to Lasippa are common all over the country. In the tables I have pointed out one instance: *Lā-siep* or *Lā-siet*, the name of an islet and of an ancient city on the *Mè-P'hung* (pronounced *Mè-Ping* by the Lāu, the western upper branch of the Mè-Nam River) some 2° of latitude south of C'hieng-māi and just above Kamp'heng P'het; wrongly spelled in Pavie's map as "*B. Kao* [*Ban Koh*, i.e. 'village of the island'] *La-kiet*." The city once existing there was, according to the Lamp'hūn chronicles, founded by *Cāma-deri*, the first queen of that State, in A.D. 528. But the name of the islet and district may have existed long before that, and very likely they were formerly occupied by some Lawā settlement similar to the apparently more important one which the same people had a little further up, above Raheng, by the name of Muang Sūi, of which conspicuous ruins still exist. Many places bearing names beginning with *La* or *Lā* are extant, moreover, all through the Lāu country, such as, for instance, *Laming* or *Ramung*, often misspelled *Lamaing*, the name

of the ancient site and stream of C'hīeng-māi. Under the form *Hlay-tshiep*<sup>1</sup> the term Lasippa is also met with in Lower Burmā, particularly in the Henzada and Illaing townships. These facts tend to show that it must belong to the vernacular of the ancient settlers, whether Mōn or Lāwā, and that it is therefore a local term and not of Indian origin; though it might be traceable to some Sanskrit-Pāli form like *Lakṣya*, *Lakṣha* (one *lak* of elephants?), etc. In Yunnan there is a chief city of the Hō which the Lāu chronicles call *Muang Hō-wōng*, giving the term *Lakṣa-guhā* (= one *lak* of caverns) or *Lakṣa-grhā* (one *lak* of houses) as its classical equivalent.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequent inquiries may disclose the correct name and site of Ptolemy's Lasippa; at our present stage of incomplete knowledge of the history and geography of the Lāu States we must remain satisfied with locating that city in the present C'hīeng-māi district, and provisionally at Wieng Si-pou-kay above Muang Ngū, until a more satisfactory site can be suggested.

Dasana or Doana, a town (No. 71).

The remarks prefaced to this section, as well as the result obtained from calculation for the position of this city, sufficiently prove that the latter can be no other place but Lúang P'hrah Bāng, the present, as well as the earliest, capital of Eastern Lāos. In all Lúang P'hrah Bāng chronicles and records which I had occasion to examine,

the foundation of this city is ascribed to two brother ascetics from India, the elder of whom bore the name of *Thong* (gold) and the younger that of *Dradaśan* or *Drādaśah* (twelfth). They were represented as having marked off the site of the city by means of golden and silver posts. The first of these was set up on the spot where now rises *Wat C'hieng-thong*, a Buddhist monastery, at the upper extremity of the city, a second one was stuck at the confluent of the Nam Khān (*Khāra*) with the Me Khōng in order to delimit the lower end of the town; and three more pillars respectively of gold, silver, and stone were erected by the side of a gigantic coral-tree (*Erythrina Indica*, in *Lāu Mai Thōng* or 'golden tree,' in Siāmesese *Thōng-láng*; evidently the Chinese 珙 珙) which then stood near the site of the present *Wat C'hieng-thōng*, in order to mark the auspicious site of the future royal residence. After these preliminaries the two ascetics summoned forth the seven mighty *Nāga* (serpent-gods) dwelling in the streams, mountains, and grottoes of the neighbourhood (who are even up to the present day worshipped by the *Lāu*), and committed the territory to their custody. The elder of the hermits then left *Dradaśan* in charge of the work of completion of the city, and ascended to heaven to pay P'hyā Thén (the god Indra) a visit, and ask him to send one of his sons (*Khún Borom*) to reign upon the newly formed State

spine From this circumstance the city was styled *Śrī Sattanāganahuta*<sup>1</sup>

A third name was yet given to it, viz. *Lan-c'hāng*, meaning 'the elephants' grazing ground,' or 'the elephants' lawn' This was in allusion, it is said, to the shape of two hills, rising one to the east and the other to the south of the city, which resemble in profile two huge

<sup>1</sup> In this compound term *Xiung* ('river') means a capital city, or *nagara* *Sattanāga* stands evidently for 'seven snake gods' *Nahuta* or *nahuta* is a vast number said to be equivalent to one unit followed by twenty-eight ciphers, hence it may be intended to express the idea of abundance Native authorities, however, state that *nahuta* means also 'crest, hood' Such being the case, the sense would be, 'Glorious capital-city of the seven Naga crests,' or, possibly, 'of the seven crested Naga.' The seven crests are explained to be the summits of as many hills inhabited by Naga chiefs, which lie within the limits of the territory I do not, however, find the term *nahuta* for 'crest' in any Sanskrit or Pali dictionary The nearest word is apparently *naḥuṣya*, meaning a 'man' Again *Nāga* denotes not only a snake, but also an elephant I trust, nevertheless that the interpretation given above is correct at any rate the native authorities hold such to be the sense that must be ascribed to the city's name

elephants.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, they were termed one the major and the other the minor elephant, and the open grassy plain stretching between them was assumed figuratively to be the *lân-c'hâng*, i.e. the pasture-field for the two pachyderms. Thus originated, it is alleged, the name *Lân-c'hâng*, by which *Lúang P'hrah Bāng* and its territory have been longest and best known to foreigners, and after which the Chinese have denominated the principal stream running through that State, to wit, the *Mē-Khōng* River. It should be remembered, however, that the whole of ancient *Chiao-chih*, or Tonkin, including the territory of what became afterwards the kingdom of *Campa*, was, according to Chinese and Annamese records, conquered and constituted into the *chūn* (province) of *Hsiang* under the Ts'in, in B.C. 214. Also, that after the second Chinese conquest of B.C. 111, *Lan-i*, a district of the former *chun* of *Hsiang* corresponding, roughly, to the present Ha-tinh province, had its name changed to *Hsiang-lin*. Now, the Chinese term *Hsiang*, meaning an elephant, is exactly equivalent to the Thai *c'hâng*; and *Hsiang-lin* ('Elephant-grove,' and also, 'Elephant assemblage'), if turned into the grammatical construction peculiar to the Thai language, becomes *Lin-hsiang* and acquires a similar meaning to the Thai *Lân-c'hâng* ('Elephant grounds'). Here, then, we have a proof that the designation of 'Elephant country,' or 'Elephant territory,' existed for the region immediately to the east of the State of *Lúang P'hrah Bāng* from at least as early a date as 214 B.C. Such being the case, the question arises as to whether the designation referred to was invented by the Chinese for the territories of *Hsiang* and *Hsiang-lin* and came subsequently to be applied also to *Lúang P'hrah Bāng* (in a similar manner with the term *Cūlanī* alluded to above), owing to its being coterminous with those territories with which it was always more or less connected and often confused by eastern geographers and historians; or whether, *per contra*, the same designation originated in *Lúang P'hrah*

<sup>1</sup> *P'āu Ch'ing-ni* and *P'āu Ch'ing-liang*

*Bāng* itself and the names *Hsiang* and *Hsiang-lin* were borrowed from it. It is more likely, however, that 'Elephant Country' was in origin but a generic term for the whole of the region extending, roughly, from the Nan-ling Mountains in Kwang-si to the Me-Khōng at Lúang P'hrah Bāng and to the shores of the Gulf of Tonkin, as evidenced by the fact that we find the same term localized to three different sections of that region, to wit: Lúang P'hrah Bāng, *Hsiang-lin*, and even as outlying a district as *Hsiang-chou* in Kwang-si. In short, under the ancient denomination of *Hsiang*, or 'Elephant territory,' the State of Lúang P'hrah Bāng must also have been included. Whether the paternity of such a designation is really to be ascribed to the Chinese conquerors of that region or not, it is now difficult to judge. The probability is that the country was so named by its early occupiers, whether of Thai or Mōū-Annam extraction; for it must be remembered that the term *hsiang*—under its multifarious forms, such as *ch'ang*, *ds'ing*, etc.—is not peculiar to the language of China proper alone, but is equally met with in most languages and dialects presently spoken in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, those of the Malay-Chām group and Annamese being perhaps the only exceptions.

Under these circumstances one feels little inclined to credit the statement of native chroniclers that the designation of *Lān-c'hāng* for Lúang P'hrah Bāng was invented by and applied to *in situ* the Lāu. It must have pre-existed, I repeat, as a generic term not only for the territory occupied by that State, but also for the surrounding country, long before the foundation of Lúang P'hrah Bāng city itself; and its survival as a name for the latter is merely one separate instance of its subsequent localization to distinct parts of that region.

In Ptolemy's time it still existed for both Lúang P'hrah Bāng and *Hsiang-lin*; but he referred to the former State, or its capital, under the name of *Dassana* or *Doana* (i.e. 'Country of the *Tō'wan*') and to the latter as *Kortatha*, a term which, we shall see in due course, represents *Kau-lē* or *Chiu-lē* (in Annamese *Kū-dūk*), the ancient name for the *Hsiang-lin* or *Lān-i* district. While thus not making any



explicit mention of the term 'Elephant Country' for either of the above territories, Ptolemy appears nevertheless not to have been totally ignorant of its existence in so far, at least, as Lúang P'hrah Bāng is concerned, for he speaks, as we have already noted at the outset of this section, of elephants being found in the mountainous tracts dividing the country of the Doānai from the home of the Lēstai (Lower Siām and Kamboja). If the designation of *Lān c'hāng* for the territory of Lúang P'hrah Bāng can thus be traced back to B.C. 214, it is very likely that the date at which it was first applied to the adjoining Me-Khōng River is scarcely less remote, and thus our previous remarks on this subject receive further confirmation.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the fourth name of the city, or rather of its territory, which is given as *Java*, *C'hawā*, or *Sava* (*Muang C'hawā*). This term is stated in the local chronicles to have existed previous to the advent of the Lāu, it having been, in fact, adopted from the name of the first

ruler (referred to as *Khún C'hawā*, i.e. 'King C'hawā' or 'King Javā') of the population of *Chēh* race who originally settled in the country about Lúang P'hrah Bāng, whence their descendants were driven away, as stated in a former page (129), by the invading Lāu under Khún Lō. It thus appears that *Mūang C'hawā* must have been one of the very first names—if not, indeed, the earliest—borne by the territory of Lúang P'hrah Bāng, and, as I have already shown, its connection with the terms *Chēh*, *C'hieng*, *Yūan*, *Yacana*, *Jarana*, and *Jara*, *Yata*, or *Yüeh*, clearly denotes a country inhabited by tribes of the same race as is known to have held from the remotest time the southern portion of China and to have subsequently spread over the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and part of the Malay Archipelago, all along which it has left standing vestiges of its domination not only in the language but also in the name of *Jara*, which it has carried as far as the Sunda Strait. I need not repeat that the great people here alluded to is the so-called Mōū-Annam race in its manifold ramifications. We shall meet it later on when dealing with the southern portion of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. In the meantime we may call attention to the fact of the persistence of the name *C'hawā* in connection with Lúang P'hrah Bāng, which is a sure index of its importance. Had it been merely the name of a ruler it would have been no more preserved attached to the name of the country than those of Khún Lō and other monarchs, no matter how illustrious, have been. The reason why it was handed down to posterity indissolubly identified with the name of the country was, then, that it was the name of the race which first occupied it and developed its resources. We have already traced the term *C'hawā*, under its Lāu form of *Sawā*, or *Sarā*, in the designation *Savaka-Malā*, or *Savaka-Malaū*, which the region of Eastern Lāos, and more properly the State of Lúang P'hrah Bāng, have borne down to this day, and we did not omit to remark how both *C'hawā* and *Savaka* (*Javaka*) gave rise to the denominations *Lao Chua* and *Chua-kia*, applied from the earliest period by the Chinese to

even after Lúang P'hrah Bāng was restored as capital of a separate kingdom, down to the destruction of Wieng Chan in 1828. Owing to this circumstance several foreign authorities were misled into believing that Wieng Chan was the old and original *Lan-c'hāng*, an absolutely mistaken notion.

I have remarked in a preceding page that traces of the classical name of the country, *Dasana* or *Daśārṇa*, may be detected in the legend of the foundation of Lúang P'hrah Bāng. We saw, in fact, that the junior of the two original founders, who afterwards remained alone in charge of the city, is called *Drūdaśan* or *Drūdaśah* in that legend. This name may well be a modification or corruption of some original term like *Daśan* or *Daśārṇa*, representing the name of either the first king of the realm,<sup>1</sup> or of the country itself as designated by the early Indū adventurers who settled in it.

The alternative name *C'hleung Thōng* given to the city by the Lāu may be, not as the legend says, in allusion to the coral-tree, but to the elder of the supposed hermit founders, who, it will be remembered, is called *Thōng* (gold). The most probable conjecture seems to me, however, that both the terms *Dong* and *Thōng*, occurring in the Lāu name of the city, are connected with the name of the Lāu tribes which first occupied it, and with the designation of the country that formed their early habitat. We have remarked that *Ts'uan*, *T'uan*, or *Doan* was the name of the first Lāu occupiers, and that *Da-nan-dōng* was the designation of the country at the headwaters of the Red River formerly inhabited by them. Also, that *Huang-dōng* or *Huang-tong* was the name of tribes of the *Hsi-yüan-man* living on the eastern borders of the Thai kingdom of *Nan-chao*. We have seen, moreover, that the small watercourse joining the Me-Khōng below the city of Lúang P'hrah Bāng is called *Huēi Nam-Dong*, i.e. the *Nam Dong* rivulet, and that from

<sup>1</sup> The founder of Old Pagan (*Bulam*) in Upper Burma was a kṣatriya prince from Gangetic India by the name of *Dasa* (*Dasa*?) or *Dasa rāja*. See Phayre's "History of Burma," p. 9.

and their application to branches of the Thai race, there can be no doubt, and I imagine that I have given enough convincing arguments to prove both theses. Should, however, any further evidence be required, I might refer to the following point. Some people in the Sibagar district are, up to this day called *Doanias*. "These people," says Gurdon in his paper on the Khamtis,<sup>1</sup> "also, I think, are allied to the Khamtis." The Assamese call them

*Doanias* from the word (*Doaniya*) meaning 'interpreter'." As the Khamtis—or, rather, *Kham di*—are a people of the Thai stock, whose early predecessors in Assam, the *Ahom* (Assama), of the same race invaded and conquered the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* January 1895. The correct name for the Khamti is *Kham di* a pure Thai expression meaning 'good gold'. *Kham* is still the common name for gold among the Lau. *Thong* derived from the Chinese 銅 (*tung*)—as *Kham* is from 金 (*chin* in Cantonese *kim*)—is often used instead though it means also 'copper' and a yellow metal in general. In Samese always and in Lau at times the term employed to designate gold is a compound of both words thus *thong kham*. It strikes me that the Khamtis must be the same branch of the Thai race whom the Chinese term *Ch'ien ch'ien* (Golden Teeth) and to whom Marco Polo refers as the *Zardandan* (or really a corrupted and contracted form of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇa danta*) and that perhaps their name of Khamti has something to do with their ancient practice of gilding their teeth. In some of the southern Chinese dialects the words *Ch'ien ch'ien* are pronounced *kham ch'ien* or *kham di* and *ch'ien* in Samese is a numerical affix

employed in the numbering of teeth while *ch'ien* in Shan (၁၈၆) is also used as a synonym for tooth. Of course the Thai construction would be *di kham* or *ch'ien kham* which is quite different from *kham ch'ien* and *kham di* yet it is evident that both names are connected in some way or other. Should this prove to be the case the historical inference could be drawn that a branch of the Khamti if not the entire body of them was still dwelling in the territory of Yung ch'ang in Marco Polo's time.

Since writing the above I notice that Mr J F Needham in his *Outline Grammar of the* ᦅᦺᦑᦟᦹᧉ [Tsa] (Khamti) Language (Rangoon 1894 p. i Preface) gives two different derivations of the term *Khamti* i.e. (1) tied to the spot from *kham* to stick to remain where placed (in Samese *khong*) and *ti* = spot place (in Samese *th*). (2) *kham ti* golden locality. In my opinion both these now fangled etymologies are absurd and unacceptable the first one on historical and the other on linguistic grounds, for it being a rule in Thai languages that adjective follows substantive 'golden locality' would be expressed as *th kham* and not in the form referred to. I therefore hold until substantial proof to the contrary is forthcoming that *kham di* is the correct etymology. Abbé Desgodins though explaining it pays de l'or writes *Kham di* (*Annales de l'Extrême Orient* t. iii p. 43).

country many a century ago, we see that the ancient, probably original, name of *Doan* has been preserved there. And this is evidently no other but the term *Doānai* given by Ptolemy to their kinsmen who settled along the *Doanas* or *Mē-Khōng* River, and in the city and territory of *Deana* or *Lúang P'hrah Bāng*. It conclusively ensues from the above that in Ptolemy's time the State of *Lúang P'hrah Bāng* was already occupied by a population of Thai race.

*Barenkora* or *Barenathra*, a city (No. 75).

This is undoubtedly *Barikan*, a township officially known to the Siānese as *Parigaṇha-nigama*, sometimes, but incorrectly, spelled *Parikkhanda-nigama*. It is situated on the *Nam Chan* (pronounced *Nam San* by the *Lāu*), a tributary from the left of the *Mē-Khōng*, at the foot of the *P'hū Ngū* ('Snake-mountain') Range; and usually appears in the maps as *Borikan* or *Barikan*, the common and shortened form in which its name is pronounced. Colonel Yule, misled by a similarity in names with *Barakura*, located by Ptolemy in *Arakan*, took *Barenkora* to be the same place, and thus assigned to both an identical position at *Rāmu*, below *Chittagong*. The difference of 12° in longitude and of over 4° in latitude between the sites of the two cities, as reckoned by Ptolemy, should have proved a sufficient indication that it was a question of two quite distinct places, and not of one only.

mountains in which the Mālava people had their dwelling. This term may have been transplanted here, in the Indo-Chinese Mālava country, by the early Indū settlers, and applied to either the P hū Ngū or other mountain range in the neighbourhood of Barikan. Other possible readings are *Parivastha*, *Panasta*, or *Parivasa*, all terms which convey the sense of village, abode, residence, and may, to a certain extent, have done duty at one time for the modern *nigama*.

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(8) *The Country of the Lestai (Southern Siam and Kamboja)*

The region of the Gulf of Siām from Samarade onwards to Kamboja and the Cochīn Chinese coast as far as Zabai beyond the Me Khōng delta, Ptolemy terms the region of the Lestai, a name which by some of his translators has been taken to mean 'Country of the Robbers'. McCrindle, especially, lays great stress on the fact that the  $\eta$  in *Ληστai* has the *īdā* subscribed inferring thus that it "is not a transcript of any indigenous name, but the Greek name for robbers or pirates"<sup>1</sup>. This will appear too sweeping an assertion when it is considered that *stena*, *stainya*, *stiyena*, *lata*, and, to a certain extent, *latta* and *lataka*, are Sanskrit terms each denoting a robber, and any of which, if actually found in use in the country at that period may have suggested to our author the transliteration, and at one time translation, Lestai. It may be as well to remark in this connection that *Kambu*, in Sanskrit, also means a thief or plunderer, wherefore the term Lestai would appear to designate the *Kāmbuja*, i.e. a race or tribe of robbers, who may correspond to the ancient population of the maritime districts of Siām and Kamboja. The coasts of these regions have, up to quite recent times, been noted for piracy, and it is therefore possible that the name of their inhabitants, *Kāmbūja*,

<sup>1</sup> Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 224

originated from this fact, and was afterwards made to look more decent by a slight alteration of the vowel *ū* into *o*, thus making it identical with the classical name of a people in Northern India. The form it retains down to this day among Siānese and Khmērs alike is, however, closely similar to the one we have given at the outset, that is *Kambūjā*.<sup>1</sup> How far the linguistic identity, if any, of the two terms, *Lēstai* and *Kambūjās*, can be maintained, it is difficult to say at the present stage of our knowledge of the country; I have only hinted at it as a possible coincidence deserving consideration. But as regards the ethnical identity of the two peoples, or at least of the *Lēstai*, with some tribe or tribes formerly inhabiting the territory along the Gulf of Siām, and perhaps also the interior of both Siām and Kamboja, I have not the slightest doubt. I may indeed add that if the term *Lēstai* be taken in the sense of 'bands of armed men,' or 'people organized into armed bands,' it has in some Greek authors, it will be found even in the present day applicable to one portion, at least, of the region now under consideration; to wit, the territory about Chanthabūn, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siām, inhabited by the *C'hōng* or *Lasōng*. These people, who consist to a considerable extent of outlaws from neighbouring tribes, are noted for their habit of forming into separate bands or groups, which are termed *Sōng*. Thence, I think, their name of *Lasōng* has been derived, while their proper and original designation appears to be *C'hōng*. This is, at any rate, the way their name is spelled in Siānese. It is asserted that in certain traditions still extant in Kamboja this people is alluded to as having been the first to come and settle in the Lower Me-Khōng valley. Whether such was really the case or not, the *C'hōng* appear at any rate to be the scattered remnants of the ancient population of Kamboja;

<sup>1</sup> In the ancient inscriptions, especially in that of *Pakṣi-cham-krong* (see *Journal Asiatique*, August-September, 1882, p. 161) Kamboja is termed the 'land of *Kambu*,' from a mythical *Kambu* *Seayambhura* regarded as a sort of Manu of the *Kambūjās*, and as the progenitor of their line of kings. But this name *Kambu* is very likely a modification of some closely similar term previously existing in the country.

and the survival amongst them of the practice of forming into autonomous groups or bands, whether for the purpose of plunder or merely in observance to some time-honoured tradition, suggests that such a practice may at one time have been more generally followed among the early settlers of the country. The testimony of the Chinese travellers who visited that region—to which we shall again have to refer directly—tends rather to confirm that opinion.

The description that Ptolemy gives of the *Lēstai* is anything but flattering. "The inhabitants of the Country of the Robbers (*Ἀγροτών*)," he says, "are reported to be savages (*Θηριώδεις*), dwelling in caves, and that have skins like the hide of the hippopotamus, which darts cannot pierce through"<sup>1</sup> This description applies just as well to the natives of the interior as to the Negrito tribes of fishermen anciently occupying the islands and the wild tracts on the littoral. If we compare it with the accounts left us of *Fu-nan*, which corresponded to the region now under consideration, by the early Chinese travellers, we shall find some points of resemblance. From the information gathered by Ma Tuan-lin, it appears that previous to and during the first two centuries of the Christian Era, the male portion of the natives of *Fu-nan* went about quite naked, until the two Chinese envoys who visited the country between A D 222-252 having called the attention of its ruler to this impropriety, he ordered his subjects to cover themselves.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in a Chinese account of *Chén-la* (Southern Kamboja) of a much later date (A D 1295)<sup>3</sup> it is stated that the inhabitants of the country were wont to go about always armed and "*cuirassés*," as if being in constant war. This may help to some extent to explain the invulnerability ascribed to them by Ptolemy as well as his reason for naming them *Lēstai*, supposing that this term refers to their organization into armed bands. As to their dwelling in caves, it may be observed that such has always been the practice of the aborigines

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle op cit p 222

<sup>2</sup> Ma Tuan lin op cit, vol ii, p 439

<sup>3</sup> Rémusat, "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," t. i p 77



of those coasts, especially of fishermen<sup>1</sup>. Even at the present day a primitive community of troglodites is to be found in some islets of the former inland sea of Kamboja, now the fresh water lake named *Thale Sab*, which have but recently been explored. Similar cave dwellings can, moreover, be traced all the way, on the path of the Chieng race, from Sz'chuen, Kwei chou, and Kwang hsi, to the southern end of Kamboja.

The *Chong* (Janga) or *Lasong*, the *Kui* or *Kicei* (also termed *Khmer dom*, i.e. 'primitive Khm̄rs'), the *Stien* or *Stieng*, the *Kan chu*, and other semi barbarous tribes of Siām and Kamboja, are probably the remnants of the presumably mixed population known to Ptolemy as the *Lestai*. While the *Kan cho* appear to represent all that is left in Kamboja of the aboriginal Negrito element,<sup>2</sup> the *Stien*, *Kui*, and other apparently non Mongolic tribes, are believed by some travellers to be a branch of the Caucasian race that found its way from Central Asia to the south eastern extremity of Indo China. This bold assertion

<sup>1</sup> Des Cambodgiens habitent cette montagne [*Ba Te Sên* now generally marked *Nui Ba Tê* in the maps, to the south west of Long Xuyen on the Me Khong Delta] *sont dans les grottes où ils vivent et elle forme à sa base soit sur la montagne elle même. Ces gens là ont la chasse pour industrie ils prennent aussi des poissons dans les petits arroyos* (Gia đình Thuận chú Anbaret's transl. p. 224)

<sup>2</sup> The term *Kan-cho*—or simply *Cho kan* being but a prefix—means dogs (in Annamese *Chong Suk* etc.) and thus corresponds to *śakas* likewise designating a dog (from the Khmer *c hālā* or *c hāl* in Khmu *soh*) the name by which the semi wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula north of the Perak River are known to the Malays. The *śakas* would thus appear to be identical with the *K luras* (dogs) whom in a former section I have located in the territory of Kokkonagara (Korbé). They are not however Negritos like the *Samang* from whom they quitted their physical and in having a fairer complexion but belong to the Chieng race whose language they speak and term the *Sen oi* language though by gradually absorbing into the latter a considerable proportion of the genuine Negritos with whom they have long been in contact they may have to a certain extent degenerated. In conclusion the *śakas* present in my opinion the same admixture of Chieng and aboriginal Negrito elements which may likewise be recognized in the *Ifah* and in other semi wild tribes of Siām and Kamboja and which must have been in Ptolemy's time a feature common to all the populations inhabiting the coasts of Indo China.



The picture that Moura (Royaume du Cambodge vol. 1 p. 425) draws of the *Kan cho* is not a whit more inviting than the one left us by Ptolemy of the *Lestai* which it resembles in a remarkable manner. Amongst other things Moura says *leur peau est rugueuse comme celle du buffle*. I aspect général d'un Cancho est celui d'une bête féroce. If here for *buffalo* we substitute *hippopotamus* we obtain a description tallying very closely with that of Ptolemy's *Lestai*.

however, requires substantial proof ere it can definitely be accepted. In the name of the *Stien*—apparently an abbreviation of a form *Lastien* or *Lastyan*, as *O'hōng* or *Jōng* presumably is of *Lasōng* or *Lajōng*—it is possible to recognize a certain resemblance to the term *Lēstai*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if the latter term be interpreted as 'robbers,' the corresponding Sanskrit word *styena* or its homonyms, *steyin* and *stanya*, may be easily recognized in the name of the *Stiens*. This name, by the way, is usually noted in European books and maps as *Stieng*; but I hear it pronounced by the Siamese in the way I write it, *Stien*, which I therefore take to be the correct form. Though presently occupying a wild tract of country to the east of the Lower Me-Khōng, the *Stien* may, at an earlier period, have extended further west as far as the *Thalē Sāb*, and down to the shores of the Gulf of *Siām*, whence they were driven out by later invaders of the country. If they really belong to a branch of the Caucasian race that descended from the Central Asian plateau, like the *Li-su*, *Mo-so*, etc., they may be connected with people of that stock still to be found along the north-western frontier of Indo-China, such as the *Lu-tze*, *Lī-su*, *Let-tha*, and the *Lahu* (the *Mu-so* branch of the *Mo-so*), who bear names similar in form to those of the *Stien* (or *Lastien*) and the *Lēstai*. And if, on the other hand, as indicated by linguistic evidence and other peculiarities, the *Stien*, like most tribes of *Kamboja*, belong to the *Mōñ-Annam* stock, and came from Southern China, whence they were driven out by the impact of the expanding Thai race and the incursions of the Chinese, we find no lack, both on the Southern Chinese borders and on the banks of the Yang-tsz', of similar names to theirs. As an instance, I may mention the *Luh-to*, against whom the *Āi-Lāu* fought in A.D. 47.<sup>2</sup> We have besides, all over Indo-China, many tribes of both Thai and *Mōñ-Annam* race, whose names begin by either *Lī*, *Lū*, *Lc*,

<sup>1</sup> *Lastien* is the form that the name of *Pulastya*, the mythical ancestor of the *Rakshasas*, has taken in Siam and *Kamboja*.

<sup>2</sup> Parker, in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 63.

or *La*, such as the *Lāu*, *Lū*, *Lī* (also called *Le*, *Lai*, and *Loi*), *Laiu*, *Lamet*, *Lamat*, *Lamang*, *Lami*, *Lān-t'ān*, *Lasōng* (C'hōng), *Lahu* (Mu-so), etc., mentioned above.

If it could be demonstrated that any one of the tribes just alluded to as having names beginning with *Le*, *Li*, etc., was, in Ptolemy's time, dwelling in Southern Siām and Kamboja, it would then be possible to assume that the term *Ἀποτὼν Χώρα*, by which our authority designates the country, stands for *Le-sthān*, or *Lēi-sthān*, and means 'the land of the *Le*, *Li*, *Lū*, or *Loi*.' As to the *Lū*, they are evidently out of the question, no branch of the Thai race having at so early a period reached as far down as the Gulf of Siām. But the same cannot be said of the *Li*, *Lai*, or *Loi*, in whom we can easily recognize the *Dōi* or *Laiā* and cognate tribes of the C'hieng race. In fact, by virtue of an interchange of consonants peculiar to most Indo-Chinese languages, *Dōi*, a C'hieng term for 'mountain,' so pronounced in C'hieng-māi *Lāu*, becomes  (*Lōi*) in Thai-yāi (*Shan*, more properly *Thai*, of *Burmā*), and from it is formed the couplet  (*Lōi-le*) having the same meaning. In some parts of the *Laiu* country, moreover, *Dōi* or *Loi* assumes the form *Hōi*.<sup>1</sup> From this ensues that the *Hōi* of Campū and the *Li*, *Le*, *Loi*, or *Lai* of Hainan are probably the same people as the *Laiu*, or that at any rate they belong to the same stock. The term *Dōi*=*Lōi*=*Hōi*=*Li*, *Le*, or *Lai* becomes thus explained as meaning 'mountaineers' or 'hill people'.<sup>2</sup> And as the *Hōi* of

<sup>1</sup> The *Laiu* of Muang Yong and C'hieng Tung, says Garnier, call themselves *Hoi mang*, and those of the Salwin borders *Hoi lun*.

<sup>2</sup> After writing the above I came across a passage of Ma Tsin lin wherein it is stated (op cit, vol II, p. 394) that the natives of Hainan call the mountains *li* and the mountaineers *Li jen*. This fully confirms the result I arrived at quite independently on the mere basis of philological investigation. It will be noticed that the identity of the word *Li* (which is also pronounced *Lai* and *Loi*) with the *Laiu*-*Shan* terms *Dōi* and *Loi* suggests not only a racial but also a linguistic connection between the *Li* and the *Laiu*. I have no doubt that both were originally one and the same people. The Hainanese *Li* speak a language profusely interspersed with Thai words, and on this score they are supposed by some authorities to belong to the Thai race. But this is a mistake: so do the *Laiu* speak a language which is to a great extent Lau in character, and yet they do

Campī are known still to survive in as southern a province as Binh-thuan, and ramifications of the *Lauca* or *Dōi* in Sīam still exist within a hundred miles of the Gulf in the Sup'han district, it is no wonder if at an earlier period they had been occupying most of the intervening country, thus justifying for the latter Ptolemy's appellation of *Ἀγορών Χώρα* or 'Country of the *Lōi*, *Lai*, or *Le*' There are not, as a fact, indications wanting in Kamboja as to the existence of peoples similar in name to the *Lauca* or *Lōi*. We have there tribes still known as *Lave* or *Lore*, *Fe*, and *Boloren*, and cities or districts called *Lavek* (*Lava*, *Lavaka*, the *Loiec* of maps), *Lava em* (*Lorea em* of maps), etc. all these being terms that remind us of *Lauca* and *Wah*. Neither are there lacking indications as to the presence of the term *C'hieng* in both Kamboja and Campī. The very word 占 for Campī, variously pronounced *Chan*, *Cham*, and *Chieng* in the Chinese dialects and *C'hiem* in Annamese, seems to be connected with *Chieng*, and who can tell whether the term *Cama* appearing in the oldest *Chām* inscriptions as the name of the country was

not belong to the Thai or Lau races at all. Both the *Lau* and *Li* are *C'hieng* i.e. mountaineers while the Thai or Lau are a valley dwelling people. I may add that upon examining several short vocabularies taken down from the *Li* of Hainan I found that most of the words which are not borrowed from the Thai language are traceable either to Muo, Mossu or Miao-tze a circumstance tending to show that the *Li* belong to the pre-Chinese hill race of Southern China. Moura (op. cit. vol. 1 p. 609) says that in Co-hia China the *Loi* are called *Hoi*. Boulevaux (in *Asiatic Researches* vol. 1 p. 391) states that the Annamese term also *Hoi* the Cham. The ancient Campī kingdom was known to the Annamese by the name of *Ba Lo* i.e. the 'Great *Loi* (*Hoi Hoi Dui* or *Loi*) State' (see *Gia dinh Tieng chi* 1842 *et passim* p. 171) and is said (ibid.) to have extended to the south east from the harbour of *Kiao-chih* (Tonkin) to *Ch'ia-tu*\* (*Sukhalā* i.e. Sukhothai). In this *Ba Lo* country inhabited by *Lo Hoi*, *Hoi Dui* or *Loi* populations I think that we have the true equivalent of Ptolemy's *Leston Khora* (*Loi stha*). Traces of both the terms *Hoi* and *Loi* are met with in the names of *Do q Ho* (meaning 'field of the *Ho* i.e. *Chau* in Quang-binh) and *Sri Baui* (*Sri Mani*) termed also *Sri Ba noi* (= *Sri Ba Loi*?) in that neighbourhood. To these we shall however revert more fully in the next section.

\* [*Ch'ia-tu* was also according to the same work (p. 173) the name of the territory to the east of *Ba-rin* which may be the locality meant here instead of *Siam*. In this case the area of the *Ba Lo* kingdom would assume more limited proportions but our identification would thereby be not much impaired.]

† Possibly from *Lava* (*Lorea* in French spelling) = 'fig tree' but it remains to see whether this is not a modern construction put upon the term. As regards *Lavek* its name means 'an opening an entrance to the forest,' and thus proves identical with the name of *Ava* the ancient capital of *Burma* which has

not derived from it? Do not the same inscriptions speak of *Vilak Inata-ritas*, 'people (*Vilaks*) that were *Kuatas*,' i.e. mountaineers? Who could these *Vilaks*, these former mountaineers be, except some branch of the *C'hieng* race? These are, however, questions the solution of which depends upon a thorough ethnologic investigation of the numerous hill tribes of Kamboja and Campi as yet so little known, and therefore the definite answer must be left to time. It seems nevertheless pretty certain, that at the period we treat of, a population of the *C'hieng* or Mōñ Annam stock occupied almost the whole of Indo-China, extending from the Annamese coast to the Gulf of Martaban and the Arakanese seaboard, and from the southern borders of Yunnan to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Branches of this race bore different names, but the *Lestai* referred to by Ptolemy undoubtedly belonged to it, whether they be the *Stueng* or *Shien*, the *Dōi* or *Lōi*, etc.

A tribe of Negrito extraction in the Malay Peninsula is actually known by the name of *Udai*<sup>1</sup>, but I am little inclined to believe that they are in any way connected with Ptolemy's *Lestai*. Of the Negritos of Cochin China we shall treat in the next section. For the present it only remains for us to add a few remarks in connection with the geography of Indo-China as known to the ancient Indūs.

Nothing can be gleaned from the Rāmāyana except the hint that, beyond the *Lohita* Sea (Sea of the Straits) one enters the Ocean of Milk (*Kṣīrodā*), in the middle of which rises a silver-white hill, *Anáumat* (or *Ryabha*), where there is to be found a delightful lake known as *Sudarśina*. After it comes the Sea of *Ghee* or *Ghṛtoda*. The Purāṇas place this first and make it surround *Kuśī-drīpa*; but I preferred to follow the order set forth in the Rāmāyana, which, being anterior in compilation, may be better relied upon. According to the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas, the Sea of Milk surrounds *Śīla-drīpa*, a region which I identify with Siam and Kamboja. The Ocean of Milk corresponds, therefore, with the sea encompassing the eastern littoral of the Malay Peninsula and the coastline of Siam and Kamboja as far as the Mē-Khōng delta; it is, in a word, the southernmost portion of the so-called China Sea, which should be here much more appropriately termed 'Sea of Malaya.' Masauti names it the Sea of *Kē lēi* or *Kerendy*.<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that these denominations have

been derived from the Sanskrit *Kṣīroda*, *Kṣīrāṇata*, and, perhaps, also *Kadūam*. It is preceded by the Sea of *Shelaheth* (*Sī-lohit*), which we have identified with the Sea of *Selat* or Straits; and followed by the Sea of *Senf*, which, we shall show, corresponds to the *Saṃpis* ('clarified butter') Ocean of the Purāṇas, called *Ghṛtoda* in the Rāmāyana, and to the present Gulf of Tonkin. No misconception is therefore possible on the position of the Ocean of Milk and of the region it encompasses, namely, *Śāka-dīpa*.

That the country here meant is really Kamboja, with the southern parts of Siam and Cochin-China, is unmistakably demonstrated by several coincidences in terminology which can be all but fortuitous. I can only summarily notice the most obvious, reserving a fuller treatment of the subject for a more suitable opportunity. First of all, the region is denominated *Śāka-dīpa* because, according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, of a large *śāka* (teak) tree being known to grow there. Apart from the fabulous manner in which the names of the various *dīpas* are accounted for in the Purāṇas, I think that the meaning intended in this case is, that the country abounds in teak-trees. This is actually the fact with the northern parts of Kamboja and Siam, where these trees are called *Maī Sah*, a word evidently derived from the Sanskrit *Śāka*. The name *Śāka-dīpa* given to this region is therefore amply justified; even if interpreted literally as 'Region of the Teak-trees'. But there is evidence as to some part at least of the country having been once called *Śāka*, apparently from the *Sal* or *Suk* tribes dwelling there along the Me-Không banks,<sup>1</sup> who are often alluded to in ancient records, under the classical name of *Śīlas*. These people are, as we already remarked, very probably identical with the *Thek* or *Sak* of ancient Burmā.

A branch of the Chām or people of Campī, coming across the borders subjugated, it appears the *Sal*, and founded on the banks of the Lower Me Khōng a kingdom known by the name of *Campāsāl* (*Campasala*) a term resulting evidently from the union of the names of the two peoples, conquerors and conquered. The new kingdom acquired at one time considerable power, extending down to the mouths of the Me Khōng, but it was since overthrown. Its name still remains preserved however in that of the present district and town of Bassac, more properly known as *Campaśāl*, in the denomination of the western branch of the Lower Me Khōng termed up to this day *Khuc<sup>h</sup> Pāsāl* (or *Ba Sal*) i.e. 'the *Pāsāl* branch', and in the *Ba Sal*, or *Pā Sāl* district existing up to the end of the last century in proximity to the outlet of that branch of the Me Khōng called the *Ba Sāl* Mouth or *Kicu Ba Sal*. *Ba* in Khmer means chief, principal great', hence *Ba Sal* may be taken to signify the *Great Sal* or *Sala* people (or country)'. It would thus appear that the term *Ba Sal* existed previous to *Campāsāl* which is probably a contraction of *Campa ba sal*.<sup>1</sup> The existence of the term *Sala* as the name of

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it behoves me to rectify a rather awkward slip occurring in the translation and interpretation of the Lo-U Daung inscription of Burma printed at Rangoon 1891. The passage I take exception to is at line 4 and runs in the original text

ဧန္တပရိ ဧဗ္ဗါ ပါသက် မိုဏ်သို သေဝ်ပြည်ကြီး  
ထိုဝ်၍တည်ရာ လဝရဌတုဉ်။



a people in Kamboja will contribute, as we shall see in the next section, to accredit the Indū legend of King Sagara to the simple minded *Cam*, and make them believe it to be an ancient tradition peculiar to their country. For the present the name of the *Sak* or *Sala* constitutes for us, together with the fact of the existence of tek-forests, a strong enough argument, I think, wherewith to account for the name *Sala diipa* as applied to Kamboja.

The Visnu Purāṇa states further that the name of the king of *Sala diipa* was *Bhaiya*, and that his sons, after whom its *vassas* or divisions were denominated, bore the appellations of *Jalada*, *Kumara*, *Sukumara*, etc. Among the mountain ranges enumerated are *Udayagiri*, *Syama*, and *Astagiri*. Among the rivers *Sukumari*, *Kumari*, *Nahini*. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives different names for the *vassas*, i.e. *Purojaya*, *Manojaya*, etc. Now, I think that I can recognize most of these names in Sīṃ and Kamboja. *Bhava varman*, one of the early kings, and the only one of this name referred to in the inscriptions of Kamboja—among which that of Han chei—reigned about 600 A.D., and probably is the Bhavya mentioned above. In *Jalada* one will recognize the lowlands of the Me Khōng delta, inundated for one half of the year. From *Jala* or *Jalada*

scholars who with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause seem to be determined to stick to the end to their phonetic readings of geographical names in preference to the written spelling. *Maing Li* is of course *Maing Liang* (the major district or town) i.e. Luang Phrah Bang. We thus obtain a quite different interpretation of the passage quoted above for while the one given in the publication referred to led us to believe that it was question of districts in the Burmese States perhaps of the country of the *Lao* about *Muang Lo g* (*Maing long gyi*)—we now clearly see that Eastern Laos is meant instead, with its States of Luang Phrah Bang, Wieng Chan and Campasak (Bassac) which at the time the inscription was erected (A.D. 1774) formed three separate kingdoms. The one called *Campa sak* was founded by Lau emigrants from Wieng Chan on the ruins of the ancient State of the same name in A.D. 1712. A village named *P. Sak* had already existed there however since about 1630 and was visited in 1641 by Wusthof who says it had been founded just a few years before.

Since writing the above I have found *Campasak* mentioned under the name *Cha ipa pdsak* in Khūn Luang Ha wat (Memoirs p. 159 Siamese text) who wrote at about the same time that the Lo U Daung inscription was erected. He was very likely the person that suggested the full and correct form of that name for the inscription as he was then kept in captivity in Burma though being in the priesthood.

originated, in my opinion, the Chinese name for Kamboja, *Chên-la*, pronounced *Chon-lap* by the Annamites, which appears in both Chinese and Annamese annals since the beginning of the seventh century. It is to be observed in this connection, that the Sanskrit *Jala* = water, becomes *C'hon* and *C'honla* in Siamese and Khmēr pronunciations, as, e.g., in *Jalapuri*, the name of the present district of Bāng Plā-sōi, on the eastern side of the Gulf of Siām, which is pronounced *C'honla-buri*. It becomes thus easy of comprehension how the Chinese *Chên-la* could originate from a form *Jala* through its pronunciation *C'hon-la*, of which it is a phonetic transcript. *Kumāra* and *Sukumāra* are the districts of the southern extremity of Kamboja, where the land ends in the promontory of *Kumārī*, and near which the *Kumārī* River finds its outlet. The term *Kumārī* has been transplanted here from the South of India, where it designates the cape termed Comorin in European parlance, and means Durgā or Kālī, the black and fierce goddess. The Khmērs call her *Khmau* or *Nang Khmau*, 'the black' or 'the black damsel.' Hence the *Kumārī* Cape and River become, in their tongue, *Chru Khmau* (Cape *Khmau*) and *Tuk Khmau* (water, i.e. River, *Khmau*), respectively. In this district there exists, up to this day, a township called *Khmau*, which one will see noted in modern maps in about 9° 10' lat., just in the centre of the headland. It probably is, with the names given above, all that remains intact of the old small State or realm of *Kumāra*, otherwise *Khmau*, which we find recorded by Abu-zaid under the denomination of Kingdom of *Komar*. It then (ninth century) probably included the whole of the country between the Me-Khōng delta and the Gulf of Siām, as we shall demonstrate in the sequel. As regards the terms *Udayagiri* and *Astagiri*, they exhibit a certain resemblance to the names *Uday* and *Lēstai* already noticed in the same region, while *Syuma* is undoubtedly connected with the country of Siām, along with which it will be treated on directly. The *Nalini* may be the Me-Khōng River, since the easternmost stream, mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* as

flowing from the slopes of the Himālayas, is designated by that name. As regards *Purojaya* and *Manojaya* they very probably correspond the latter with *Lau Jala* or *Lau Chica* i.e. Luang Phrah Bīng and the former with Lower Jala Saba or *Tha be*, which, we shall demonstrate in due course appears to be Ptolemy's Zaba or Zabai near the present Saigon. In support of the identification of *Manojaya* with Luang Phrah Bīng I may add that, while the Bhāgavata Purāṇa places the district of that name in *Saka drupa* the Viṣṇu Purāṇa locates a river *Manojaya* in *Kraunca*, which is the region of *Kai chi*, or *Kau chen*, i.e. Tonkin. From this I infer that *Manojaya* must have been situated near the line where *Saka drupa* (Kamboja) borders on *Kraunca drupa* (Kau chi), which is the position corresponding to the ancient Java or *Chaita* the present Luang Phrah Bāng.

In conclusion it seems to me that we have in the above arguments sufficient evidence for holding that the hitherto supposed mythical *Saka drupa* of the Purāṇas is really the region of Siam Kamboja and Lower Cochin China and from the fact of King *Bhauja* i.e. Bhīva varman being mentioned, along with the districts of *Jala* or *Jalala* (Chen la) and *Kunura* (Komar or Khmau) we may deduce the approximate earliest possible date of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and fix it within a few years of 600 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

We have now to revert to Ptolemy's description of the country of the Lestai and examine in separate paragraphs the names of the cities and rivers that he transmitted to us as being found in this region.

Samaranda a town (No. 92)

This is not *Sr. Dharmarāja* or Ligor, as erroneously supposed by McGrindle on the score of a resemblance in

names between Dharmarāja (or, as pronounced in Siamese, *Thammarat*) and Samaradē. It is, on the contrary, the name for Siām or *Samarattha* in its locative case, *Samaratthē*, as frequently met with in the old native MSS, whether Pāli, Siamese, or Lāu. *Samarattha*<sup>1</sup> or *Syamarattha*<sup>2</sup> are its regular Pāli forms, which correspond to the Sanskrit *Śyāma-rāṣṭra*, and mean 'the black, or dusky, country'. Why Siām should originally be so termed it is now difficult to guess. Some saw in its name an allusion to the brown complexion of its inhabitants, just as others took the name given it by the Chinese, *Ch'ih-tu* or *Ch'ih-t'u*, 'red earth,' to refer to the colour of its soil. Both views are, in my opinion, equally unacceptable.

In support of the first, it might be urged that the Siamese themselves take *Śyām* to really mean brown — a brown blended up of two colours, red and black; hence their own idea would correspond to a reddish brown or to a dusky colour inclining to redness, which, in their opinion, suits very well the complexion of the people. A brunette complexion, the *nua sōng sī* (= bicoloured complexion), corresponding to the Sanskrit *Śyāma*, is much appreciated in young damsels and sung by native bards;<sup>3</sup> it is, in fact, considered to be the typical colour of their race. But this, of course, only refers to modern times.<sup>4</sup> In the ancient period of which we are treating on here, the complexion of the race in occupation of both Siām and Kamboja was assuredly darker, as proved not only by the contemporary

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Sa* 10 c 93 vv 90-93

<sup>2</sup> *Bīlacatara*, i, apud Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p 492, s v

<sup>3</sup> For easy reference I may quote the poem printed by Captain Low in his "Grammar of the Thai Language," Calcutta, 1878, p 84 "Chāu nua sōng sī wamōn ch'ōm" which he translates at p 88 "Your delicate brunette [i.e. bicoloured] complexion," etc

<sup>4</sup> The Nan Chao a branch of the Thai race in Yunnan are by Ma Tuan lin (*op cit*, vol ii p 189) said to belong to the race of the *U-men* or 'Black Barbarians'. This race was certainly not termed 'black' from the complexion, but as is nowadays the case with several tribes in Indo China, very probably from the colour of their dress. I do not think it likely that any offshoot of these *U* or *Wu* people had as yet reached the Gulf of Siam at the period of which we treat

hot weather neither men nor women wear anything at all, or only on ceremonial occasions." Here we have, especially in the passages which I have italicized, in every particular the race of *Fu-nan* of the Chinese travellers, who were *small, ugly, black, naked*, and who in *Siām* *clipped their hair short*. The hill-tribes of *Kamboja* present, though not always in an equally marked degree, the same peculiarities, and accordingly it will be seen that it is both unnecessary and inconsistent with historical tradition to assume, as has been done by some writers, that the population of *Kamboja* at the period with which we are concerned was entirely composed of Negritos. Such undoubtedly were the aborigines, but by the early centuries of the Christian Era these had been to a great extent either got rid of or absorbed into the bulk of the hill-people of *Mōū-Annam* extraction who had flowed into the country from Southern China, and who were themselves a remarkably dark-complexioned race. If we add to this admixture a considerable proportion of Negrito-Draavidian adventurers who had proceeded thither from the south of India, we obtain a race such as the much lighter complexioned Chinese and *Lāu* would be perfectly justified in calling black. Thus it happens that we find the early inhabitants of *Siām* proper and *Kamboja* invariably referred to in the *Lāu* chronicles as *Khôm* and *Khôm-dam*, i.e. 'Black *Khôm*'. It is held by the *Lāu* that the term *Khôm* itself means 'black,' though it is no part of their language and appears to be derived from the *Kambojan* *Khamau* or *Khmau*.<sup>1</sup> With it the tribal names of the *Khamu*, *Khmu*, *Khami*, etc., are probably connected. The *Khamêr* or *Khmer* are, up to this day, a dusky race compared with the natives of Lower *Siām*, where the copious onflow of the Thai element has impressed a much lighter complexion upon the people. The same may be said of *Pegu*, where the later admixture of Tibeto-Burman as well as Thai blood has

<sup>1</sup> Both *Khôm* and *Khman* may, however, be simply modifications of the Chinese 黑 (ch'ien), pronounced *L'gin*, *L'em*, and *L'ien* in the Southern Chinese dialects.

undoubtedly contributed in lightening the original dusky appearance of the Filungs. The phenomenon may yet be seen in action in the Malay Peninsula, where the remnants of the early Negrito autochthones represented by the Samang gradually drift and become absorbed into a comparatively fairer race—the Sakai—who appear to impersonate there, with their features and language essentially Mōu Annam in character, the last genuine survivors of the ancient and now almost extinct race of *Tu nan*.

In the case of the Samang it is possible that their present name is but a corrupted form of the Sanskrit *Syamanga*, meaning 'dark,' 'dusky,' although *Samanga* occurs as a tribal name in the *Mahābhārata* and may have been introduced in the Malay Peninsula from Southern India. But with respect to the name of *Siam* or *Sjama* it strikes me that if the same referred to the dark complexion of the people in occupation of the country at the time with which we are concerned, and was invented by the early Indian adventurers as a substitute for the term *Khom* of which it is the Sanskrit equivalent it likewise should have been applied not only to Kamboja whose people were of the same race as *Siams* but also and much more appropriately to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago where the more dusky Negrito Dravidian element undoubtedly predominated.

The fact of the term *Sjama* being restricted to *Siam* where there is perhaps less reason to expect it sufficiently demonstrates that its origin must be sought for in other causes. We have seen that the Malay Peninsula owes its ancient name of *Salu* or *Saraina mali* to a mountain so designated. In the case of *Salu drupa* represented by *Siam* and Kamboja we have noticed that one of the mountain ranges mentioned in the Puranas is called *Sjama*. With this I have no doubt, the name of *Siam* is connected. In fact if we turn to the inscriptions collected by Aymonier in the south western gallery of Angkor wat we find after the mention of a chief leading the troops of Lavo (one of the ancient chief cities of Southern *Siam* now known as Lop haburi = *Larapuri*)

an inscription, numbered 27th in the list, which textually runs <sup>1</sup> "*Neh Syam Kut*"—"Here [is the chief of the] *Syāma kūta*" This is to explain a scene in bas-relief where a prince is depicted mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, and followed by warriors wielding lances ornamented with *Camara* tails, such as are used in Siam up to this day "*Tatoues sur les joues,*"<sup>2</sup> remarks Aymonier about them, "*ils ont tous une physionomie spéciale, sauvage, et a bon nombre les artistes ont donne une mine grotesque, un type qui semble avoir été reellement observe.*" This scene is followed by a similar one, the last in the series, with an inscription (28th) saying that "this is the chief, or leader, of the *Syam lai*." These baso-relievi and inscriptions can hardly be less than eight centuries old,<sup>3</sup> and probably represent events much older the triumph of some one of the mightiest sovereigns

period, which is not improbable, as far as the mouth of the Bi-lin (*Bi-lom*) River.

Given that the foregoing surmises are correct, the name *Śyāma-kut* would fall to the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya, in the western part of Southern Siām; and this is exactly the place where we should expect to find it, for various reasons, which will be hereafter adduced. This name of *Syama-kuta* or *Śyāma-lūta* may be explained either as the *Śyām* peak or the *Śyām* stronghold. In the first case it coincides with the *Śyama* mountain placed by the Purāṇas in Śāka-dvīpa, and enumerated in some recensions immediately before Astagiri,<sup>1</sup> a term which indicates a western mountain. It follows that the *Śyāma* mountain or peak must be sought for towards the main range dividing Siām from Burmā, if indeed it is not to be identified with the main range itself. This would at any rate appear from a passage of I-tsing<sup>2</sup> wherein it is stated that to the south-west of S'chuen, at a distance of one month's journey or thereabouts, there is the so-called 'Great Black Mountain.' Southward from this and close to the sea-coast, there is a country called *Śrī-kṣātra* or, according to my own investigations, *Śrī-kṣetra* (Prome), on the south-east of this is *Lang-chia-hsū* (Lankachiu and Lankhīa, *alias* Kāmalankā); on the east of this is *Dra(ra)patī* (Dvāravatī, i.e. the Ayuthia or Ayudhya of later times). The 'Great Black Mountain' here referred to may partly correspond to Ptolemy's Damassa Range, if it be assumed that the name of the latter is of Sanskrit or Pāli derivation (i.e. from *Tamas* = 'darkness': whence *Δάμασσα ὄρη* = 'Dark Mountains'); but its location by I-tsing at over one month's journey to the south-west of S'chuen shows its identity with the main range forming the Mē-nam-Salwīn watershed, and with



the *Syāma* mountain, or mountain-chain, of the Purāṇas. This latter, it will now be seen, is far from being a myth. It was evidently from this mountain range that the country extending eastwards, and southwards to the Gulf, was called *Śyāma-kūta* or simply *Śyām*. On the other hand, should the term *Śyāma-kut* designate a stronghold, this is most likely the city of Śrī Vijaya, the most ancient foundation in that territory.

In the Chinese records the name *Hsien* for *Sūm* does not appear until after A.D. 650. Prior to that date we hear only of *Ch'ih-t'u*, literally, 'Red Earth,' a term which, according to Chinese authors, was given the country because at the spot where the capital stood the soil appeared of an extremely red colour. The capital meant by the Chinese may have been Sawankhalok,<sup>1</sup> where the soil is indeed reddish, it being composed of the débris of a very ferruginous lateritic formation. But this 'Red Earth' theory of the Chinese chroniclers, though hitherto blindly accepted by their European translators and commentators, is seriously open to criticism. Apart from the fact that all over Indo-China there are places where the soil is equally, if not more intensely, red, and which should in consequence have been similarly styled by the Chinese, against that theory stands the argument that the toponymics referred to in early

Chinese accounts in connection with Siām and neighbouring countries generally turn out upon close examination, to be mere phonetic transcripts of indigenous names, albeit the characters employed to represent the latter have been systematically selected with a view to convey a meaning of some sort—no matter how puerile and absurd—to the Chinese reader. Of this artificial, and at the same time deceitful system of transcription we have met with many an instance in the course of the present inquiry. I am therefore of opinion that in the case in point *Ch ih tu* is not, in spite of the express statement to the contrary, an exception to such an almost invariably followed rule. As this term is pronounced *Ch eh ton* *Ch al tu* in several Southern Chinese dialects and *Shal u to* in Japanese, I think that I am justified in assuming it to be a phonetic rendering of *Sukhada* which is the name that Sukhothai and its kingdom have borne previous to being called *Sukhodaja*. *Sukhada* must have been pronounced *Salladéa* and in syncopated form *Sakdée* or *Sakda* by the Mon Khm̄r people occupying its territory at that period. Having observed that the soil was reddish in colour in the neighbourhood of its chief city, the Chinese envoys would according to their peculiar way of thinking, transcribe *Sakda* phonetically in such a manner as to convey at the same time the meaning of 'Red Earth' or 'Red Soil'. Thence the origin of the term *Ch ih tu*—in reality *Ch al tu* or *Shak to* as it must then have been pronounced.

At any rate it plainly follows that at the period in question the Chinese envoys sent out to Siām must have become acquainted only with the kingdom of Sukhothai and Siwankhalok and with the branch of the Me Nam River that led to it from the gulf. It may be furthermore assumed that the term *Siam* or *Siām* had not yet spread as far as Sukhothai since the Chinese envoys are silent about it. The conclusion is then that at that early period its application must have been still circumscribed to the western part of Siām where we have located it. But after A.D. 650 we are told that the kingdom of *Ch ih tu* broke off into two parts one called *Hsien* or *Sei* and the other *Lo-luh* or

*Lo huk*, that the former was barren and unsuitable for cultivation, while the latter was flat and eminently productive. We are thus confronted with two names of kingdoms of which the first is quite plain and represents the term *Syāma*, while the other requires elucidation, and both need to be located. I identify *Lo huk* with *Laró* or *Iabo*, then called *Lahót* or *Iaho*, now *Lop'haburi* (*Larapuri*)<sup>1</sup>. The position of this ancient city in the midst of an alluvial plain intersected by numerous creeks and studded with ponds and marshes, justifies the identification suggested, and well suits the Chinese description.

As regards *Hsien* or *Siem*, it represents according to me, the western and northern part of *Sīm*, more mountainous and barren. It is here that, as we have shown the term *Sjama* or *Sīm* most probably originated. Restricted originally to the region nearest to the main range (*Sjama kaka*), down to the Gulf (*Syama kuta*), it gradually extended eastwards until we find it applied to the whole of Upper *Sīm*, and, finally, to the entire country. The kingdom of *Laró* or *Lahót* long remained quite distinct under this name. Its independence dates exactly from the time that the Chinese speak of the separation, that is, from the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the next, when it seceded from the State of *Sukhothai* and *Sawankhalok* that had founded its chief city, *Laho* or *Lavo* in A.D. 457, or only a few years before *Dvārapuri* or *Dvāravati* (the *To lo po ti* of *Hwên tsang* and *Tu ho lo po ti* of *I tsing*) was built. It is worthy of note that the name of the founder of *Lop'haburi* is given as *Kalavarnatissa* son of King *Kāhvatra* or *Kāhavadda* ruling at *Tak-sa-ilū* in Northern *Sīm* (identified by local scholars with *Müang Tak* north of *Raheng*) whose descendants reigned in *Sukhothai*. This name, *Kāhvatra* deserves comparison with the term *Sjamkal* of the Khmer inscription, and appears to confirm our location of the people so named in the western part of Upper *Sīm*.

<sup>1</sup> This name is taken from *L. hor* in India, which is said to have been founded by *Lava* son of *Pama* and hence named *Lohavara*. *Lava* in Samese is spelled *Lob* pronounced *Lop* hence the name *Lop'haburi* (*Lop'ha puri*).

During the period Chih Cheng (A.D. 1341-68), say the annals of the Ming dynasty, the two States of *Siem* and *Lo huh* were reunited into one single kingdom situated near the sea. This alludes to the conquest of those two States carried out by King Ramathibodi I (Rīmīdhīpati), followed by the founding of Ayuthia in A.D. 1350. Thenceforward the country became known to China as *Siem lo* (暹羅), a hybrid Chinese combination of the two terms *Siem* and *Lo huh*. But in reality the country had been formed into a single independent kingdom with capital at Sukhothai some one hundred years before that is, in about 1256-7.

The conclusion we may elicit from the above remarks is, that in origin the name *Sjama* was restricted to Western Siam and to the southern part of it bordering upon the gulf which formed the territory of the Vijaya Kingdom. Though the latter seems previous to the rise of the Lavo Dvaravati State in about A.D. 650, to have comprised the greatest part of Southern Siam, and the term *Sjama* to have as a consequence already applied to nearly the whole of that region. Chinese travellers ignore it, and only appear to be acquainted with the eastern branch of the Me Nam River naming the territory along its banks either *Chih t'u* (Subhada) or *To lo po ti* (Dvaravati) according as to whether it is the upper or the lower part of the river's course that is implied. They become acquainted with the term *Siem* or *Hsien* only when Lavo secedes from Sukhothai, forming a separate kingdom. The character 暹 (*Hsie*) is said to be an imitation of *Sjam*. I do not reject this view as that character is pronounced *siam* in Hakka and *hsien* in Annamese, which latter represents the Khmer form *siem* still met with in some names of Kambojan districts such as *Siemrab*, now *Siemrat* (*Sjama rāstra*).<sup>1</sup> I submit however that the

<sup>1</sup> The Lau of Luang Prabang and Veng Chan also pronounce *Siem* in the Khmer style. According to Mr. E. H. Parker the ancient Chinese used the character 暹 to denote Siam instead of the modern 暹 (see *CA a J. eur.* vol. xx p. 197). According to the *P. w. n. Yun fu* (quoted by the same authority in the *CA a J. eur.* vol. xxi p. 379) the character

same character *Hsien* in Chinese means 'the sun rising,' and is therefore equivalent to the Sanskrit-Pāli *Udaya*, a term which we have met several times in this region, and which occurs also in the compound *Sukhodaya* (Sukha + udaya = 'the dawn of happiness'), the later name of Sukhada,<sup>1</sup> the ancient capital city of Northern Siam, and, at subsequent

丹 is pronounced *dan*, and is the name of a State of southern barbarians." But it will be seen that this character is practically identical with 檀 employed to designate the State of *Tan*, *Shan*, or *Chan* (whatever be the correct pronunciation), which we have identified with Ptolemy's *Arisabion* in a preceding section. In fact, Dr Hirth (in "China and the Roman Orient" p. 36, note) points out that both the "Hou Han shu" and the "Yun nan tung-chih" have 檀 for the name of that State. It is therefore evident that both 丹 and 檀 refer to the same State, and this is vaguely described by Chinese authors as being situated "beyond the frontier" and communicating towards the south west with *Ta Ts'in* (Syria). As early as A.D. 97 its king, Yung Yu tiao, is represented as having entered into communication with the Chinese Court. The most logical location that can be assigned to the *Tan* or *Shan* State would thus appear to be about the present Shenbo, near Bhamo, where we have placed it. But as regards the term 丹 denoting Siam proper, and being equivalent to the 暹 of a later period, it is scarcely probable, although there may be an indirect connection between the two terms in the event of both proving traceable to the "Great Black Mountain," which, it appears, formed the separation between Siam and Burma and was in its northern portion called *Tama* or *Tamasa* (Ptolemy's *Damassa Range*), while the part of it that stretched towards the Gulf of Siam was termed *Śjāma*. Such being the case, the State of *Tan* or *Dan* of Chinese writers might be identified with Ptolemy's *Land of the Damassai*, and the 丹 (*Hsien*) of the former with the latter's *Samarade*, the *Sa iara* of or *Śjamarasāra* of classical literature.

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the region of *Sukhada* mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Hall's ed., vol. II p. 191) as being ruled over by a king bearing the name of *Sukhodaya*. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* makes it a division of *Plakṣa drapa* (Burma), whereas it was situated merely near the borders of the latter. In fact in the Chinese account of the embassy to *Ch'ia t'u* in A.D. 607-8, *Ch'ia t'u* is *Sukhada* is said to be bounded on the west by the kingdom of *Po lo so* or *Po-lo so* (see Ma Tuan lin, op cit., vol. II, p. 446), evidently *Plakṣa* or *Balana* (vide *supra*, p. 39). As regards the fact of *Sukhodai* being formerly termed *Sukhada* it is positively proved by the often quoted Peguan work on *Cavampati* where *Sukhodai* is referred to (book I) under the name of *Sukhadā grāma* (*Sukhada grāma*). There is therefore, no further reason against this city and the country of which it was the capital being identified with the *Sukhada* of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Ch'ia t'u* or *Siak t'u* of Chinese literature. The name of its ancient king, *Sukhodaya*, is even mentioned in the local chronicles though under the slightly modified and obviously incorrect forms of *Alakadaya* and *Dharmadokadaya*. I have found it stated in a native commentary that from the ruler the kingdom and its capital became afterwards known as *Sukhodaya*.

periods, of the whole country. Hence the character 暹 *Hsien* may have been adopted by the Chinese to designate Siām, with the double object in view of giving as faithful a transcript as possible of the name *Śyām*, and of conveying at the same time the sense embodied in the term *Udaya*, forming part of the name of its capital. It follows, therefore, that while the term *Śyāma* originated in Western Siām, probably from a mountain peak or range anciently known as *Śyāma* or *Śyāma-lūṭa* (Black Peak), and was at first circumscribed in its application to the States of Vijaya and *Kaka-rāstra* or *Śyāmakaka*, whence it extended eastwards as far as Sukhothai, upon the absorption of the eastern portion of the State of Vijaya by that of Lahō or Lop'haburī, towards the end of the twelfth century, the term *Śyāma* became less common in the southern region, remaining in consequence localized almost exclusively to the northern. It is then that we first hear of *Hsien* and *Lo-huh*; *Hsien* being now used in the place of the ancient *Ch'i-t'u*, and representing therefore the State of Sukhothai-Sawankhalok (but with its capital now at Sukhothai); and *Lo-huh* designating the kingdom of Lop'haburī with part of the territory of the ancient Vijaya. In A.D. 1256 the realm of Lop'haburī joined that of Sukhothai in the rebellion which resulted in the final emancipation of the whole of Lower Siām from the yoke of Kamboja; but though nominally recognizing Sukhothai as the paramount power, it continued *de facto* as a comparatively autonomous State until A.D. 1350. In the mind of the Chinese writers of the period the division of the country into the two kingdoms of *Siem* and *Lo-huh* would therefore still subsist during that interval. But in A.D. 1350 King Rāmādhīpati, having made himself master of the Lop'haburī kingdom, founded thither a new capital on the site of the ancient Dvāravatī, with the style of *Krung Derya Mahānagara Patara Drārāratī Śrī Ayuddhya* (*vulgo Ayuthya*), formed by the union of the name of the old city of Dvāravatī once existing there with that of the capital of Rāma (*Ayodhya*), after whom the king had been titled. We then enter upon

the phaso of the kingdom of *Siem-lo* with capital at Ayuthia, as it was known in later times to the Chinese

In the opinion of some Siamese scholars, *Thai*, the name of their race, is derived from *Udai* (Udaya), either as forming part of the name of their ancient and most famed capital, Sukhothai, or as a symbol of their rise to a great nation with a mighty and vast empire. But this seems hardly to be the case, since the term *Thai* is spread far and wide, a long way beyond the limits ever attained by Siām proper, and is common to all branches of the race from the Tonkin-Annam borders to the outskirts of Asam, and from Yünnan to the Gulf of Siām.<sup>1</sup> Besides, there is so far no evidence whatever that the race ever bore the name *Udai*; and although a people so named (*Hudei*?) exists up to this day in the Malay Peninsula, it belongs to a different ethnical stock, and has nothing to do with the Thai.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The derivation from *Udaya* is accounted for linguistically on the score that the *th* of *Thai* represents in Siamese the Sanskrit and Pali *d*, wherefore *Thai* is equivalent to *Daya*, a contraction in this case, it is alleged, of *Udaya*. Others hold instead that *Daja* is not a contracted form at all, but a modification of *Jaya* or *Jayin*, meaning 'victory, victorious'. Although these views appear to be supported to a certain extent by the fact that two ancient kingdoms, those of Sukhodaya and Vijaya, the names of which embody, respectively, the terms *Udaya* and *Jaya*, existed in the country, they are nevertheless little worthy of consideration, because the term *Thai* is undoubtedly derived from the Semitic family of languages to which the national idiom of the Thai race belongs. As a matter of curiosity I shall transcribe here a *gatha* from a Pali work composed at Lamp huñ in the principality of Chieng māt in which the term *Thai* occurs under the form *deyya*. The title of this extremely rare work, but recently discovered by me in an incomplete form, is *Camadevīramsa*, i.e. the story of the dynasty of Camadevi, the first queen of Lamp huñ. Its author is a Lau head priest by the name of Bodhiramsa Mahathera, who lived towards the end of the fifteenth century. The stanza occurs in the introduction and runs literally as follows —

“ Carikam bhasamananam  
Deyya bhasanasaramni  
Tam bhasam labukam hoti  
Anurupam Jinam puri ”

The purpose is to explain that the Thai language (*Deyya bhasa*) is far from possessing the perfection of the idiom spoken in Buddha's native land (Magadha), hence the author, as he goes on to say in the stanza immediately following, decided to compose his work in Pali.

<sup>2</sup> The *Orang Udai* (*Hudei*?), called also *Orang Pagos*, inhabiting the borders of the Pahang district are probably the same, according to Macleho-Macleay, as the *Orang Sakai* liar or wild Sakai, who are *pur anag* Melanesians (Negritos). See Macleho-Macleay's "Ethnological Excursions in the Malay Peninsula," in

In view of these facts I think that we are justified in tracing the origin of the term *Thai* back to the point whence this race branched off towards Siam and Burma, to lay in both the foundations of vast empires; and back to the time when, conscious of its greatness and independence, rightly considered itself unparalleled among all the semi-barbarous populations of Northern Indo-China. The cradle of the term *Thai* must have been, therefore, Southern Yunnan or the Northern 'Shan' States; its initial date, one of the very first centuries of the Christian Era. Its meaning is 'eminent, free' from bondage, master, independent.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, a national title more than a tribal name, not dissimilar from the epithet *Ārya* which the Iranian ancestors of the present Indūs adopted for themselves. As



the Āryans applied to the conquered tribes of aborigines and Turanians the epithet of *Dasyu*, so did the early Lāu call the former settlers of the countries which they brought under subjection by the name of *Khā*, 'slaves,' 'bondmen,' while distinguishing themselves as *Thai*, 'masters,' 'freemen,' in order to mark their independence as well as superiority. It is thus by contraposition to the term *Khā*, 'slaves,' denoting the conquered race, that the term *Thai*, originally meaning 'eminent,' 'great,' became synonymous with 'master,' 'chief,' 'free.'

As regards the term *Shān*, which the Burmese employ to designate people of the *Thai* race, it is derived from *Śyāma* or *Sīam*, and not this from the former, as several writers have erroneously supposed. An examination of the way it is written in Burmese will at once convince one of this. The spelling is ရှမ်း (*hram* or *sham*), which is pronounced *shan*. The ျ (*m*) at the end betrays its origin from *Śyāma*, as also does the palatal sibilant ရှ, designed to represent the Sanskrit *ś*. A more correct form is, however, ရှမ်း (*Hayuma*, pron. *Shyān*), which is as faithful a transliteration as can be given in Burmese characters of the word *Śyāma*. This evidence is, by itself, quite sufficient to explode the theory of *Sīam* being derived from *Shan*; but further proof can be gathered from the languages of the neighbouring nations, in none of which does a form terminated by an *n* as in the phonetic spelling of *Shan* occur; but all terms given for *Sīam* have a final *m*. In Mōñ or Taleng, the word for *Sīam* is မ္မေ (*sem*) or မ္မေ (*sem*). In Asamese and Kachin it is *Sam*; in Malay, *Siam*; in Lāu and Khmēr, *Siem*; in Cām, *Syam*. The *Sīamo*-Malays in the Malay Peninsula are called *Sam-sam*. How could the term

be derived from *Shan*, if in all these languages, including the written Burmese, it is spelled with an *m*? And yet some authorities, relying on the fickle basis of mere phoneticism, in the most phonetically unreliable of languages, Burmese, in which the written words undergo in pronunciation the most peculiar alterations, managed to draw the stupendous conclusion that *Shan* is the original name of the race, and that *Siam* (or, as written and pronounced in Siamese, *Syam* or *Sâyām*) is derived from it. This is another instance in which Burmese, "as she is spoke," has proved to be "the murderer of history";<sup>1</sup> and, considering the precarious foundation upon which the new-fangled theory rests, it is a wonder that it could gain favour during the last ten years or so without its fallacy being exposed. It is to be hoped that these few remarks will suffice to demonstrate its absurdity; while the present researches on Ptolemaic Geography—by means of which the antiquity of the name of *Siām* (*Śyama*) could be established, and its existence in the region nearest to the Gulf traced back to at least the beginning of the second century of the Christian Era, that is, to a period when the Thai race had scarcely reached the head of the Me-Nam Valley—give that quaint theory the *coup de grace*.<sup>2</sup>

It is quite clear that *Sāmarade* (*Sama-ratthe*) designates a country and not a town, though Ptolemy presumably meant it for the capital of the said country or kingdom. Fortunately, we have an identical instance of such synecdochical nomenclature in *Siām* itself during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the then capital, *Ayuthia*, was not called so by European writers and navigators, but the "City of *Siām*," or simply, "*Siām*." We can,

<sup>1</sup> "It must always be borne in mind that as regards the Burmese language, equally with English, the orthography rather than the pronunciation must be taken as a guide, and that phoneticism destroys all the links which bind the words now used to those from which they have been derived, and is 'the murderer of history'" (Major Spearman's "British Burma Gazetteer," vol. 1, p. 142)

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of this subject I would refer the reader to my articles on "*Shan and Siam*" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1898, and January, 1899

therefore, easily understand how Ptolemy's misconception originated. That Sāmaradē was situated about the head of the Gulf of Sūm, is shown by the position he assigns to it. This we have slightly corrected in latitude, in order to bring the town up to the true emplacement it should occupy in the deep incavation of the Gulf, which was underrated by our authority. Its corrected longitude is  $100^{\circ} 14' E$ , which is within  $10'$  of the famous Prathom-cedī (*Prathamacetya*) in the present province of Nakhōn C'hai-sī (*Nagara Jaya-sī*). I therefore identify Sāmaradē with the ancient city that rose around (mostly eastwards of) the Prathom-cedī, and which bore, according to local records, the name of *Śrī Vyaya-rājadhāni*.

During a visit that I paid to the place in the Autumn of 1895, I noticed ancient remains scattered over a very wide area, as well as traces of the moat that surrounded the city; and upon this and other evidence I concluded that the city must have been some two miles in extent. The most important monuments to be seen within its compass are two ancient stūpas, one but recently repaired and built up in the shape of a gigantic spire, called the *Prathama-* (or *Bandama-*) *ceti*; and the other still in a comparatively good state of preservation, named the *Phrah Thōn* (*Vrah*, or *Vara Dona*) pagoda. The latter owes its name to a tradition, to the effect that the golden bowl (*dona* or *drona*) which served to measure Buddha's relics after his death was brought here from India by a monk, and enshrined with a few of the sacred relics in this stūpa, purposely erected for their reception<sup>1</sup>. The date of erection of this monument is, according to native records examined by me, the year

<sup>1</sup> This is a tradition transplanted here from India. The *Drona* or *Kumbhān* stupa built by the Brahman Drona over the vessel wherewith he measured the relics of Buddha, was, according to General Cunningham ("Ancient Geogr. of India," Buddhist Period pp. 441-2), at Deghwar, a short distance to the south west of Vaisali, in India, where it was seen by Hwen tsang in A.D. 637, or only nineteen years previous to the building of the *Dona* stupa in Siam. We may conclude, therefore, that the golden vessel enshrined in the latter was but an imitation or a supposed copy of the one used by Drona. I was assured that up to a few years ago a brass facsimile of the original vessel was still preserved in the *gukh* or chamber at the top of the stupa, but nothing of the kind is now to be seen there.

1199 of the Buddhist Era, or A.D. 656; and its founder was a king by the name of Indra-rāja. The original Prathama-cetī, so called from its being the first erected in that neighbourhood, must be of a still earlier date; but it was afterwards rebuilt several times. In the excavations that were made in about 1857 about the Prathama-cetī for the erection of the new structure, were discovered two terra-cotta tablets inscribed with the "*Ye dhammā*" *gāthā* in Pāli, in characters of a type between the Vengī and Western Cālukya of Southern India, and which therefore I judge to belong to the sixth or seventh century. Inscriptions in similar characters were discovered both on stone slabs and tiles at other places in the neighbourhood of the Prathama-cetī. These epigraphic records, besides disclosing to us the quarter whence Indū civilization and literature were brought over to this part of Siām, make it evident that Buddhism had by that time obtained there a firm footing, as is confirmed shortly afterwards by the accounts of Chinese monks and travellers, especially of I-tsing, as far at least as the neighbouring territory of Dvāravatī is concerned.<sup>1</sup>

The position of the Prathom-cetī as determined by Mr. McCarthy, Superintendent of the Royal Siāmesse Survey Department, is (centre of pagoda spire) long. 100° 3' 46" E. and lat 13° 49' 7". As the city of Śrī Vijaya extended mostly to the eastwards of it, we see that the corrected position obtained by us, long. 100° 14' E., is within about 10' of the truth. The place can now be reached through a recently dug creek leading to it from the Thā-Chīn River, just about ten miles long; it is, however, possible that at the period we treat of, the river not only flowed close by the town, but that the sea was not distant from it. The city must have been situated, in a word, at what was at the time the embouchure of the Thā-Chīn River, and the head of the Gulf of

<sup>1</sup> Vide E. Chavannes' "*Religieux Éminents*," etc (Paris, 1891), p. 62, where we are told of a lad from Thanh-hoa, in Annam, who came to Dvāravatī with his relatives, and there entered the priesthood. This must have happened circa A.D. 630-40.

Siām withal. It must soon have become an emporium of trade, the only one that Siām possessed for several centuries; until in the course of time, political events combined with the shifting of the river away from the town, and the rise of the rival emporium of Dvāravatī on the neighbouring branch of the river—which, from being more favourably situated, attracted most of the trade—led to its decline. The ruin of Śrī Vijaya became complete through an irruption of the Burmese under Anuruddha or some of his successors in the latter half of the eleventh century. The city was now abandoned as a capital in favour of Bāndhuma-purī, the name of which was not long afterwards changed into Suvāna-purī, *culgo Suphan*. Thus ended the fortunes of what was, beyond doubt, the oldest city of Southern Siām. The lithic records discovered there had already proved its antiquity up to the sixth or seventh century. Thanks, however, to the mention that Ptolemy makes of this place under the name of Sāmaradē, we have not only been enabled to trace its existence back to at least the beginning of the second century A.D., but also to establish for the name of its territory, *Śyāma* or *Samaratthē*, an antiquity which it would have been otherwise impossible to demonstrate.

The inscriptions of Campā make rather an early mention of a country by the name of *Vijaya*. This, Aymonier identifies, though doubtfully, with Phān-thit on the Cochin-Chinese coast. But I think it probable that the State of Śrī Vijaya Rājadhānī alluded to above is meant. Its people may have been anciently known as *Vijayas*, as I already suggested in a former chapter; and the terms *Udaya* (*Hudei*? = *Rjaya*, *Hidayā*, or *Lidā*?), and *Lēstai*, may as well be connected with them.

#### *Pagrassa* (No. 93)

This is undoubtedly the district now called Muang Krāt, the chief village of which has a longitude of 102° 30' E. and a latitude of 12° 12' N. The ancient settlement was probably situated a little further to the north-east on the

lat 10 5), and is perhaps the most important watercourse on this coast. From the name of the district in which it flows it may have been termed *Somanadi* or designated by some other similar name represented by *Sobanos*. The word *Sivarna* has been suggested, and on this score McCrindle attempts to identify it with the Suphan River. But we have shown above (p 100) that Suphan was called *Bandhuma pura* in its early days, and it is very doubtful whether it existed at all at the period with which we are concerned. Moreover, the great difference in positions between the two streams makes that identification untenable. It is quite evident that *Sobanos* represents some term like *Sobhana*, *Sumanasa* or, in the vernacular form *Somanas*. *Sauvarna* or *Soranna* offer perhaps less probability. On this ground and on account of the beautiful scenery praised by several travellers<sup>1</sup> for which the banks of the Kampot River are justly celebrated I was led to identify the *Sobanos* with this stream in the tables. But the Kampot being but a small watercourse, I now think that the Kaphong Sôm River has greater claims in every way to obtain the preference. It moreover occurs to me that this stream must be the *Shu Chiang* or *Shu* River mentioned in the accounts of Chinese travellers (see Ma Tuan lin op cit vol II, p 477) as flowing through a State named after it and situated to the west of *Chen lo*. *Shu* means 'red' being thus equivalent to the Sanskrit *Sona*, but more likely it is intended here to simply represent the first syllable of *Sobhana* or *Somanas* the name of the Kaphong Sôm River. However it be the *Shu Chiang* State becomes identical with the Kaphong Sôm District and the stream flowing through it with the *Shu Chiang* of the Chinese and Ptolemy's *Sobanos* or *Sobanas*.

*Pithonobaste a mart* (No 95)

This is *Pantlai mas* or *Dantlai mas* usually spelled *Pontej mas* in French maps and corrupted into *Phutlai*

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. Meynard's *Le Second Empire en Ind. Chine* p 387 Paris, 1891

(or *Buddai*) *mas* in Siamese *Banthai mas* is a compound Khm̄r term meaning 'golden walls' But both its component words are derived from Sanskrit, *Banthai* being the Sanskrit *bhūti* = Pāli *bhūti* = 'wall,' and *mas* the Sanskrit *masa* or *māsika* = Pāli *masa* = 'gold,' 'golden'

It has always been up to the last century the most important emporium of Kamboja the landing place of all political and religious missions despatched from times immemorial to the country of the Khmers Buddhism and its Scriptures are said to have been, through its channel introduced to this people—as at Tathon in Pegu—from Ceylon by the famous divine Buddhaghosa in 415 A D But this of course is a mere myth<sup>1</sup>

Banthai mās is situated in the centre of the district of the same name some forty miles up the river debouching at Hatien which was its port known to Ptolemy as *Akadra* and to the Arab navigators as *Kadia y*

Its position is almost exactly due north of Hatien, in long 104° 29' E and lat 10° 52' 30" Its territory is continuous with those of Trang (Drang) and Biti and notorious for important ruins some of which like those of Payankar to the east of Banthai mās claim an antiquity of no less than twelve or thirteen centuries It is certain however that a full exploration of this and neighbouring districts will reveal more ancient remains, as the name Banthai mās appears in the earliest accounts of the country Thirty four inscriptions are mentioned by Bergaigne as having been found in the province of Trang alone

The Banthai mas River has communicated with the Pissak or Posterior Me Khong River at Ochaudoc (*Ch'o dok*) by the canal of Vinh te since A D 1820 the date at which this canal was dug But at a more remote period it is certain that a branch (the westernmost one) of the Me Khōng flowed

<sup>1</sup> The legend is thus referred to in the Introduction to the Northern Annals of Siam In the year 959 (= A D 415) of the Buddhist Era Buddhaghosacarya having completed the translation of the Commentaries to the Holy Scriptures in Lanka took with him an emerald statue of Buddha which was preserved there and embarked but his ship was blown by a tempest to the mouth of the *Bantha* and never

through the territory now intersected by the canal, as evidenced by the fact that up to the present day the country along the banks of the latter is low and swampy. This arm of the Mū-Khōng must have been, therefore, the earliest and shortest route to P'hnom-p'hēū and former capitals of Kamboja from the west. An alternative river route to Kamboja was by the Pākak branch of the Mū-Khōng; but this was often unsafe, owing to the shoals and sand-banks which skirted the approaches to the delta and the intricacies of the channels which gave access to it. Hence this route scarcely appears to have been used in the early days, and we always hear of Bantbāi-mās and its port at the mouth of the stream, called *Pāk-nam* (or *Piem*) *Bantbāi-mās*, as the entrepôt *par excellence* of Kamboja.

One of the first maps where Panthāi-mās appears is that of Siām by Robert, A.D. 1751, which notes it down as *Pontiano*. In modern maps this mart is almost in every instance omitted. The Pavie map, 1894, has in its place "Touk-méas," an evidently corrupt reading. The reason is that Panthāi-mās itself has long ceased to be of any importance, while the harbour of Hatien had to be abandoned from over one hundred years ago, when the Me-Khōng and the canal of Vinh-té fell into the hands of the Annamese. Kampōt then rose into favour as the only port of Kamboja, merchandise being thence carried overland to P'hnom-p'hēū and Udong. But now Kampōt harbour also became, in its turn, silted up, and inaccessible to vessels of even moderate draft.

Turpin,<sup>1</sup> who mentions Panthāi-mās under the name of *Pontameas*, says: "Le commerce y est entièrement tombé, depuis qu'il a été ravagé en 1717 par les Siamois." Crawford<sup>2</sup> repeats the same story, and calls the place *Po-tai-mat*. The Siamese Annals say nothing of this beyond that a naval force of Annamese (or Cochín-Chinese) was, in

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. civile et naturelle du Royaume de Siam," vol. II, p. 397, Paris, 1771.

<sup>2</sup> "Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam," etc., vol. II, p. 234, London, 1830.



1710, met by a Siānese fleet at the mouth of the P'hutthai-mās (Banthāi-mā-) River; and that an ignominious defeat was inflicted on the Siānese fleet under P'hyā Kosā, who was afterwards condemned to make good the value of the vessels and material of war lost by him. This same fact is placed in the Khmēr chronicles and Annamese records in 1719, which is undoubtedly the correct date. It is, therefore, difficult to understand how the Siānese, being worsted at the mouth of the river, could destroy Panthāi-mās, which is about one day's journey up the stream. The place attacked was in reality Hatien, which was defended by its governor and founder, a Chinaman named Mak-ku, to whose generalship the brilliant defeat of the rival force must be ascribed<sup>1</sup>

#### Akadra, a town (No 96)

Yule rightly identified this city with the *Kadian* of the Arabs, but he located it at Chanthabūn, further up the eastern coast of the Gulf. It corresponds instead, as I have shown, to Hatien harbour, called also Kankao, within the island of Koh Tron. The position of Hatien, at the mouth of the Panthāi-mās stream, is long. 104° 25' E, lat 10° 22' N. It is now inaccessible to vessels of even moderate draught, whereas in former times it was an excellent harbour<sup>2</sup>. There is, however, good anchorage

outside in the bay during both monsoons. I selected as a base point the actual anchorage of ships during the south west monsoon, which is in front of Hatien in long  $104^{\circ} 21'$ , seeing that this position gave the best results and was most likely the site that Ptolemy had in mind. I am not prepared to maintain that ships in Ptolemy's time cast anchor at this point during the same season, the most favourable for them to proceed up to China, instead of entering the river, but I preferably adopted the position in the bay because I believe this is meant and not the city. In fact the bay was evidently named after the island Koh Tron the longitude (central) of which is  $101^{\circ} E$ . It may be that Ptolemy made a slight error in the position of this island and placed it too close to the coast so as to make the centre of the intervening bay result in long  $104^{\circ} 21'$ , where the actual anchorage is. However this be, the

*P'ah son thanh* by the Annamese. According to the same work (p. 222, 1<sup>st</sup> 0) the surrounding territory was however known as the *p'ah* (district) of *Sa at* or *Sa nat p'ah* (i.e. *P'ah t'ha put* or *Ba th' na*). At that village of Man kham began and ended after the lapse of over one century the fortune of the *Mak* (馬) family represented at first in the person of the famed *Mak ku*. This enterprising Chinaman hailed from Le chow on the Lomonvong peninsula Kuang tung province where he was born in 1658. Unwilling to submit to the rule of the newly established and unpopular Manchu dynasty of the Tsing he emigrated to Kamboja in 1681 and shortly afterwards settled at Man kham. There he took up the management of a gambling farm and engaged in trading speculations which soon enriched him. He founded several villages both on the coast and on Koh Tron Island. At last he was appointed governor of the district by the Annamese in 1715 as above stated. Thenceforward the process of murdering the old Khmer toponymy of the district setting up in its stead a new fangled and often nonsensical Annamese nomenclature commenced. In homage to a popular belief—presumably a tradition handed down from the old Indu settlers—that a river deity or genius (in Chinese *He* i.e. an Annamese *T'ou*) was wont to travel up and down the Banthai mas P'ah the district was named *Ha te* (in Chinese 河 口 *Ho k'ou*) i.e. territory of the river genius (G. dinh Thung ch. p. 21). The river itself was however—for what reason it does not transpire—rechristened *S'ng I'at* i.e. Vinh te River (b.d. pp. 29 f. 248-9). *Mak ku* after an eventful life died in 1736 at the respectable age of 8. His elder son *Mak ton* succeeded him receiving his official appointment in 1737. Having proceeded to Bangkok at the request of King P'hya Tak who afterwards had him caught into prison he committed suicide there in 1781 (b.d. p. 47). His natural son *San* became governor in 1783 (p. 61) but died soon afterwards (1790). *Mak kong b'uh* the latter's brother was then appointed by the king of Siam to fill the post (p. 63). Having held it for but a short time he was in his turn carried off by sickness and with him ended the adventurous career of the *Mak* family. Siamese go errors were henceforth appointed (1802). As regards the term *Kanlao* sometimes used to designate Hatien I was so far unable to obtain any detailed information.

position I adopted is sensibly correct within 4, and thus formed, as it was shown in the preceding section, a capital base point from which to work out nearly the whole of Ptolemy's trans Gangetic Geography

We have met with other instances in Ptolemy of a locality on the mainland being named from an island opposite it. Among such I may mention the Katabeda River (No 44) so named by Ptolemy after the opposite island of Kutubdia. In the present case it appears quite possible that the bay and the present site of Hatien were, by navigators in Ptolemy's time, designated after the island which formed for them a landmark in directing their vessels thereto. As regards the name of the island, however, I am not sure whether it has been given to it independently of any locality on the mainland, or with reference to the province of Trang, which in the old times extended down to the coast of Hatien, in what is now the territory of another district named *Pcam* or *Piem*, which means simply 'mouth' (of the river), or estuary. *Koh Fron* is now variously styled in the maps *Koh Dot* and *P hu Kuo!* The former is its Siamese and the latter its Annamese name. Crawfurd says that *Koh Dot* in Siamese means 'the far island,' this denomination being in "reference to its relative distance, compared to other islands from the coast of Kamboja."<sup>1</sup> I very much doubt that such an interpretation can be put upon the word *Dot* in Siamese. The only meanings known to me are, as a verb, 'to jump,' and as an adjective, 'single, alone.' The last interpretation is the only possible one, though it does not clearly appear why it should be applied, since there are other islands lying close by. I therefore doubt whether *Dot* is a Siamese term at all. Crawfurd—who, by the way, has made a minute survey of the island, of which he gives a good description—proceeds to say that its Khm̄r name is *Kol hof*, which means the 'shuttle island, on account of its peculiar shape. This second

<sup>1</sup> *Op cit* vol 1 p 22

interpretation is more reliable than the preceding; and the name *tron* here, also pronounced *tron*, reminds one of *trasara*, the Sanskrit name for a shuttle, and of its Malay derivative *tōrah*. But the correct Khm̃r term for island is *la*, a contraction of the Mōū *l'ka* or *l'ka*; hence we may understand how from *Ka-tron* or *Ka-dron* could originate the Arabic form *Kadranj* or *Kedrendj*; and from *Ka-tron* or *Ka-dron* the readings *Quadrol*,<sup>1</sup> *Co-tron*, *Corol*, etc., which we find in most books of travel and maps of the past centuries. An index to the importance in which the island and its harbour were held by navigators, is the fact that it is one of the very first localities mentioned in the earliest maps of Indo-China. We find it noted as *Coroll* in the Portuguese (anonymous) map of about A.D. 1550, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; as *Carol* in another map of 1580; *Corol* in Mercator's Chart of the 1613 edition; *Carol* again in Janssonius' Atlas, 1638; *Carol* in the historic Atlas of Gueudoville, 1713-1719. In the latter an inscription is added saying: "Isle peuplée de Cochinchinois p<sup>r</sup> le bois d'Aigle." It next appears in the map appended to Mandelslo's work as *Corol*; and in Robert's map of Siam, 1751, as *Caicol*.<sup>2</sup> In some of the maps just referred to occurs the name *Tarnora* (or *Tarisana*), *Tarnano*, and *Tariana*, which must be identified with the province of *Trang* (*Diang*) on the same coast. *Trang* in modern Khm̃r is the name for the *Corypha Talera* palm, the Sanskrit and Pālī *Tālī*; hence I hardly think that there can be any connection between the present name of the island, *Tron* or *Trol*, and *Trang*, or even *Tālī*, supposing that the Sanskrit term for the *Talera* palm was also used to designate that district on the mainland in the place of the native *Trang*. Such, however, may not have been the case in the earlier days, when the island—

<sup>1</sup> Turpin, op cit, vol II, p 398

<sup>2</sup> Most of these maps were published by Mr Gabriel Marcel in the introduction to the first volume of Fournerau's "Siam Ancien", but the identification of the names for Koh Tron island (*Carol*, *Corol*, etc.) was, as in the case of most other names in the same region, given up in utter despair. The cartographer Marcel, in his remarks on Van Langren's map, 1595, where the single name *Carol* appears on the Kambojan coast, observes regarding it (p 23) "vocabulary dans lequel il est difficile de trouver un nom indigène" (*sic*)

whether already bearing or not its present name of *Ka Tiol* or *Koh-Tion*—may also have been called by the natives either *Ka Trang* or *Ka Drang* in reference to the Trang District lying opposite to it on the mainland. To navigators, so little apt to make subtle distinctions in foreign nomenclatures, *Ka Trang* and *Trang* were of course the same, and thus they came to use the name of the island to indicate both the harbour and the mainland behind it, which became thenceforward known to them as *Kadrang*, *Kadia*, *Aladra*, etc. Similar toponymies seem to have been common in Further India in the past, in fact, beside many places known to this day as *Trong*, *Trang*, etc., we had *Ya katra* in Java, the former name of Batavia, or at any rate of the stream flowing past its territory, and Ptolemy mentions another *Akadra* among the interior towns of the Sinai (No 128), which I have since located in Kwang tung, on the site of the ancient district of *Chung su* (in Annamese *Trung tuk*), the present Ch'ing yuan. Abu Zaid places *Kedrendj*, *Kadrang*, or *Kadienge*<sup>1</sup> within ten days' navigation of *Betumah*, a place which I have identified with the *Tamasal*, or *Ujong Tanah*, of the Malays,<sup>2</sup> the 淡馬錫 (*Tan ma hsi*, in Hakka, *Tam ma siak*) of the Chinese<sup>3</sup> and the *Tamus*, or *Tamarus*, promontorium of Strabo, Mela etc., commonly called *Samara* after the fifth century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Renaudot's *Relations des voyages etc.* t. i. p. 18 and Renaudot's *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine* p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See Leiden's *Malay Annals* pp. 42-4 (London ed. of 1821).

<sup>3</sup> Noted thus in the Chinese map probably of the fifteenth century published by Khallips in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* new series vol. xxi, and left unidentified in the commentary to the same p. 39. An inspection of that map will readily convince anyone of the correctness of my identification. *Tan ma hsi* is there noted on the mainland within Singapore island just where the *Tamasal* of the Malay Annals is represented to have been and where undoubtedly also stood the *Betumah* of the Arab navigators. Close to the eastwards of *Tan ma hsi* the Chinese map has *Ta na ch' i hsu* a place which must be the *Ujong* (Cape) *Tanah* of the Malays.

<sup>4</sup> See Santarem's *Essai sur l'histoire de la Cosmographie etc.* t. ii. p. 340 quoting from Cossequin pp. 183-9. The name *Tamarus* very likely represents the Sanskrit *tamara* meaning gold, hence its connection with the Malay *Peninsula* and the island of Khrise. A similar term *tamara* means tin or lead but I do not think that such a construct could be put upon the name of the *Tamarus* promontory as *Kalah bar* the country of tin, was farther up the peninsula. The first syllable *Bē* of *Bēt mal* is however distinctly Môn and like in other names of the *Bē* or *Bē* class such as *Bēsyaga*.

*Betumah* was either the present Singapore island or the opposite mainland, forming the southern extremity of the Peninsula, where the embouchure of the Johor River is situated. It was, more likely than not, the name of the present Johor district, known later on and up to a couple of centuries ago as *Ujong Tanah*. From this district and the river flowing through it, the name *Betumah* spread to the surrounding territory and islands, and up to this date it survives in the neighbouring islets of Batam and Bintan on the other side of the Singapore Straits. I cannot here go into further particulars on the sea route of the Arab navigators of the ninth century, which I have now succeeded in fixing with unerring precision, suffice it to say that the distances of ten days' sailing given by Abu Zaid between *Betumah* and *Kadranj* on the one hand and *Kalah bar* and *Betumah* on the other, represent exactly the average time employed nowadays by sailing crafts in proceeding from Singapore to Hatien and from Talopa to Singapore respectively, and are, as may be ascertained on any modern map within a few miles equivalent. The same may be said of the distance between the kingdom of Komar (west coast of Kamboja) and that of Zabadj (Sri Bhoja or Palembang in Sumatra) equally estimated at ten days.

At *Kedendj*, continues Abu Zaid, the vessels can obtain fresh water and there is a high mountain whereto slaves and thieves often flee for refuge. The high mountain here alluded to is very likely the well known *Phnom*

*Berabonna* etc. it stands for ☉ *B* a river. Therefore *Betumah* would mean the River of *Tana* or *Tanara*. But the name may as well be entirely Mon e.g. *Betah* Stony River or River of the Rock\* (cf *Tan*). The latter interpretation would suit the Singapore River or rather Creek well known from having in former days a large rock at its entrance but more probably the Johor River is meant. The latter may have been termed *Tu and Tanas* or *Tanra* after some one of the homonymous streams in India. *Hsila* (色力), the modern Chinese name for Singapore (Chavannes op cit. p. 42) which is however pronounced *Shakila* (石力 see *China Review* vol. xxi p. 31) or *Silla* represents in my opinion, the Malay *Selat* or Straits and is not in any way connected with (Tama) sak.

*Damrei*, or 'Elephant Range,' rearing its summit up to a height of over 3 000 feet near Kampôt, to the north-west of Hâtién. The *Bach ma* mountain, westwards of Hâtién, is referred to in the "Gia dinh Thung chù" (p 273) as having been of yore a refuge for bands of dacoits. Good water is plentiful on North Pirate Island (Isle du Pic) in the bay, near to which there are good anchorages in both monsoons, and several fresh water streams are to be found on Koh Tron itself.

Masaudi, we have seen, calls his fifth sea by the name of *Kedrendj* or *Kerdendj*, a term which Reinoud thinks<sup>1</sup> was given to it after the port of *Kedrendj* mentioned by Abu Zaid at which the Arab vessels touched on their way to China. This is quite possible, although, as I have shown above (p 164), *Kerdendj* as the name of a sea may be an Arab travesty of *Ksuoda*, *Kadusam*, or some such term.

*Kedrendj*, *Kadrany*, or *Akadra* was undoubtedly part of the kingdom of *Kumara*, or *Komar*, of the Purânas and Abu Zaid, which we have located at the south western extremity of Kamboja. Our reason for holding so is, that Abu Zaid speaks of *Komar* as being situated on the mainland, "on the side which faces towards the country of the Arabs,"<sup>2</sup> which shows that it extended from the alluvial plain of the Mc Không delta now ending at Cape Khmau, or Kumûri, up the western coast of Kamboja or eastern shore of the Gulf of Siâm, and that it must have included, at least at some time or other the province of Trang with perhaps Parankar or Pantbâmas as its capital. The position of the two places just named is in accord with that of the residence of the King of *Komar*, located by Abu Zaid at one day's distance from the seaboard, on a fresh water stream. Another particular which goes to confirm our location of the *Komar* kingdom and its capital, or at least principal port, is the reference to the 'aloes surnamed *al komuri*' as one of the chief products of the country. *Kumûri* is one of the Sanskrit names for aloes, but here

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. Discours préliminaire p. xc  
<sup>2</sup> Ib. id. p. 97

*aloezylon*, *lignum aloes*, or eagle wood, is meant, and this, we have seen above, is one of the productions for which Koh Tron and the neighbouring mainland have always been renowned. But if any further proofs were needed to justify our location of the kingdom of Komar on the sea coast extending from Kampôt to Cape Kamboja (Khmau), we might refer to a very conclusive passage of Masaudi,<sup>1</sup> to the effect that "the inhabitants walk for the most part barefooted, on account of the great number of mountains that cover the country, of rivers that intersect it, and of the small number of plains and plateaus." This passage luminously demonstrates that the hilly coast about Koh Tron Bay is meant, and not the lowlands lying further to the south east, towards the Mé Khōng delta. The conclusion is, therefore, that the kingdom of Kumāra of the Purānas, and of Komar of the Arab navigators and geographers, embraced the western seaboard of Kamboja and had as a centre the province of Trang, with Koh Tron Bay or the mouth of the present Hatien River as its principal port, and Panthū mās or Payankar for its capital.

Some further information on this long forgotten kingdom may be gleaned from Chinese sources. Ma Tuan-lin mentions,<sup>2</sup> among the Kambojan States that sent tribute to China in A.D. 638 a kingdom of *Chiu mi* or *Chiu mo* (in Cantonese *Kau mo*, or *K'au mo* = *Kuma*, *Koma*, *Khoma*), the ruler of which bore the name of *Shih li Chiu mo* (*Sri Kuma*). On the other hand, the Annals of the T'ang dynasty appear to state that *Chên la*, when subject to *Fu nan*, was also known as *Kih mieh*.<sup>3</sup> I am inclined to believe that in both instances the kingdom of Kumāra or Komar referred to above is meant, *Chên la* being a somewhat elastic term which, merely designating at first the low and marshy region of the delta, was afterwards employed by the Chinese in a much wider sense so as to include under it not only

<sup>1</sup> Renaud op cit t II p 49 n 147. The translations of this and other passages quoted from Renaud's work are my own.

<sup>2</sup> Op cit vol II p 461.

<sup>3</sup> T'ang shu quoted in Des Michels. Annales Impériales de l'Annam fasc II p 191.



*Kih-mieh* or Komar, but the whole of Kamboja. The reason for this extended application of the term *Chén-la* is perhaps to be found in the very probable circumstance that, as we shall hereafter show, it was from the region of the delta, or from its two districts denominated *Jala* or *Jalada* (*Chén-la*) and *Kumāra* (Komar) that the movement of conquest and unification of Kamboja under the rule of a single king had its inception. With the progressive march of that conquest the term *Chén-la* acquired a wider meaning, and whereas in the first instance the Chinese who became acquainted with the portion of the delta which bordered on the Gulf of Siām promiscuously applied that denomination to both *Jalada* and *Kumāra*, thus making *Chén-la* synonymous with *Kih-mieh*, they included in the sequel, under the same term, also the tract of country brought under subjection by the original kings of Komar; so that *Chén-la* now became the Chinese designation for the whole region, which had meanwhile been locally styled the 'kingdom of *Kambujā*'

Concerning the origin and history of the kingdom of Komar, I find it stated in the Talaing book of Gavampati Thera, already quoted in a preceding section, that after three hundred complete years from Buddha's Nirvāna (or about B.C. 243) a capital city was founded near the *Hamsa-giri* Mountain in Kamboja, which became known as *Khoma-nagara*. Here reigned a king of the Khōm race, *Khoma-rāja* by name, who greatly favoured Buddhism and made it flourish in his States. After nine hundred years from Nirvāna (or about A.D. 357) the dynasty founded by *Khoma-rāja* came to an end, and a new one was started headed by an *Adharmika* or impious king, who extirpated the Buddhist religion from his dominions. This last statement perfectly agrees with I tsing's information that in Kamboja there was no Buddhism left in his time (A.D. 671-695), although that faith had formerly flourished there, its decline being caused by a wicked king who expelled and exterminated all members of the Buddhist brotherhood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Takakura, op. cit., p. 12

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<sup>1</sup> He naud op. cit. t. ii, p. 49 n. 1. The translations of this and other passages quoted from P. Masaudi are my own.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. vol. ii, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Tang shu* quoted in Dea Michel's *Annales Impériales de l'Annam* fasc. ii, p. 121.

at *Kediendj* or Koh Tron harbour between A.D. 840-850, no longer speaks of the kingdom of Komar as actually existing at the time of his visit, but refers to the events which came to pass in that State as traditions handed down from the "temps anciens."<sup>1</sup> Neither does he make mention of Komar among the realms of Further India extant in his time which he enumerates in another passage; but he tells us in its stead of a kingdom of the *Mudjaks*, which, I have good reason to think, represents the country of the *Buyas*, or *Kambūjās*, i.e. Kamboja, under its newly acquired name. This identification is strengthened by the fact that, contemporaneous to *Mudja* and beyond it, Abu Zaid's account places the kingdom of *Mabed*,<sup>2</sup> in which I have discovered the term *Bā-ut*, the early designation for the present Annam and Tonkin. A glance at the description of *Mabed* given by Abu-zaid will convince even the most sceptical that *Bā-ut*, and no other country, is actually meant. It follows, then, that when Sulaiman called at *Kediendj* or Koh Tron harbour, he found the kingdom of *Muya* or *Buya* firmly established under the sway of a single ruler, and only heard of the kingdom of *Komar* as a thing of the past, but the events of which were still vividly remembered in the province of Trang, as the kingdom was situated on that very same coast and had its capital at a single day's distance from it. We have already expressed the opinion that this capital must have been either at Panthāi-nās or in the neighbourhood of Payankar, as the number of ancient remains and inscriptions discovered in that territory appear to confirm. There it must have remained up to the time of Īśānavarman, who, in about 626 A.D., founded Īśānapura. This city, I believe, must be looked for in the adjoining district of *Bāi* (Pādi), near P'hnom Eisō, the 'hill of Īśa' (*Īśana* or *Śiva*), which is evidently the *Īśāna* mountain located by the Bhūgavata Purāna in the same country, viz. *Silādripa*.<sup>3</sup> To the east of P'hnom Eisō rises another

<sup>1</sup> Renaud, op cit, vol 1, p 27

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p 31

<sup>3</sup> Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāna," vol II, p 200, n f.

The advent of this impious ruler appears to coincide with the rise of the dynasty headed by Śrutavarman, and mentioned in the Paksī-cham-krong inscription of A.D. 947,<sup>1</sup> which substituted for Buddhism the worship of Brāhmanic deities and claimed descent from a Kambu Svāyambhuva, a sort of Manu, from whom the country was afterwards named the "Land of Kambu" and Kambūjā or Kamboja. A king of this dynasty, or at any rate of one of its branches, was Īśānavarman, who reigned in A.D. 626. He is known to have established his capital at *Īśāna-pura* [mentioned by both Hwên-ts'ang (A.D. 629-645) and I-tsing (A.D. 671-695)], and to have conquered and annexed Fu-nan in A.D. 627. As we shall see directly, *Īśāna-pura* was very likely situated on the Trang territory; hence the State of which it was the capital must have been the kingdom of Kumāra or Komar. But after the conquest of Fu-nan and many other States mentioned in Chinese records as having been annexed by the king of Chên-la between A.D. 638 and 650, the capital must have been transferred to or about the site of the capital of Fu-nan and of the Ang Chumnik inscription; that is, about Bā P'hnôm.<sup>2</sup> It may have been established at Āḍhyapura, the city referred to in that same inscription in A.D. 667. From that period the kingdom of Komar became absorbed into the newly-formed Kambojan Empire; hence we do not meet with any further mention of *Chiu-mo* (or *Kuma*) and *Kih-mieh* in Chinese records, any more than of the other petty realms formerly referred to along with Komar. We merely hear of *Chên-la*, a denomination now applied in a much wider sense; and of *Kan-pu-chih* or *Kan-p'o-ché* (Kambuja), the new name for the unified empire. This completely accords with the account of the Arab traveller Sulaiman, who, having called

<sup>1</sup> Vide Prof. Bergaigne's article in *Journal Asiatique*, Aug.-Sept., 1882.

<sup>2</sup> *Wat Kôlô* (Kutl) or *Kedés Ang*, termed also *Ang Chumnik*, the Buddhist monastery where two inscribed stelae, bearing the date 551 Saka (= A.D. 629), and thus probably belonging to Īśānavarman's reign, were discovered, besides the one referred to above, lies at about seven miles south by east of the Bā-P'hnôm hills, and Āḍhyapura appears to have stood in its neighbourhood.

say something of my identification of *Fu-nan* or *Po-nan*, the celebrated country whose location and name have formed the subject of endless discussions and remained so far unsettled. I cannot go into particulars here, but must limit myself with giving the results of my researches on the subject, reserving an ampler treatment of it to a future opportunity. *Tu-nan* is then, as I make it out, a Chinese imitation of the Khm̃r term *P'hanom* (*Banam*, or *Vanam*), meaning a 'mountain,' and also, therefore, a 'mountaineer.' It is thus a synonym of *C'hueng*, being employed as a prefix to names of cities, as *C'hieng* is in the upper part of Indo-China.<sup>1</sup> *Tu-nan* turns out consequently to be the name of a tribe or tribes of mountaineers, evidently a branch of the *C'hueng* race, who anciently occupied Kamboja, founding therein cities whose names begin with or include the word *P'hanom*, e. g. *P'hanom-p'hūn*, *Nakhōn* (Nagara) *P'hanom*, *Bā-P'hanom*, etc. The modern representatives of the *P'hanom* tribes are, no doubt, the people called, with but slight variation, *Penong* or *Banong*, still inhabiting the country to the east of the M̃-Khōng at Kracheh. With them are probably connected the *Bahnar* or *Banar* (Vanara, Vānarā) and other wild tribes of Eastern Kamboja, most of whom seem to be included under the generic designation of *P'hanom*, *P'huom*, or *Penong*.<sup>2</sup> These tribes may have

hill called *P'hnom Angkor-bun* (Nagara-purī), whose name shows that some *nagara* or capital city existed in its neighbourhood. On the top of *P'hnom Eisó* are found the remains of a temple termed *prāsād Chisor* (Jisūr); and a little to the west of it are the ruins of the *prāsād Nāng Khmau*, or temple of Kumārī (Kālī).

It thus appears that the kingdom of Komar, or the territory of the actual districts of Trang and Panthāi-mās, must have formed the earliest nucleus of the Kambojan Empire, as well as the gate through which Indū civilization was introduced to Kamboja. Founded during the third century before the Christian Era as a mere dependency of the mighty Fu-nan Empire, it gradually waxed in extent and power until it acquired hegemony over the neighbouring petty States of the Kambojan coast and became capable of assimilating the paramount kingdom of Fu nan itself. By the middle of the sixth century A.D., namely, during the reign of Īśānavarman's great-grandfather, *Kih-mieh*, or Komar, had already, according to Chinese authorities, grown "very powerful,"<sup>1</sup> which proves that it must have had by that time absorbed a good deal of the territory belonging to its suzerain of Fu-nan. In fact, the topographical distribution of the inscriptions mentioning the name of Bhavavarman—the predecessor of Īśānavarman, who reigned about A.D. 600—shows that his dominions extended over nearly all the present Kamboja,<sup>2</sup> as far up as the Great Lake and the Me-Không rapids of Khôn, the historical boundary with the State of Campālak, and, later on, with Eastern Lāos. We must take it, therefore, that Īśānavarman's alleged conquest of *Fu-nan* in A.D. 627 merely means the subjugation of the last nucleus of that kingdom constituted by the districts immediately adjoining its capital, and the deathblow dealt to the metropolis itself, through which he acquired mastery over the whole of Kamboja.

In order to better clear up this point I feel constrained to

<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., vol. II, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> See Professor Burgue's "Chronologie de l'ancien royaume khmer," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1884.

by following the limits, out of which the term *P'hnom* does not occur as a topographical name of mountain ranges, towns, etc. These limits are approximately, on the north, Nakhōn Phanom (*Nagara Vanam*) on the Mē-Khōng (lat 16° 56' 1", Garnier) and dependent districts, the watershed between Annam and Kamboja on the east, the Cochinchinese seaboard and the Gulf of Siām on the south, and the Mē Nam Valley on the west. Nakhōn Phanom was probably the chief city of *Fu nan* when that State was still in its initial stage, and was mainly confined to the Middle Mē-Khōng Valley. In its halcyon days, however, the capital was certainly much lower down the Mē Khōng and most likely at Bī P'hnom, but whether at the foot of the Bī P'hnom Hills (*P'hnom Ba P'hnom*), or by the Mē Khōng's bank at Banam or at some intermediate point it is now next to impossible to ascertain unless further investigations are made in that quarter. I am inclined to give the preference to some locality within close proximity of the hills since we have seen it was the custom with peoples of the C'hieng race to build their settlements on elevated ground, and in any case to a place not very far from the sites where the Wat Chakret and Ang Chumnik inscriptions have been discovered.

My reason for venturing, in the case of a State like *Fu nan*, whose position itself has before this been a geographical puzzle, to locate with some accuracy its capital, is, that I have succeeded in identifying with certainty several of the petty States which the early Chinese travellers name as subject to that empire giving their bearings with respect to it or rather to its capital. Two of the nearest of such States were *Ts'an pan*, described as lying to the north of *Fu nan*,<sup>1</sup> and *Pé tou*, located to the west of *Fu nan* and to the south west of *Ts'an pan*, with which it was made conterminous.<sup>2</sup> I have identified *Ts'an pan*, 參平 (whose name by the way, is pronounced *Ts'am pun* in

<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan lun op. cit. vol. II, p. 441. Its position is deduced from that of *Pé tou* lying to the west of *Fu nan* and to the north west of *Ts'an pan*. Hence *Ts'an pan* must have been to the north of *Fu nan* or thereabouts.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. loc. cit.

reached Southern Cochin China after their kinsmen the *Doi*, *Lô*, *Li*, or *Loi*, since Ptolemy does not speak of this region under the names of *Fu nan*, *P'hanom*, or *Vanam*, but only as the country of the *Lestai*. The probability is, therefore, that in his time, or not very early before it, the *P'hnom* were still in the *Mc Khōng* valley above Bassac, and that it was only later on that they reached Central Kamboja and thence expanded towards Siūm and its Gulf, laying the foundation of a vast and mighty empire. This feat must, however have been accomplished before the end of the second century of the Christian Era, since the Chinese envoys who visited *Fu nan* between A D 222 and 252 already speak of that country as having extended its domination over a considerably large area. The Annamese Annals do indeed incidentally refer to *P'o nam* (i.e. *Fu nan*) under as early a date as B C 1110,<sup>1</sup> but it is in connection with a legend, and besides, as *Lam ap* or *Lm i* (a district which was not constituted until B C 214) is alluded to along with it, we may well assume that neither of these two States existed as yet at so remote a period. The first genuine mention occurring of *Fu nan* in the same Annals is in A D 280, when it is described as joining with *Lm i* (Campā) in making depredations upon the territory of *Chiao chih* (Tonkin), then subject to Chinese rule. On the strength of these considerations we can hardly assign to the *Fu nan* Empire an earlier birth date than the second century A D, admitting at the same time that *Fu nan* may have existed as a petty State of Central Indo China earlier than that.

Once the origin and meaning of the term *Fu nan* established, we can easily trace the boundaries of *Fu nan*

or *nong* in Samr Pora (Pru) and Chong. Compare with the Malay *guno g* in Suk or Sak and Huei it is *manan*. In P'hnong it is now *e A l* but this is due to the vicinity of p oples of the Cham stock from whom a few words got intermingled with the l'hnong dialect. Mountain\* is *e Aok* in Cham *e Auk* in Pale *e Aot* in Kanchō *Lô g* in Bahnar etc. On the other hand the old *khm r* form *P'A om* survives to this day in many districts of the Malay Peninsula. A mountain is termed *bnam* in Kalantan and Rumpu *benam* in Enlau and Johor etc. (See *Journal Straits Branch P.A.S.*, No 27 p 34)

<sup>1</sup> Des Michels' op cit p 3

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p 108



and succeeded, by the end of the first quarter of the seventh century, to make themselves masters of all that constituted the erstwhile mighty empire of Fu-nan. That this was the course of events which brought Kamboja under Dravidian influence and civilization, is fully borne out by the ancient inscriptions discovered in the country, which form, as it were, so many landmarks indicating the stages of successive development of Indian ascendancy in that region. An examination of the age and topographical distribution of those epigraphic records shows the Trang district to be the quarter where that influence was first established and whence it subsequently spread out. The most ancient monument of the kind hitherto discovered is the inscription of Bayang (*Payān* or *Puyān*) bearing the dates 526 and 546 Śaka (A.D. 604 and 624), in the province of Trang; and that of Wat P'hô (Bodhi) in the same district, mentioning King Īśānavarman, and revealing to us the existence, at so early a period, of the worship of Hari-Hara in its territory.<sup>1</sup> The embankment, *Tnal Puyan*, which leads to the Puyān or Payang temple rising on the top of a peak some 500 feet high, in the midst of the plain stretching to the north of the present village of Bayang, is also referred to. *Payān* or *Payankar* is, Aymonier explains, the name both of the peak and of a legendary king. I should rather think of a deity, something like the goddess *Yāmpu-nagara* of Campā. Wat P'hô is situated at a day's march to the north of Payankar, and the inscriptions discovered at both places lead us to infer that the capital of the early Kumāra kingdom must have risen in that neighbourhood. These epigraphic monuments, as well as those that were erected after them up to the reign of Yaśovarman (A.D. 889), were inscribed mostly in Sanskrit, the characters used being of a South Indian type, a circumstance which makes it clear that it must have been from the South of India that civilization was first introduced into Kamboja.

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Lévesque's notes to Aymonier's paper on the inscriptions in Old Khmer; published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1883.

Cantonese), with the ancient *Śambhu* or *Śambhu-pura*, the modern Sambaur or Sambôr, termed *Sambun* by the Siamese, where reigned the line of vassal kings from whom Jayavarman II (the ruler of Kamboja between A.D. 802-869) was descended.

In *Pé-t'ou*, 白頭 (in Cant. *Pal-t'au*, and in Ann. *Bāk-dou*), I have discovered the Sanskrit *Bhūti*[*māsa*] and Ptolemy's *Pithō*[*nobastē*], although its name has been transcribed by the Chinese so as to make it mean country of the 'White-headed' people.

The location which the Chinese assigned to *Fu-nan*—to the south of *Ts'an-p'an* and to the east of *Pé-t'ou*—is evidently meant for the capital, or at any rate for the central or chief district of that kingdom, which thus becomes approximately determined by the intersection of the Sambôr meridian with the *Panthāi-mās* parallel. The position obtained in this manner falls near to the southern border of the present *Svāi-thāp* district, and at about midway between *Chôu-dôk* and Saigon. However, as the country is even up to this day very swampy at that point, and as we should not be too pedantic in applying the rigorous methods of mathematical geography in a case like this, where it is a question of approximate bearings pure and simple, I think that the site I have fixed for the capital—or at least for the central part of *Fu-nan* proper—in the *Bā P'hnôm* district, fairly agrees with the location ascribed to it by the Chinese in relation to Sambôr and *Panthāi-mās*.

The boundaries we have assigned to the *Fu-nan* or *P'hnôm* Empire are those it must have had at the time of its greatest power, that is, during the early centuries of the Christian Era, when the Chinese first became acquainted with it. Colonists from Southern India had long before that period settled on the shores of the maritime district of Trang, and it was undoubtedly they who developed the trade of Koh Tron Bay, the principal port of *Fu-nan*, and who founded the kingdom of *Kumāra*, *Kōmār*, or *Kih-mieh*, with its capital in the Trang district, whence they gradually extended their domination over the whole of Kamboja.

the king of Komîr, Abū zaid says that the fleet entered the river which led up to the capital of Komîr. In this statement we have the proof that sea going vessels, at least those of the Indû traders, used to enter the river which they ascended in the old times probably as far up as Panthû mîs itself, where, or in whose neighbourhood the ancient capital of Komîr was situated. Up to a quite recent period, Siamese sailing ships and steamers of moderate draught were able to proceed up the Panthû mîs River as far as the canal of Vinh t, and reach through it the posterior branch of the Me Không, which they ascended up to Phnom phên or to the Great Lake. There is no doubt that this route to Kamboja was the oldest, besides being the safest, and the shortest from the Gulf of Siâm and the Straits, hence the preference always given to it over the one which followed the course of the Me Không from its eastern mouths. It is only with the advent of the Portuguese and the introduction of improved methods of navigation that we hear of ships ascending the Me Không from its eastern mouths to Phnom phên and further. The silting up of that westernmost branch of the Me Không which of old supplied the communication established on a far smaller scale in 1820 by digging the canal of Vinh t led to the abandonment of the first named route in favour of the second, and now Hâtiên only lives a quiet life alimented by the coast trade while Panthû mîs is more of a geographical expression than anything else. And yet both were the gates through which Indû civilization first reached Kamboja and ranked among the most important stations for ships on the route from India to China.

Zabai or Zaba the city (No 123)

The rectified position of this city falls in the neighbourhood of the present Sadek<sup>1</sup> but it will be seen by a glance at

<sup>1</sup> The vulgar form by which *P'isa deh* is designated. This place name is composed of the two Khm r terms *p'isa* (mart) and *deh* (iron) and means therefore Iron mart. It appears that at some time or other hardware was chiefly sold here hence its name which the Annamese transcribe as 沙鐵, *Sa d'it*.

Next in order come the inscriptions of the Bā P'huom district, the most remarkable whereof are those of *Wat Chakret* (A.D. 626) and *Ang Ohummik* (A.D. 667), both making mention of King Īśānavarman. The lithic records discovered in the districts lying further inland belong to later dates; in a word they diminish in antiquity the more one proceeds towards the north, until the great lake being reached, one finds that the oldest inscription on its borders is that of Kuḍī Thā-khām, dated 713 Śaka = A.D. 791. A few inscriptions of the epoch of Bhavarman (*circa* A.D. 600) have indeed been found in the northern districts; but these are mere isolated instances, due no doubt to the first successful inroads of the armies of the kings of Kumāra into Fu-nan, which prepared the conquest, accomplished by Īśānavarman a few years later, of the whole of that empire. The chronological and topographical distribution of the bulk of the inscriptions shows therefore beyond any possible doubt that Indū influence and civilization had their inception in the province of Trang,<sup>1</sup> on the shores of Koh Tron Bay, and that thence they gradually extended towards the interior of Kamboja. The record left us by Ptolemy of two Sanskrit or Sanskritized names of towns on that coast, Pithonobastē and Akadra, is sufficient evidence that in his time Indū influence had not only been already established in that territory, but had as well grown up to a very considerable extent. The fact of Ptolemy's designating Pithonobastē "a mart" (ἐμπόριος) plainly demonstrates that this, and not Akadra, was the great entrepôt of trade with the interior; that is, with the whole of the Fu-nan Empire.

Speaking of the expedition sent by the Mahārāja of Zābej (Śrī-Bhoja or Palembang in Sumatra) to punish

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the inscriptions anterior to Indravarman I (A.D. 877), Ptolemy and Berguigne says (*Journal Asiatique*, 1834) "Elles sont d'ailleurs toujours disséminées dans les lieux les plus divers, plus nombreuses dans la terre méridionale et maritime de Tréang [Trang], sans être rares dans les autres par exemple dans la terre de Ba Phrom et dans la partie limitrophe de la Cochinchine." This shows that up to Indravarman's time, or very nearly so, the Trang district was still the principal seat of Indu civilization and power.

St. James, we may arrive at a yet more approximate estimate of the position of Zabai by referring it to the rectified position of the Great Cape as coinciding with Cape Ti-won. We would thus obtain for Zabai a longitude of  $106^{\circ} 39'$  and a latitude of  $10^{\circ} 53'$ ; that is, a site on the Tòn-biñ (formerly Ben-ngē) or Saigon River, at about equal distances from the *chef-lieu* of Bien-Hoa in a north-eastern, and from Saigon in a south-eastern, direction. I have no doubt that in our author's time the sea reached up about as far as the place where now rises Saigon, forming there what we may call the "Bay of Zabai," sheltered on the east by the Núi Diñ and Núi Bāria Hills, which, together with the hillocks (Núi Gañ-rāi) of the actual Cape St. James, then an island, formed conspicuous landmarks for the navigators. As Zabai is mentioned in Ptolemy's introductory book (where it is spelled Zaba) as one of the principal stations on the sea-route from Takōla in the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, it must evidently have been situated either on what was then the edge of the Bay of Zabai or, still more probably, at a short distance up one of the numerous channels then intersecting the delta jointly formed by the Saigon and Bien-Hoa (Dông-nāi) Rivers, and by the Eastern Vaico, now flowing through the Sói-ráp or Lôi-ráp (formerly *C'hui-ráp*)<sup>1</sup> Estuary. The rectified position we obtained for Zabai by taking Cape Ti-won as a basis appears therefore to answer all requirements as far as the geological conditions of the Saigon district are concerned. It remains, however, to show how the territory in question or its chief city could, at such a remote period, have borne the now locally forgotten name of Zabai. This task will prove less arduous than it appears at first sight when it is remembered that previous to the absorption by Annam of the Kambojan townships of Bāria, Ben-ngē or *Bén-nghé* (now Saigon), and Mitho (*Samithō* or *Samiddho*), between A.D. 1658–1752, their territories formed part of the

<sup>1</sup> "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," Aubaret trans., pp. 5 and x preface: *Soi-rap*, *Xui-rap*. There was also about here a *srok* or *sok* (meaning a village and a district in Khmēr) termed the *sok* of *Xui-rap* (*ibid.*, p. 13).

the map that the whole coastline of Cochin China and Annam was by Ptolemy shifted too much westwards thus causing a displacement of the cities on its borders back from their true position. Moreover it is unlikely that the portion of the delta about Sadek had in our author's time sufficiently emerged above sea level as to be inhabitable since it is even now a low lying land of marshy character and periodically flooded. Very probably, as demonstrated by several concurrent circumstances to which we shall revert directly the portion of the Indo Chinese Peninsula comprised between the Sadek parallel and Cape Kamboja (Khmau) was then but in the initial stage of its formation, and may at best have consisted of shallows and mud banks stretching for a considerable distance seawards. On the strength of these considerations we feel justified in looking for the site of Zabai further to the east and inland of Sadek. And as I have now acquired the certainty that Ptolemy's Great Cape (Mega Akroterion) corresponds to the present Cape *Tiwoi* or *Thiwoi* (*Tiouan* or *Tiouaie* of French maps)<sup>1</sup> constituted by a spur of the Baria Hills projecting seawards at a little distance to the north east of the but recently formed Cape

<sup>1</sup> Noted *Tiwoi* — which is fairly near the mark — in the China Sea Directory vol. II p. 390 1899 edition. For the Kwok ngu spelling *Tiwoi* or *Thiwoi* and its meaning — cloud girdled — see Gia d'ah Thung chi Aubaret trans. p. 153. The correct orthography of the second term should be I presume 雲環, *Tiwoi* (Chin *Ch'uei*) which alone can convey that sense. I have noticed with no small degree of interest after writing the above that the Chinese map of the fourteenth century published by Phillips (vide supra p. 199) spells the name of this cape 大角 (Ta ko) where 大 (an Annamese *Du*) — *Méya* while the second character is no doubt mere guesswork for 雲 — cloud. From this I infer that the headland in question may have been known of old as Cape Great Cloud translated as *Maha megha* by the early Indian civilizers of the country. Whether Ptolemy's *méya* be a translation of the first term in this compound or a mere transliteration of the second I do not pretend to judge my object being solely to call attention to this etymological connection, which contributes in some measure towards establishing the identity of Ptolemy's Great Cape with the headland under discussion. Thus by the way is so conspicuous that it is usually seen by navigators before Cape St. James (vide China Sea Directory loc. cit.)

St. James, we may arrive at a yet more approximate estimate of the position of Zabai by referring it to the rectified position of the Great Cape as coinciding with Cape Tī-won. We would thus obtain for Zabai a longitude of  $106^{\circ} 39'$  and a latitude of  $10^{\circ} 53'$ ; that is, a site on the Ton-bīn (formerly Ben-ngē) or Saigon River, at about equal distances from the *chef-lieu* of Bien-Hoa in a north-eastern, and from Saigon in a south-eastern, direction. I have no doubt that in our author's time the sea reached up about as far as the place where now rises Saigon, forming there what we may call the "Bay of Zabai," sheltered on the east by the Nui Diñ and Nui Bāria Hills, which, together with the hillocks (Nui Gañ-rāi) of the actual Cape St. James, then an island, formed conspicuous landmarks for the navigators. As Zabai is mentioned in Ptolemy's introductory book (where it is spelled Zaba) as one of the principal stations on the sea-route from Takōla in the Golden Khersonese to Kattigara, it must evidently have been situated either on what was then the edge of the Bay of Zabai or, still more probably, at a short distance up one of the numerous channels then intersecting the delta jointly formed by the Saigon and Bien Hoa (Dòng-nāi) Rivers, and by the Eastern Vainco, now flowing through the Sōi-rāp or Lōi-rāp (formerly *C'hu-i-rāp*)<sup>1</sup> Estuary. The rectified position we obtained for Zabai by taking Cape Tī-won as a basis appears therefore to answer all requirements as far as the geological conditions of the Saigon district are concerned. It remains, however, to show how the territory in question or its chief city could, at such a remote period, have borne the now locally forgotten name of Zabai. This task will prove less arduous than it appears at first sight when it is remembered that previous to the absorption by Annam of the Kambojan townships of Bāria, Ben-ngē or *Bén-nghe* (now Saigon), and Mitho (*Samutho* or *Samiddho*), between A D 1658-1752, their territories formed part of the

<sup>1</sup> "Gia-dinh Thung-chi," Aubaret trans., pp. 5 and x preface. *Sōi-rāp*, *Xui-rap*. There was also about here a *srok* or *sok* (meaning a village and a district in Khmer) termed the *sok* of *Xui-rap* (*ibid.*, p. 13).

province of *Svāi-thāp*, which was thus the easternmost administrative division of Kamboja adjoining the seaboard. After that period *Svāi-thāp* became restricted to its present modest proportions, and nowadays it merely consists of a tract of swampy ground comprised between the two Vaicos and extending for a short distance to the south of the 11th parallel. It forms the south-easternmost corner of Kambojan territory. It is much if its name appears in modern French maps, usually filled in that vicinity with a host of new-fangled Annamese toponymics. When it does it is printed *Sca-téap*. Its correct form is, however, *Siāi-thap* or *Scāi-dab* (in Siāmesse records *Sauāi-thāp'h*). *Sāiāi* or *Scai*—the first *a* being pronounced so quickly as to become almost imperceptible—is the Khmēr word for the mango-tree, so frequently occurring in the names of districts and townships, such as *Kap'hong Siat*, *Kien Siat*, *Siāi Ramiet*, *Siāi Rieng*, and the already mentioned *Scai-thap*<sup>1</sup>. From this last one, I suppose, a creek connecting the two Vaicos a little below the chief settlement of *Svāi-thāp* is named the *Siat* creek, now Annamized in French maps into *Soai-giang*. A similarly named stream, the *Song Soai* (i.e. *Scāi* River), is mentioned in the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi"<sup>2</sup> as being a tributary of the Saigon River much further to the south-east. Although no connection whatever may actually exist between the name of this stream and that of the *Svāi-thāp* province, the fact of the latter including in the old days the territory on the banks of both Vaicos and of the Saigon River as far as the sea, is sufficient by itself to justify

<sup>1</sup> The Khmers now pronounce this name *Sedā thēab*, and say that it means 'dwarf mango-trees', hence *Kap'hong Siāi thēab* = 'Province of the dwarf mango-trees', *Kap'hong Siat* = 'Province of the mango trees'.

*Kien* means 'a corner, a point or projection of land', whence *Kien Siat* = 'Mango point'. This district is, in fact, situated on the southern corner of the *Caturamukha* or quadrangle formed by the four arms of the Me-Không at Phnom-pheū, from which this town is often referred to in ancient records as *Nagara Caturamukha* (the *Chordemuco* of Portuguese writers). *Ramiet* is the Khmer name for turmeric, metaphorically used also to denote anything of a yellow colour, wherefore, *Scāi Ramiet* = 'yellow mango [fruits]'.

The Annamese have the same term for 'mango,' which, however, they pronounce in a slightly different manner, that is, somehow between *Siāi* and *Chāi*.

<sup>2</sup> Aubaret's transl. p. 172



our location of the city of Zaba within the limits of its territory. For it is easy to see that the term Zaba—or, as it was very likely pronounced by navigators in Ptolemy's time, *Zalai*—represents the Khmer word *Sārai* or *Scat*, which, being part of the old language of the country, may have been employed from times immemorial to designate the territory of the Svāi-thīp district and its chief city, or else its principal seaport.

As regards the spelling Zaba which Ptolemy uses in the introductory book of his work, I think that it may be connected, if not with the first term of the name of *Scāi-thap*, at any rate with the second, *thab*, *dab*, for it is quite possible that *Scat thap* was pronounced by the early western travellers something like *Sabai thab* or *Zabai zab* and, for brevity's sake, either *Zabai* or *Zab Zaba*. This would explain how Ptolemy at times refers to it as *Zabai* and at others as *Zaba*. It is just as well to mention in this connection that Oderic of Friul in the Latin text of his travels, writes *Zapa*<sup>1</sup>. This word has been taken by some authorities to represent *Campī*, but if not actually identical with Ptolemy's *Zaba* I think that it may at best designate only the southernmost part of *Campī* which, according to Chinese and Annamese writers was called respectively *T'o pei* (隋備州) and *T'la bi* or *Tha bi*<sup>2</sup>. This designation appears, however, to have been employed only after the tenth century, i.e. after the disaster that befell *Campā* in A.D. 981, as a consequence of which its northern provinces passed into the hands of the Annamese its capital was transferred further south, and its people driven further down the coast so as to presumably encroach upon the Kambojan borderland of the Svai thīp province. In the course of the frequent wars which ensued between the two neighbours, the eastern part of that province which then probably embraced most of the territory now forming the Bien hoa

<sup>1</sup> See De Backer's *L'Extrême Orient au Moyen âge* p. 383 of 1877 edition.

<sup>2</sup> See Ma Tuan lin op. cit. vol. II p. 539. Aymonier's *History of Tchampa in the Asiatic Quarterly Review* July 1893 and Abbé Bouillevaux's

<sup>3</sup> Le Campa in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient* t. I p. 325.

district, must have often changed masters, becoming at times Chām and at others Kumbojan. It is therefore possible that the term *T'o-pei*, or *Thā-lē*, merely designated the southernmost part of Campī, consisting of territory partly taken to Kumboja in the Sām thūp province and partly bordering upon it. In such a case the identity of the terms *T'o p i* or *Thā-lē* with Zabai or Zaba and *Sādā*-[*thāb*] or [*Sādā*]-*thāba*, which so far chiefly asserts itself on linguistic grounds, would become confirmed in history.

The transition from *Thāba*, *Dāba*, and *Zāba*, to *Dhāra*, *Dāra*, *Zāra*, and *Jāra*, and vice versa, is an easy one in Oriental languages, as exemplified in the *Ziber* of the Arab travellers employed to express Fu-Hsien's *Yā-p'o-ti* (*Yacadi* or *Jaradi*) and Ptolemy's *Iabadios* or *Sabadios*, and in the softening of *d*, *d*, and *dh* into *j* and *jh*, both in Sanskrit and Pāli, as in *dyōtis*, *jyōtis*, *jōti*, *dyūta*, *jūt i*, *dhyāna*, *jhāna*, etc. In the case of the terms above referred to, the softening of the initial has been of the most varied, so that we have *Daca*, *Yac i*, *Chāra*, *Jāra*, *Zāra*, *Sāra*, and in Chinese *Tu p'o*, *Shē p'o*, *Chao ica*, *Ch'ica*, etc. In so far as the region now under examination is concerned, we have already had occasion to remark that the Bhāgavatī Purāṇa gives *Purojara* and *Manojara* as the names of two divisions of *Śaka-dvīpa*. One of these probably corresponds, as we said, to the State of *Jarā* or *Lao Chua*, the present Lúang P'hrāh Bāng.<sup>1</sup> The other, unless represented up to this day by *Kracheh* (the *Kratie* of French maps) and its district in Upper Kumboja, cannot apparently be identified with anything else but *Zāba Zapa*, or *Thu-bi*.

Ancient remains are by no means absent in the territory where we have located Ptolemy's famed seaport of *Zāba* or *Zabai*. An old temple, a few small brass idols, two blocks

<sup>1</sup> *Ma gya* should correspond to Lúang P'hrāh Bāng since the *Vāṇu Purāṇa* locates a river by the name of *Maney* in Kraunca dvīpa (*Chiao chā* or Tonkin and its borderlands). *Tu gya* ought then to be either *Zāba* or *Kracheh*. This last named district is on the Me Khong at a short distance below Sambōr and Samlōc and is said to have been so named from its being inhabited by a population of the same *Ch'et* (*O hau i*) race as is known to have originally settled at Lúang P'hrāh Bāng.

of polished stone ornamented with basso-relievi, terra-cotta representations of lotus flowers, and other interesting objects, in all appearance the vestiges of Kambojan antiquity, have been discovered to the west of Saigon at about half-way between this city and Chō-lon, the famed Chinese mart. Yet more important remains have long been known to exist further to the north-west, on and about the hill now bearing the Annamese name of *Koi-Mai* (核梅 = the 'Plum-tree' or, figuratively, the 'Pronubial' Hill, the *Cây-Mai* of French writers). On its summit a Buddhist temple stands on the ruins of an ancient Kambojan pagoda. When removing the debris of the latter in A.D. 1816, in order to erect the new structure, a large number of ancient bricks and tiles were brought to light, and two golden plates engraved with the image of Buddha riding on an elephant<sup>1</sup>. More recent explorations have revealed the existence of very extensive lines of ancient ramparts and large lotus-ponds, indicating that a considerable settlement, with temples, etc., stood formerly in that neighbourhood. Nor is this all, for excavations effected at various points of that very promising district have led to the discovery of objects belonging to a yet remoter age, consisting of brass hatchets and stone implements, evidencing that from the earliest period a pre-historical station had been established there<sup>2</sup>. No doubt can therefore arise as to the possibility of the place having been

<sup>1</sup> See Aulan's transl. of the "Gri-dinh Thang chi," pp. 179, 180. Very likely the images were not of Buddha but of the Bodhisatta in his last birth, in the character of Prince Vesantara. They may have been, on the other hand, Brahminic representations of Indra riding upon his three-headed elephant Airavata.

<sup>2</sup> See how I wrote the above, it has been revised by a very interesting and painstaking work "Le Cambodge" (Paris: Leroux, 1900), where the French author, in treating of the antiquities of *Koi-Mai*—or *Cây-Mai*, as he writes its name—states that this place was probably the ancient city of *Bras-nagar* whose name survives in the designation *Prei-nakor* that the Khm̃r still apply to the country about Saigon (pp. 135-136). *Prei-nakor* or *Bras-nagar*, he says means 'la forêt du royaume'. I rather think that this expression should be taken in the sense of 'forest of the capital' or 'forest of the city,' meaning the jungle which grew on the site of the ancient city of *nagar*, whether the capital of a kingdom or not. Both being I imagine, the real significance, there is scarcely any doubt that the city in question is the one whose ramparts are still to be seen in the summit of *Koi-Mai* Hill, for no other remains of a walled town have been so far discovered within the Saigon district. It seems thus very probable that the city or prehistoric station, whose real name has long been

already an important and well-known commercial centre in Ptolemy's time, and as the rectified position we have obtained for his Zaba is almost coincident with that of *Kōi-Māi*, we have no hesitation in assuming that it stood in the vicinity of this place, its ruins being very probably represented by the extensive ramparts and other vestiges of the long forgotten city discovered in that neighbourhood. It should be noticed in fact, that no other traces of ancient towns or extensive settlements are to be met with in the Sūgon district or the immediately adjoining ones the only relics of a bygone age so far brought to light being, in the district first named, besides those of *Kōi-Māi*, the few inconsiderable ones already mentioned lying between Saigon and Chō-lon. The nearest archaeological remains discovered in the adjacent districts are those of an Indū temple on Mount Bī-dên, far away north in the territory of Tōi-mū, two ancient statues roughly sculptured in sandstone dug out at *Chih-Rosei* on the western Vnco, and the ruins of an Indū pagoda, with inscribed slabs dating probably from the eighth century A.D., at Phīp Mūai in the so called "Plaine des Jones" a few miles to the north of Sadak.

Truly, the Khm̄r inscription on the stele now preserved in the town museum at Saigon, but said to have been originally found in the neighbourhood of *Laueh*, the later mediæval Kambojan capital mentions a town by the name of *Samudra-pura*—the 'Oceanic' or 'Sea city'—which must have evidently stood on what was then the edge of the delta at some one or other of the M̄ Khōng outlets. But, as the inscription is probably not older than the seventh century A.D., I do not think it likely that this *Simudra pura* could have been in existence in Ptolemy's time and that it has anything in common with his Zaba or Zabai. Possibly it corresponds to the present My tho or M̄ tho, the name of which I find written in Siamese

forgotten being replaced by the vague term *Brat naga* merely designating the jungle that grew on its site is Ptolemy's Zaba or Zabai the ancient chief town of the *Seo-thap* district and possibly at one time the capital of a little realm that of *T'oe-pes* or *T'ha-b*.

records under the form *Samitho* or *Samuddho*, looking for all the world like a local dialectal corruption of *Samudra*<sup>1</sup> I conclude, therefore, in favour of *Koi Mai* as the most probable site where to locate Ptolemy's city

Zaba, as we have pointed out, was one of the chief ports of call for ships bound from the Golden Khersonese (Takola) to Kattigara. The sailing distance from Takola to Zaba was twenty days according to one Alexander, quoted by Marinus and re quoted through the latter by Ptolemy in the introductory book (ch 14, § 1) of his treatise. It will be seen that this is exactly the distance given by the Arab travellers for the passage from *Kalah bar* to *Kedien*, via *Betumah*, there being, of course, no appreciable difference in the length of the run from Johor (*Betumah*) to either Hatien or Gan rû Bay within Cape St James. By continuing the voyage from Zaba southward, "but keeping more to the left" (*τὸς ποτον διαπλευσαντας, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ εὐωνυμὰ*) the early sailors arrived in "some days" to Kattigara. Ptolemy has, judiciously enough, taken those 'some days' to mean *another twenty days*, although the real purport was, as we may deduce from the Arab travellers, fully double that amount, viz fifty days if reckoning from *Kedien* and forty from *Senef* which was situated further up the Cochin Chinese coast than Zaba.

Our worthy author has not, however, exercised an equally sound judgment in the interpretation of the hint, *καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς τὰ εὐωνυμὰ*, "but [keeping] more to the left," and not

<sup>1</sup> I have since noticed that Armonier in his recent book quoted above states (p. 138) that the term *My tho* is merely a corruption of *Me so* the white the fairy a toponymic very common in Kamboja. I cannot however share his opinion in this case on account of the form *Sa n tho* or *Sa n dho* occurring as I said in Siamese manuscript records which totally excludes a derivation from *Me so* and also in view of the fact that *Sa n dra pra* has not been so far located, and that *Me tho*—or more correctly *Samudho*—suits very well the case both as regards name and position. Not many centuries back in fact *Samudho* must have stood at the very outer edge of the delta and at the mouth of the branch of the Me Klong now flowing by it the name of which has been barbarized by the Annamese into *Song Me tho* 江 叉 河 i.e. Me tho River.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy's *Cosmographie*, ed. Nobbe Leipzig 1891 tom. 1, p. 30 (l. b. c. 14 § 2)

laying sufficient stress on the *καὶ μᾶλλον* he was induced to map down Kattigara in a south-eastern direction from Zaba. We now have made clear what the "keeping more to the left" meant. If in leaving Zaba the ships had indeed, though but for a short time, to steer a southward course in order to clear Cape Tī-won, they had afterwards to port their helm and sail in a north-easterly direction in order to reach the Chinese coast

Great Cape, where the Great Gulf begins (No 124)

The position of this headland, when corrected in the usual way, differs but  $1^{\circ} 5'$  in longitude and  $0^{\circ} 31'$  in latitude from that of Cape Tī-won (long.  $107^{\circ} 15' E$ , lat.  $10^{\circ} 23' N$ ), with which I have finally identified it, after a careful study of this part of Ptolemy's Geography. In the course of such an examination it became evident to me that if Ptolemy made the coast to run almost in a straight line from Akadra (Hatien) to the Mega Akrōtērion (Cape Tī-won), thus ignoring the southernmost projection of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula now ending at Cape Kamboja (Chruī Khamau), it was either because such a projection did not exist in his time or was as yet in its initial stage of formation, not extending in any case much lower down than the Hatien - Cape St. James parallel of latitude. As he says in his first book (ch 14, §§ 1 and 6), on the authority of the already quoted Alexander, after the Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula) the coast *faces the south, and must therefore run parallel with the equator*. This observation applies, of course, only to the portion of the seaboard comprised between Hatien and Cape Tī-won, which was the part of the Gulf of Siām best known to western navigators; and is fully supported by geological evidence. It is notorious, in fact, that the low-lying alluvial plain constituting the southern end of the Peninsula between the Hatien - Cape St. James parallel and Cape Kamboja, is but of comparatively recent formation. Although stretching like an inverted gigantic triangle for a distance of fully one hundred miles seawards and measuring quite

is much at its base, its emancipation from the Neptunian régime does not probably date from as many decades nor can even now be said to be complete, since a good portion of its surface is up to this day either swampy or subject to tidal influence. The raising of such a big stretch of country from the sea bottom within so brief a period would appear a most extraordinary performance had the task not fallen to the lot of as respectable a stream as the Me Khōng, which annually carries to the sea a load of fifteen hundred million cubic metres of alluvial matter, and had not the task itself been facilitated to some extent by the gradual upheaval of the land, of which there are no doubtful indications all along that coast.

In Ptolemy's time, therefore, the southern end of the Indo Chinese Peninsula could hardly have extended as far down as the 10th parallel of latitude instead of the 8° 30' as at present. Its but faintly defined border must have run almost in a straight line from Hattien to Gan rai Bay, skirting the sites of the actual Long ch'wien Sadeh, Viu long and Mi tho,<sup>1</sup> to the south of which a string of shallows and sandbanks stretched for a considerable distance seawards masking the innumerable outlets of the Me Khong, which must then have spread all over that coastline, diverging like the ribs of a fan, having their centre at Bī P'hnom or thereabouts. It is no doubt owing to the perilous character of the seaboard at that point, especially during the south west monsoon, to the full violence of which it is exposed, that the early navigators did not venture into any of the channels affording access to the delta from its front but preferred to give it a wide berth and turn round it either way, putting in at one of the ports situated immediately at its flanks to wit Akadra and Zabai. This circumstance explains how the

<sup>1</sup> This line is also it should be noted the outermost limit southwards of archaeological remains marked by the ruins met with at P'hnom Ba the Thap Muu (*Prasad Pram la ceng*) Ko Mai Brai Nagar) and Chō lon. As none of these—those only of Ko Mai excepted—seem to date further back than the seventh century A.D. it may be assumed that even at that period there was no firm land to be met with much to the south of the line indicated.

maritime towns just named could soon attain importance as entrepôts for the *Iu-nan* trade and also how Ptolemy came to ignore that the Me Khōng had its outlets on the coastline intervening between those two emporiums, an ignorance which must evidently be put down to unacquaintance on the part of the navigators of his time with the mysteries concealed behind the sand and mudbanks which skirted that coast

The state of the delta in those early days and even at a later period may be fairly gauged from a passage of I tsing<sup>1</sup> who, towards the end of the seventh century, still speaks of the "one thousand streams debouching into the sea in the country of *Fu nan* meaning no doubt, the almost numberless channels through which the Me Khong flowed from Bā P hnom towards the periphery of its gigantic delta. It must consequently have been this portion of the *Fu nan* kingdom which very appropriately received the name of *Jala* or *Chên la* expanded at a later period by Chinese writers into *Water Chên la*

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes op cit. p 5

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(9) *The Region of the Great Gulf (Annam and Tonkin)*

The Great Gulf (*Magnus Sinus*) begins, according to Ptolemy, at the Great Capé—identified in the preceding section with Cape Ti-won—and extends up to lat 21° 37' and long 108° 42', corrected, near Pak-hoi (北海) Harbour. The coastline was, in our author's time, occupied by two nations whose struggle for its dominion lasted for upwards of thirteen centuries. One, that of the *Keu* or *Kiao-chi* (*Chiau-chih* or *Jau-chi*) in the north,<sup>1</sup> occupied most of the present Tonkin, and, conquered in B.C. 116-110 by China, gradually extended towards the south, absorbing or driving back, under the leadership of Chinese chiefs, the inhabitants. The other, that of the *Cam* or *Campa* mixed up with the aborigines of the mountains and of the coast—the latter being of a Negrito Indonesian or Melanesian race—developed under the influence of settlers from Southern India a civilization akin

<sup>1</sup> The Annamese and Tonkinese are up to this day termed *Kei* or *Yuen* and *Yuen keu* by the Lau. *Keu* means of course 交 (*chiao kiao jau*) the Chinese character by which the name is represented. If we examine the signification of this term we see that it is a synonym of *Javana Javana*. *Yuan* or *Ion*. In fact 交 means 'to interlock to blend' while its local pronunciation *jau* evidences its connection with *java yava dūva*. Compare *yush* otherwise *et wiet* on p. 134 *supra*. *I-en* is besides connected with 京 (*Yuan* in Annamese *ngu en*) designating as we have already shown an elevated country a plateau and with 京 (*ching*) or *Chieng* employed in a similar sense. The original *Kei* were therefore of the same stock as the *Chai-g* and the *Loi Hoi* or *Cam* and it was they who gave the name of *Kiao-chi* or *Chiau-chih* to Tonkin. The second character in this name is often written 趾 (*chi*=foot toes) instead of 趾 out of homage to the tradition about the divergence of the big toes of this people from the rest of the foot. This is however but an instance of the manner in which etymologies are concocted all over the Far East in order to suit special purposes and peculiar fancies. The separation or divergence of the big toes referred to is common to all barefooted populations of Indo-China and I failed absolutely to detect it in any more marked degree in Annamese lower extremities. I quite agree therefore with Chavannes ('Religieux F. m. n. t.' p. 53) that the characters *Kiao-chi* must have been in origin the phonetic transcript of an indigenous name.

to that of Kamboja, whereof it left monuments all along that seaboard. Though driven of late for refuge to the present Bin-thũn or Bĩn-thwõn (Binh thuận)<sup>1</sup> district

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of consistency in the method of transcription of Annamese place names with the one adopted in the preceding sections of this work for toponyms in Siamese and other Indo-Chinese languages I have deemed it expedient to follow the same course in the present chapter where accuracy and uniformity of transliteration are no less desirable breaking off altogether from the trammels of that hybrid *K'col ng?* (*Q oc ng*) system favoured in French Indo-China the absurdly endless anomalies and general inconveniences of which are well known and have now and again been pointed out amongst others by the French scholars themselves (see e.g. Aymonier's sensible article 'Nos transcriptions' in *Excursions et Reconnaissances* No. 27 May-June 1886). In order however to enable the reader to recognize the place names transliterated according to the new method I have in well nigh every instance in which each of them appears for the first time in these pages given within parentheses the corresponding *A'col ng?* spelling. Ancient tonal marks it should be observed that although similar conventional signs to those employed in *K'col ng?* have been adopted they are in the new method and in the case of no less than four of the Annamese tones used in a different sense from that they have in *K'col ng?*. These modifications became necessary in order to have the same marks to denote the identical (or practically corresponding) tones in both Annamese and the Thai (Siamese) group of languages and thereby ensure uniformity of transcription for the whole of them. The following synopsis table will explain the nature of the modifications introduced in the use of diacritical marks as well as the correspondence between Annamese and Siamese tones as nearly as could be determined by practical tests, i.e. by taking the ear as the sole guide and judge and leaving theory to the tender mercy of lexicographers and grammarians. Though thus far from perfect it sorely calls the method here adopted may perhaps claim to possess some redeeming feature from a practical standpoint and, at all events it appeared to be the only suitable one under the present circumstances.

ANNAMESE TONES IN <i>K'col ng?</i> ( <i>Q oc ng</i> ) TRANSCRIPTION		CORRESPONDING SIAMESE TONES	NEW TRANSCRIPTION	NEW SPELLING
Natural (even)	•	— even ( <i>tonus rectus</i> )	•	—
<i>Nặng</i> or grave	as in ๑	= circumflex (and prolonged)	as in ๒	nan*
<i>Sắc</i> or acute	as in ๓	= emphatic (termed grave by some grammarians)	as in ๓	sak
<i>Huyền</i> or descending	as in ๔	= descending (sinking)	as in ๔	hwen
<i>Hỏi</i> or interrogative†	as in ๕	{ = ascending (high and rising)	as in ๕	{ ho ngá
<i>Ngã</i> or reascending†	as in ๖			

\* No diacritical mark used in either system

† These two Annamese tones are practically identical though they may once have been distinct and it is acknowledged on all sides that they have become confused to such an extent that the difference between them is well nigh imperceptible at the present day.

and to Kamboja, it no doubt occupied in the early days the whole of *Chan ch'êng* or Cochín-China and even a portion of the present Tonkin

The conquests of the Han dynasty in that quarter do not seem to have extended—if at all—any further than the present Kwang bin (Quang binh) district, which formed, according to Chinese historians, part of the department of *Jih nan* founded B.C. 116–110 next to those of *Kiao chi* (Tonkin) and *Kau chên* or *Kiu chon* (Than-hwā Gallice Thanh hoa). Before the Chinese conquest, when Tonkin had been established as an independent kingdom by the name of *Van lang* the two southernmost of its districts were *Kiu duk* and *Viet thuan*, corresponding to the present Ha tin (Ha tinh). Here was situated, according to the Annamese annals<sup>1</sup> the boundary with the country of the *Hô tôn* or Campa. The latter or at least its northern part, corresponding to the present Kwang bin and Kwang tri districts had been it is alleged erected into a *chun* (department) by the Ts'in as early as B.C. 214 under the name of *Lin*: (in Annamese *Lom op* or *Lam ap* pronounced exactly as *Lum up* would be in English). It was then bounded on the north by the territory of the ancient *Yueh shang* (Ann *Viet thuan*) kingdom<sup>2</sup> corresponding to the southern part of the *Kiu duk* or Ha tin district mentioned above<sup>3</sup>. In B.C. 110 the Han changed the name of *Lin*: into that of *Hsiang lin* (Ann *Tuong lom*) and made of it a simple district dependent from the *chun* of *Jih nan* (Ann *Nut nam*) already referred to<sup>4</sup>. It was only later on, or in A.D. 137—always according to the Annamese annalists<sup>5</sup>—that *Hsiang lin* rebelled under the leadership of one native chief by the name of *Ch u lien* (Ann *Kiu lien*) and set up as an independent kingdom with the ancient name of *Lin*:

<sup>1</sup> Des Mèchels op cit pp 4–6

<sup>2</sup> Op cit p 114

<sup>3</sup> Op cit p 107. This territory is often referred to under the name of *Yueh shang* and is wrongly believed by several authorities to have included the whole of Annam and Cochín-China, which is an evident exaggeration.

<sup>4</sup> Op cit p 114

<sup>5</sup> Op cit p 10. See also Ma Tuan lin op cit vol 1 p 419

or *Lam p*. The new State gradually waxed in power becoming before long a serious menace to Chinese domination in Tonkin whose borders it ravaged with continuous incursions. In A.D. 116 by way of retaliation a Chinese army forced its way to the very heart of the kingdom constraining its ruler to abandon the capital. This latter was stormed and plundered but whether it again became the seat of government after the retreat of the invaders or not it is not clear<sup>1</sup>. All that the chroniclers tell us is that not long afterwards the Chīm renewed their raids into Chinese territory. The Tang resolved to put an end to this state of affairs and in A.D. 605 they despatched a strong expedition. The capital of Lam p was once more taken but it was re-occupied by the Chīm after the withdrawal of the Chinese force. Soon afterwards during the period *Ch'ing luan* (A.D. 627-650) the name of the realm was changed into *Hua i sang* (華王)<sup>2</sup>.

A new chastisement for repeated raids followed—this time at the hands of the protector general of Tonkin—in A.D. 809 which resulted in the final abandonment of Lam p by the Chīm. The capital of the latter was then transferred to *Chiem* (*Chan*) and the realm received therefrom the name of *Clan cl'ing* (An *Clie i Han*)<sup>3</sup> meaning according to Chinese interpretation 'the city of *Clai*'. This is the epithet by which Campī became best known to the Chinese since the epoch of the Tang dynasty. Sometimes it is alluded to as *Clai pu lao* or *Clai jo* (in Annamese *Clie bot lâu* and *Chiem bā*) two expressions which are evident

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. p. 115. Ma Tuan lin op. cit. p. 433 states that this change took place during the period *Ch'ia t'ing* (756-768) which is probably more correct.

<sup>3</sup> Des Mochels op. cit. p. 110. Aymonier (History of Tchampa in *Asiatic Quarterly Review* July 1893) does not believe that the Cham abandoned their capital at this time and thinks that they must have held on to it until A.D. 99 when they moved from *ô Ban* (Đồng Hô in Kwang bôn) to *Bat Hangor* near Hwe. But the account given above on the basis of the Annamese annals clearly shows that there was a removal of capital in A.D. 809. This removal must therefore have been effected from some place lying further to the north of Đồng Hô.

imitations of the term Campā. The city of *Chan* or *Chiem* adopted as capital in A.D. 809 was apparently *Śrī Banī* or *Srī Banoi*, identified with Dong Hoi (*Trưng an?*) to the west of the present chief town of Kwang bin (*circā* 17° 30' lat.)<sup>1</sup> It was destroyed in A.D. 982, and the seat of government was then probably removed more to the south at *P'hot thē*, near Hwe (Hue) termed *Bal Hangor* by the Chām.<sup>2</sup> This new capital was in its turn, taken by the king of Annam in A.D. 1044, but once the war storm over, it no doubt reverted to its former occupiers. A new reverse befell the Cham in 1061 which had as a consequence the transfer to Annamese rule of all their territory as far south as Hwe. The capital was then definitely abandoned, and a new one set up at *Cha ban* (termed *Bal Angite* by the Chām) at

<sup>1</sup> *Dō g Hō* means according to Aymonier field of the *Hō* or *Hōi* (barbarians) the name given the Cham by the Annamese. We have explained that *Hōi* = mountaineer. *Dō g* is evidently 田, meaning field plain.

<sup>2</sup> In fact in A.D. 1007 the king of Campa is stated by Ma Tuan lin (op. cit. p. 548) to have written to China in the following strain: "Formerly my kingdom depended on *Ka-chi* but I have since shaken off the yoke emigrating to the country of *Fo-shā* [佛逝 by which evidently *P'hot thē* is meant] whose northern borders lie at 800 *li* [southwards] from my ancient frontier. It will be observed that this distance—which represents in European measurement about 900 miles—if set down on a map from the neighbourhood of Hwe north-westward along the coast brings us far into Nghe An (Nghê an) if not right up to the southern boundary of Thun hwa which now evidently corresponds with tolerable approximation to the ancient Cham frontier alluded to in the above extract. As regards the term *Fo-shā* (or *P'hot thē*) it no doubt is a transcript of some Sanskrit name like *Bhōja Bhūja* etc. The Bhagavata Purana mentions a region by the name of *Bhōja śha* as well as a mountain *Bhōjana* as being both situated in *Āraṇa dīpa* (*Āraṇa dī*) (see Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's Vāyu Purana vol. i p. 198). In a Sanskrit Cham inscription of A.D. 1436 king Jaya Simhavarman V styles himself a descendant of the *Bhōja* *āraṇa* i.e. of the *Bhōja* race or lineage (Berga gues. L'ancien Royaume de Campa. *Journal Asiatique* 1888 pp. 104-5). Whether this term *Brāju* has any connection with *Fo-shā* or not it is of course impossible to say for the present. We may rest content in any case with the fact—here for the first time brought to light—that the country about Hwe was in the old days known by the name (either *Bhōja* or *Bhūja*) whatever be the correct interpretation on that should be put upon the term *Fo-shā*. I may add that the latter is spelled in Chinese with the identical characters used by I-tsing and others to denote the country of *Bhōja* or *Br* *Bhōja* (*Fo-shā* / or *Shā* / *fo-shā*) i.e. Palembang on the eastern coast of Sumatra. (See Chitannan op. cit. pp. 119 and 125.)

about six miles to the north of the present district city of Bìñ-dīñ. Here it remained until 1471, when it fell, with the whole of the territory as far south as Bìñ-thwōn, into Annamese hands, and the kingdom of Campā was broken up. *Bal-Batthinōng*, in Bìñ-thwōn, then became the seat of government of all that remained intact of the crumbling State, and upon that site having, in its turn, to be given up, in about 1567,<sup>1</sup> Pūngdarang or Pānrang (*Paṇduranga*) formed the last resort of the Chām chiefs—now mere vassals of Annam and with only a shadow of authority—until about 1820, when the last of them emigrated to Kamboja and every relic of Chām rule disappeared with him.

This is, in short, the gist of what can be gathered as regards the early history of Campā from Chinese and Annamese sources, and on its later days, from the meagre records left by the Chām themselves. In the accounts first alluded to the limits of Sino-Annamese domination, as well as the exploits of the imperial armies, have naturally been magnified, and thus we are led to believe that Chinese rule had been established in Campā even since the time of Shih Huang-ti of the Ts'in (B.C. 221-209), who, it is pretended, founded there the *chun* of *Lin-i* or *Lom-op*; that subsequently the Han reintegrated the sway over what had in the meantime blossomed forth into an independent kingdom,<sup>2</sup> and made of *Lōm-ōp* the district of *Hsiang-lin*, which continued under Chinese control until *Ch'ü-lien's* rebellion in A.D. 137. But a careful examination of both Chinese and Annamese records elicits the fact that such pretended domination over Campā, and indeed also over Tonkin, though reasserted now and then by armed expeditions, was in the interval little

<sup>1</sup> These dates and scraps of information I have taken from the brief Cham chronicle published by Aymonier in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 31.

<sup>2</sup> The kingdom of *Nan-yüeh*, (in Annamese *Nām-ēiēt*), founded by Chao-t'io (Triệu dá), general of the Ts'in sent to subjugate Tonkin, in 207 B.C. It is said to have included the territory of the *ch'ün*s (departments) of *Lin-i* (*Lōm-ōp*) and *Hsiang* (*Tuāng*), the latter being the name given to the Tonkin division at that period; and also *Nan-ai* (Canton), the capital being situated at P'an-yü (Canton).

more than nominal. It is a story of continuous rebellions followed by the setting up of independent States. Chinese repression was rarely severe and complete, and usually left things unchanged. The fact is that the Chieng or Châm element was, in spite of what the Chinese annalists say still preponderant not only on the borders but in the very midst of Tonkin, and this, as usual designated by its would be oppressors as 'barbarians' constituted the turbulent part of the population intolerant of foreign rule who always sought to repel the invaders from the north. In any case never did the Han legions advance any further than Kwang bin, as I stated, and it is very doubtful whether they ever reached as far as that district even in the solitary instance of the expedition led by the celebrated Ma yuan in A D 43, which seems to have outdistanced all others down to at least A D 605. On that occasion Ma yuan is said to have reached the capital of Lam ap and then to have marched past it some twenty *li* up to where Hsiang lin bordered upon the kingdom of the *Hsi tu* (Toi dô) barbarians (西屠夷) at which spot he erected two brass pillars to mark the limit of Chinese dominion<sup>1</sup>. As regards the expedition of A D 605 it is said on the other hand that it had to advance eight marches further than Ma yuan's pillars in order to reach the capital of Lam ap<sup>2</sup>. The apparent discrepancy as to the site of the Cham capital in the two accounts can only be explained by assuming that the capital was removed further down the coast in the interval between A D 43 and 605. As at the latter date it undoubtedly stood no further south than Đông Hoi (Đông Hoi) near the present town of Kwáng bin it is evident that in A D 43 it must have been situated some eight marches further up that is to say somewhere about H<sub>1</sub> tin the ancient *Kâu d<sub>1</sub> l*. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact of Ptolemy placing a Kortatha Metropolis just in that neighbourhood which I identify both from coincidences of names and location with *Kâu d<sub>1</sub> l*.

<sup>1</sup> Des M<sub>1</sub>chels op cit. pp 61 62 and Ma Tuan lin op cit. vol. 1 p 418  
<sup>2</sup> Op cit. pp 162 163

(*Chiu té*, in Cantonese *Kau ték*) Ma yuan's pillars cannot therefore have been erected much further south than the present town of Hī tīn which must as a consequence have belonged to Hsiang lin or Lam ap<sup>1</sup>. It will be observed further that whereas the independence of Lam ap is said to date from A D 137 the year of Ch u lien's rebellion we are told in the Chinese account of Ma yuan's exploits that Lam ap was chastised and its capital taken in A D 43 which is a palpable proof of Lam ap having existed as an independent kingdom prior to that date despite the alleged Chinese conquests of B C 214 and B C 116-110. The mention by Ptolemy of Kortatha Metropolis which—granted that the Chinese account above referred to is correct—must have been the capital of Lam ap alleged to have been taken by Ma yuan seems to demonstrate further that as soon as that famous general had turned his back the



Lam ap State was, *more solito*, re-established as flourishing as ever. We cannot believe, in fact, that Ptolemy could have learned of Ch'u lien's coup of A.D. 137 at so short a notice, especially as its date is by no means certain, and the feat is ascribed by some authorities to a Ch'u lien *secundus*—in name at least—who would have lived at the end of the Later Han dynasty, or nearly a century later.<sup>1</sup>

The kingdom known under the names of *Lom-up* or *Lun-i* seems not to have extended further down than the present Hwē or Turān, because, as we shall see, Ptolemy locates lower down another capital city by the name of Balonga Metropolis which I identify with the site of the ancient *C'ha-lan*, known later on as Kwī-nōn (Qui-nhon). I came on the strength of this and other evidence to the conclusion that ancient Campī consisted of at least two States, probably more or less dependent upon each other, of which the northern one had for capital *Kūn dul* or Kortatha and the southern had the seat of government at *C'ha-bān*, the well-known Chīm capital of the fourteenth century. I shall distinguish the northern realm by the name of *Northern* or *Upper Campa*, and the southern one by the designation of *Southern* or *Lower Campa*. Perhaps we had also at one time a third State of *Central Campa*, which I take to be the kingdom of the *Tai do* or *Hsi-t'u* barbarians alluded to in the account of Ma-yuan's expedition and which may correspond also to the kingdom or country of *T'o huan* (FE 桓, Ann *Da huan* or *Dā-hàn*), spoken of in Chinese accounts of Kamboja<sup>2</sup> as being, in common with Lin-i, often at war with Chīn-lā (Kamboja). This country of the *Tai-dō* or *T'o huan* must have corresponded to the present territory of Hwē and Turān.

This division assumed by me of the Chīm empire into two or more petty realms, is quite in accord with the political condition of Indo-China in the early days when the unification

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 137 is the year that marked the end of the Later Han's rule. See the date and entry of Ch'u lien inaugurated by Charvonez op cit. p. 63 note.  
<sup>2</sup> Ma Tsen-lu op cit. p. 472.

of its mixed population of new settlers with the aboriginal races was as yet in its initial stage, and the organization of large political units still looked rather like an utopia. It is only towards the sixth or seventh century that empire making on an extensive scale commenced in Indo China. I can therefore scarcely believe that the various portions of Campā were from the outset under a single paramount suzerain. It was the pressure from without, especially from Tonkin's side, that compelled them to make common cause against the common enemy, and that brought about the coalescence, first of Northern with Central Campā, and subsequently of the two latter with their southern neighbour and Lin. The unification was probably complete by the time of, or soon after, the memorable reverse of A.D. 600, and thus we hear Hwên tsang referring thirty four years later to the Chām empire under the epithet of *Mahā Campā*. I tsang however usually speaks of it simply as *Chan jo* towards the end of the same century. At about the same period we find the first mention of *Campā* in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Kamboja<sup>1</sup>. But we meet with the form *Cama* as a name for the people (*Cama bhṛtya*) as early as the third century, in the inscription engraved on the granite boulder of Nā trang (Nha Trang) in the Kham-hwa (Khánh hòa) district, by order of Mura rāja, the first historically known of the Chām kings<sup>2</sup>. The statement of the Chinese and Annamese annalists that Campā was so named only after A.D. 809, when the capital was transferred to the city of *Chan chêng* or *Chiem thăn* (Campapura), proves thus a little bit too stale. It is true that we do not find any mention of Campapura in the Chām inscriptions themselves until A.D. 817, when it occurs in the title of the ruler *Sri Campapurajayameśvara*,<sup>3</sup> but we have *Campa* as the name of a State or Kingdom in the inscription of Glai Lomov in the Phān rang

<sup>1</sup> *Aṅg Ch an k* inscription from the province of Ba P'nom dating from A.D. 667.

<sup>2</sup> See Bergaigne's *Lanc en Royaume de Campa*, in the *Journal Asiatique* Jan. 1888 p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 67.

district, which is older than the above by nearly half a century. It is to be presumed, therefore that the name of *Campa* as a State and of *Campā pura* as its capital existed from at least the beginning of the seventh century, since it was mentioned shortly afterwards by Hwên tsang and the Ang Chumnik inscription of Kamboja. I am not sure however whether at an earlier date the name *Campa* existed at least for the whole country occupied by the Chām race since that country was undoubtedly divided as we have shown into several petty States. Perhaps it was only one of these States that had adopted the name *Campā* the others being known by different appellations. The evidence seems to be in favour of the northern State, when it extended far into Tonkin comprising the whole of the present districts of Ha tin and Than hwa. At that period, adventurers from Northern India had reached Tonkin overland by the Song ku or Yin route and had established there as in Yunnan and Laos cities and kingdoms easily recognizable from their Sanskrit or Prakrit names. It was then perhaps that the southern part of Tonkin received the names of *Anga* or *Malai*, from its being situated like the Indu Anga to the east of Mūlava and Daśirna. In the course of time it must have become known also as *Romapada* or *Lomapada* for these are the terms by which Anga is usually designated in the local versions of the I amayana and of other popular Indu literary works current in Indo China.<sup>1</sup> From *Lomapada* the name of the State the Annamese derived I think then 林邑 (*Lo : op*) two characters which the Chinese read as *Lu :*. The latter reading may be accounted for also as a contraction of *Malai* obtained by omitting the initial syllable *ma*. I feel quite confident that such is the origin of the terms *Lom op* and *Lu :* which have remained so far

<sup>1</sup> In the Sanscrit *Lau* and *Kha* r translations or paraphrases of the Ramayana the name *Anga* never occurs and scarcely does that of *Campā* the common designation for that State being *Romapada* (*ro*) and *Romapattan* or *Lom op ttan* from the fact I think that King Romap da was reigning there when the Rāyāsringa episode occurred. At all events the capital of the Indu Campa was variously known as *Angapuri* *Lomapadapuri* *Karnapuri* *Malai* etc.

(A D 446?) It is from that time, or shortly afterwards, that the terms *Lom op* and *Lin-i* begin to disappear in Annamese and Chinese accounts being superseded by *Chiem thañ* and *Chan ch'eng* respectively—meaning the city of *Cam* or *Campā*, i.e. *Campapura*

While the civilization of Upper Campa thus appears to have been due to emigrants from Northern India that of Lower Campā, the Cochin China of the present day, is indisputably of Southern Indian or Dravidian origin. This is proved by the type of the characters employed in the inscriptions discovered there, the most ancient of which is, so far, that of King Mura rija already alluded to. Its characters closely resemble, in the opinion of Professor Bergaigne,<sup>1</sup> those of the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman (A D 150), hence he assigns to that monument a date not earlier than the third century of the Christian Era. The civilization of Southern Campā had its foci in the districts now called Khan hwì and Bin diu as we hope to demonstrate in the sequel. Thence it extended as in Kamboja northwards meeting that of Upper Campā about half-way up the coast, which it influenced apparently to a larger extent than it was influenced itself in its turn. This would appear from a series of inscriptions discovered in a grotto, situated near the point where the provinces of Kwang biñ and Hà tñ border upon each other, that is a little below the 18th parallel of latitude. The characters are, according to Professor Bergaigne similar to those employed in the inscriptions of Southern Campā.<sup>2</sup>

Early before the Christian Era the Rāmāyana speaks of the *Ghrtodī* or *Ghrtā* Sea which becomes in the Purānas the Ocean of *Sarpis* or *ghee*, while it is termed the Sea of *Senf* or *Senf* in Mas ūdī and said to surround the centre of the empire of *Abel*,<sup>3</sup> just as in the Purānas it is represented to encompass *Kukī drīpa* (the Sunda Archipelago)

east side), there is depicted the figure of a tower rising very conspicuously at the extreme of the headland that forms the eastern boundary of the entrance to the bay. Though designed after the style of a tapering, many-storied Chinese pagoda, evidently it is intended conventionally to represent the group of three towers—if not the central and loftiest of them only—which rise in a close row, oriented in a N-S. direction, at a short distance to the west of the village of *Thī-nāi*, by the side of the road leading thence to the *Já* mart, or *Chó Já* (Cho Giã). These structures, called *tháp* by the Annamese<sup>1</sup> (who, by the way, have wantonly demolished one of them for base building material<sup>2</sup>), are but a portion of the interesting remnants of Chām civilization that one finds scattered about the *Blū-dīū* district. A group of another three, almost exactly alike in build and orientation, is, in fact, met with several miles further to the west, on the *Tháp-bà-môu-thiên* or *Tam-thap* ('Three Towers') Hill; but I believe that the group formerly alluded to is the one meant in the map. Although the sand-spit on which the towers rise and the present *Thī-nāi* village stands may be of comparatively modern formation, it is quite probable that by the time the Chinese map was constructed (fourteenth century) it had considerably advanced seawards, and that the towers had already been built near its outer edge, where they thus formed conspicuous landmarks not easily overlooked nor forgotten by navigators. These assumptions being correct, it is clear that the *Hsin-chou* River of the Chinese map must have been the stream now called *Lāng-song*, from the village of that name standing near its mouth; and not the *Dông-p'ho* or *Tôn-an* River, which debouches through several channels into the lagoon further westwards, beyond the present city of *Biū-dīū*. As the lagoon must have been at no distant period less shallow than nowadays, sea-going crafts could then probably advance further into it as far as the mouth of the present *Lāng-song* (then *Hsin-chou*), where the anchorage was then presumably situated.

<sup>1</sup> From Chinese 塔, *t'a* = *stupa*, pagoda, evidently the same word as the *Lau Tāt*, corrupted from the Sanskrit-Pali *Dhātū*

(2) Further to the north-west of the outlet of the Hsin-chou River, and at a spot corresponding very closely to the site once occupied by the ancient Chām capital city C'hā-bān or Bal Angwē, the Chinese map bears the indication *Chan-ch'êng K'wo* (i.e. 'Kingdom of Campā'). As C'hā-bān was the capital at the time the map was compiled, it is but natural that the name of the kingdom over which it presided should be marked at the place where the said capital stood.

This was, therefore, the port of *Ciamba* or *Cianba* of Marco Polo, the *Campau* of Nicolò di Conti, and other mediaeval travellers,<sup>1</sup> erroneously located in Biñ-thwōn even by their most recent commentators. The anchorage was not evidently, however, right at the head of the lagoon, in front of the city and of the delta of the Đông-p'hô; but near the mouth of the *Hsin-chou* (now the Lāng-song), thus occupying a position slightly more inland than the present Thī-nūi Harbour. A settlement termed *Hsin-chou* no doubt existed there, after which the surrounding district became known. As spelled by Chinese writers, *Hsin-chou* means 'New Islet,' and may thus refer to the islet where rises the present village of *K'can* (Quan), at the mouth of the Lāng-song—the *Hsin-chou* River of bygone days, according to the evidence adduced above. But one should be very cautious of taking Chinese transcripts of toponyms in this region too literally. It is, therefore, almost certain that while the second word of the compound *Hsin-chou* is genuinely Chinese, and was added in order to impress a Chinese character on this toponymic, the first term, *Hsin*, represents the original local name of the place, which was either Chām or Sanskrit derived. Of this fact there is no lack of indications, as we are going briefly to demonstrate.

The Chinese writer Fan Shih-hu, who composed his *K'uei-hai-yu-hêng-chih*—a treatise of descriptive geography and

<sup>1</sup> *Jampa* in the Catalan Atlas of 1375 (op. cit., pl. 1), which, at its eastern boundaries, places the remark "*Fins India*", and *Zampa* in Fra Mauro's planisphere (circa A.D. 1450) reproduced in Zurita's "*Di Marco Polo ed altri viaggiatori Veneziani*," Venetia, 1818.

natural history on the southern provinces of the empire—towards the close of the twelfth century,<sup>1</sup> has about *Hsin-chou* the following passages, quoted in Ma Tuan-lin's cyclopaedia<sup>2</sup>—"The territory of *Hsin*, watered by a small stream, supplies chiefly large quantities of scented wood *Hsin-chou* formerly belonged to *Chên-la* [Kamboja], but *Chiao-chuh* [Tonkin] has since made herself master of it"<sup>3</sup>

From this we gather that *Hsin-chou* used to be also alluded to by the Chinese themselves under the simple form 新 (*Hsin*) Now, this character is pronounced *Sên* in Cantonese and *Ton* in Annamese, whence we deduce that its local form must have been *Sen* or *Son* This, it will be observed, closely tallies (minus the final *f* or *ef*) with the Arab *Senf*, *Zenf*, or *Senef*, which is, in its turn, not very dissimilar to *Shih-nai*, the Chinese form of the Annamese *Thi-nãi* The *Fu-chou* and *Wên-chou* pronunciations of this toponymic are, respectively, *Si-nai* and *Sz-ne*, the last one being a pretty close approach to *Senef* or *Zenef* It is possible that the *f* at the end was added by the Arab navigators through some misunderstanding, if not in the endeavour to better mark the stress on the final *e* in *Sz-ne*, unless it can be

demonstrated that the local name for the *Hsin* district and its stream was some Indū imported term like *Chinab*, *Chenab*, of which *Senef* would be a not very imperfect rendering<sup>1</sup>

Another toponymic bearing some resemblance to *Senf* or *Senef* in that neighbourhood is that of Cape *Sañ ho*, the high bluff headland forming the eastern point of the present *Thi nãi* harbour. This, coupled with the two place names already alluded to, viz *Hsin* and *Thi nãi* or *Sz ne* should go far towards establishing the connection, from a linguistic point of view, between them and *Senef*. In other respects this connection is amply confirmed by the description given by Sulaimān, which applies to the seaport now under discussion in every particular. "At the place named *Senef*," says the Arab traveller, "fresh water may be obtained and thence is exported the aloes [eagle wood] termed *al Senfi*. This place forms a kingdom. Its inhabitants are brown-complexioned and each of them wears two skirts [*paynes*, or loin cloths]"<sup>2</sup>. The reference to the eagle wood tallies with what is said about this article of produce in the Chinese account of *Hsin* or *Hsin chou* quoted above. As regards fresh water the China Sea Directory<sup>3</sup> thus remarks in connection with *Thi nãi* harbour. "Good water can be obtained from a stream on the east shore of the harbour. The district formed a kingdom because here stood Balonga that is *Bal Anger* (also known under the name of *Chā ban*) which was then

<sup>1</sup> That the latter hypothesis is not totally unfounded would appear from the fact of the Parisian codex—said to be the original one—of Marco Polo's narrative having the heading of chapter cixi (on Campa) worded in this wise: *C des se de la contrée de C naba* (Codex No 7 367 of the Bibliothèque Nationale). While readily admitting that *C naba* may here be a clerical mistake for *Cinab* and *Candian* the spelling adopted in the course of that chapter I cannot dismiss altogether the idea that it may have something to do with *Campa* a seaport *Shih na* *S ne* or *Se of* which was undoubtedly the place where Marco Polo landed. It is in fact not unnatural that the Venetian traveller should first speak of the harbour—correctly recorded as *C naba*—where his ship anchored and next of the kingdom—equally correctly recorded as *C naba* or *Candian*—of which *Cinaba* or *Senef* formed the principal seaport. Otherwise it is quite possible that he having heard the two terms *Chinab* and *C naba* as they were then probably pronounced by the foreigners from whom he got them took them to be alternative designations for the country and used them in this sense.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue géographique* t. i. p. 18

<sup>3</sup> 4th edition 1899 vol. i. p. 413



(ninth century) the capital of Lower Campā. On the subject of dress, the rendering of *deux pagnes* for both the garments worn may be due to inaccuracy or oversight on the part of the French translator, or else to some clerical error in the Arabic text. Of the two garments alluded to, only one perhaps was a loin-cloth, while the other served to cover the upper part of the body. "The dress of the people of *Chan-ch'eng*," says Ma Tuan-lin,<sup>1</sup> "consists of a long skirt formed by one *leh* [ell?] of the stuff termed *Pé-t'ie*<sup>2</sup> wrapped round the body, and a sort of tunic with narrow sleeves worn over it."

Previous commentators, more especially the late Colonel Yule, have suggested that the terms *Senef* or *Senf*, which they have twisted into *Sanf* or *Chanf*, represent *Campā*, whether as applied to the kingdom or to its capital. But this identification, from a linguistic point of view, seems to me too far-fetched.<sup>3</sup> It will rest with subsequent inquirers into the subject to prove whether it can still hold its ground against those we have brought forward, which are, at all events, topographically justifiable.

Beyond the *Ghrtoda* or Sea of *ghee* the *Rāmāyana* does not mention any other sea, a fact which argues that at the time of the composition of that epic, the geographical knowledge of the people of Northern India did not extend

beyond the Sunda Archipelago and the Gulf of Tonkin. The Purāṇas, however, give us as next in order the *Dadhi* or *Drithmanla* (Sea of whcy), encompassing *Kraunca* *leipa*. My identification of this region is China south of the Yang-tsi or *Kin sha* River, which included the territories of *Kiau chi* or *Kuo chao*, part of *King-chao*, and the districts of *Kien chung*, *Chang sha*, *Clang*, *Kau el en* (*Kidu chon*), etc., under the Han and Ts'in dynasties, all of which names may have contributed in giving origin to the collective Indū designation of *Kraunca*. I am therefore inclined to consider *Kraunca* *leipa* as comprising the whole Chinese seaboard from the Gulf of Tonkin to Hang chow especially as the town just referred to was to the early Arab and Indū navigators known as *Kinsay* or *Khansah*, and also because the Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions *Ama* (a district which I identify with Kwang tung or Canton) among the divisions of *Kraunca* *leipa*.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs termed the *Dadhi* ocean the 'sea of *Sanjī*' a name probably derived from *Sarajī* or other Sanskrit synonym of *Dadhi*, unless it is more directly traceable to the Chinese 漳海 (*Clang Hai*), which may be in its turn but a clumsy transcript of *Saraja* etc. Whether it is to Indū or to Chinese navigators that the honour of having first given a name to the ocean in question must be ascribed I do not propose to inquire in these pages. I shall demonstrate however, that *Sanjī* and *Chang Hai* designate the very identical sea by a brief comparison of the accounts which the Arabs on one side and the Chinese on the other have left us of the sea thus respectively termed by them. This determination is both important and necessary for our purpose as well as for historical geography in general since neither the *Sanjī* nor the *Chang Hai* sea have been so far correctly located by our predecessors in this field.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Hall's edition of Wilton's *India* vol. ii p. 198 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic spelling of this term is I observe سنجي which may be read either *Sanjī*, *Zanjī* or *Senjī*.

On the Arab side both Sulaimān and Mas'ūdī agree in telling us that the sea of *Sanyī*, which bathed the China coast, extended to the north and to the east to an unknown distance,<sup>1</sup> and that by sailing through it they passed the straits or 'gates of China' as they term them (Formosan Channel Chusan Strait, etc.) through which after seven days' run they made the gulf of Hang chou, and reached *Khanfū* (*Ganfu* or *Kan p'u*), the terminus of their navigation.

On the other hand, the Chinese inform us that the sea of *Chang Hai*—which, at times, they term also *Ta Chang Hai*—was a branch of the great sea of Canton (*Nan Hai*), that it formed the eastern limit of *Fu nan* (Eastern Kamboja), and thence it stretched boundless eastwards as far as a large island called 杜波, *Tu po*, on which there was a State by the name of 諸羅, *Chu po* (This island I take to be Borneo, and the State to be the northern part of it formerly known locally as *Sabah*). They further tell us that the seven prefectures of *Chiao chih* (Tonkin) in bringing their offerings to the Chinese Court 'always pass to and fro' by way of the *Ta Chang Hai*.<sup>2</sup> As tribute missions from Tonkin were invariably required to land at Canton, it follows that this sea stretched from the Gulf of Tonkin to at least as far as Canton, and thus coincided with what the Arabs termed the Sea of *Sanyī* or *Senyi*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Renaud op cit. D. scours préliminaire p. clxviii.

<sup>2</sup> *P'ou san t'ang* quoted in the *Chia Pei ew* vol. xi. p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> See writing the above I have noticed that the Sea of *Sanyī* is actually said to be the sea of China in Captain Bozorg's *Aja bs* (see Van der Lath & M. Davis *Merveilles de l'Inde* p. 86) which expression must not be understood in the wide sense of the China Sea of our day but more properly as meaning the sea bathing the China coast. The latter is I think the real *Chia g Hai* of the Chinese while the former corresponds to what they call in a more extended sense the *Ta Chia g Hai*. The *Mukhtasar al Aja b* (see op cit. pp. 279-280) speaks of *Sanyī* or *Senyi* as being also the name of a place. The passage runs as follows:—In the city of China there is a place called *Senyi*. The sea is there more dangerous than anywhere else (i.e. than all other seas) on account of the frequency of winds high waves straits and mountains (reefs) that are to be found there. From this country (*Senyi*) young men resembling *Zenys* (*Zenys* negroes of Zanzibar) come aboard the ships. Their stature is four spans. They come from the waters jump on the decks and there walk about without doing harm to anybody. After that they return to the sea. Here we have another confirmation of the existence of negro pygmies on the China coast or at any rate on some of the islands facing it (see *nsra*). For as I am now going to demonstrate the place also alluded to under the name of *Sanyī*.

The notion of some among the Chinese writers was, however, that the sea in question was even more extensive,

or *Senji* lay almost certainly on the northern coast of Hainan Island, and, at all events, within the compass of Hainan Strait. This clearly results from a passage in *Pigafetta's Travels*, wherein the famous navigator says "Dietro alla costa della China sono molti popoli, come di *Chenchy* dove si trovano perle, & qualche legno di cannella" (Ramusio, op. cit., vol. i, f. 369 verso). This reference to pearls enables us at once to identify the *Chenchy* district with Hainan, and precisely with its northern coast, anciently forming part of the prefecture of *Chu-yai*, noted for its pearl fisheries. The name of *Chu-yai*, 珠崖, pronounced *Chū-ngai* in Cantonese, and *Chūu-āi* in the Annamese dialect, means, in fact, 'Pearl-[oyster-]bank,'\* and both Chinese and Annamese records testify as to pearls being found there from the remotest period. According to the Thai-sut-th'ag-shi quoted by the Annamese annalists (see *Des Michels*, op. cit., p. 185), for instance, the pearl fisheries existed in the south-eastern part of the Ho-p'u district, corresponding in this case to the north coast of Hainan, which had been in n. c. 48 subordinated as a simple district with the designation *Chu-lu*, to the Ho-p'u *chūu*. I ven as late as the sixteenth century João de Barros (ch. i, lib. ix, in Ramusio, vol. i, f. 391 verso) mentions the "isoli di Ainam [Hainan], dove si pescano le perle, ch'è il principio d'li generationi di Cantà [Canton]." At that time, however, the mussel-beds that yielded the valuable supply were fast becoming exhausted, so that in 1599 the return is stated to have been merely Taels 2,100, as against Tls. 28,400 recorded for 1476, whereupon the fisheries appear to have been closed. (See *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. i, Hongkong, 1867, p. 12.) In A. D. 627, under the T'angs, the territory corresponding to the ancient *Chu-yai* and *Chu-lu* districts was termed *Ch'ung-shan* (中山), sometimes also written *Ch'ung yung* (中興), (vide P'ei-wên Yun-fu in *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 40), and the *chou* or department in which it lay was further denominated *Ch'ung-chou*. This designation, after a multitude of administrative changes, came at length in A. D. 758 to be bestowed upon the entire island, and this title has been borne almost continuously since that period, although under varying circumstances as to the relative rank and dependence of its government. (See *Journal China Branch R. A. S.*, No. vu, 1873, p. 10.) The word *Ch'ung* denotes a red-veined stone, and is said to have been applied to Hainan Island on account of its red breccia marble and with special reference to a conspicuous hill, lying some twenty miles to the south of the present capital town, which appears to consist of that beautiful rock. *Ch'ung-shan* means, therefore, 'Red-marble Mountains.'

The terms *Senji* and *Chenchy* are evidently identical, and if denoting a town ship or district may be meant for either *Chu-yai* (*Chu-ngai*), *Ch'ung-shan*, *Ch'ung yung*, or *Ch'ung chou*. On the other hand, if designating a population, they may apply to the *Sauang-chien* (雙尖) or *Shoy-tyi*, the so called 'Double Cloth' tribe of the Li, so named it is reported, on account of their wearing a double piece of cloth, one in front and the other behind, to cover their nakedness. This tribe must have formed along with the hundred one of the

\* The Chinese *chū* is evidently connected with, and was in remote times probably pronounced not far differently from, the Sanskrit *śukta* (Pali *sutta*) = 'pearl oyster,' and *śukṭyam* = 'pearl.' See, however, my further remarks on *Chu-yai* in the footnote to p. 250.

stretching as far as the Malay Peninsula. They actually called *Chang Hsi* what we now term, in part very improperly,

*Hiao-chuen* (小, 州) or 'Small Cloth' Is., now restricted to the Yai-chou district in the southern part of the island, the main bulk of the population of Hainan at the period in question. But with them there may have been dwelling on some tracts of the sea-coast the last remnants of tribes, now extinct, of a still more primitive type and shorter stature, evidently the descendants of the Negrito pygmean autochthones, justifying their being compared to the African Négrilles. The reckoning of their stature at four spans by the Arab navigators is probably a notion derived second-hand from the Chinese settlers on the island, and thus four Chinese *ch'ih* (spans, usually rendered as 'feet') are probably intended, which, at the rate of 14 1 inches, yield about 56½ inches English, or only 1 to 2 inches less than the average stature of Indo-Chinese and Melanesian Negritos. It will be interesting in the present connection to remark that this measurement of four *ch'ih* is just the average height ascribed by Chinese writers, among whom Ma Tuan-lin, to the inhabitants of 侏 儒, *Chu-yu*, or *Chü-yü*, a Pygmy State in the Melanesian region (See *China Review*, vol xix, p 297). This hitherto unidentified land I make out, by the way, to be *Siguyor*, *Silyor*, or, more exactly, *Gyor*, *Kyor*—Si being a mere prefix to island-names in the archipelago—the local designation of the island otherwise known as Fuegos and inhabited by Aeta Negritos.

That the toponymic *Chu yai* survived in the popular tradition down to the time of the Arab travellers and further, appears from the fact that towards the end of the thirteenth century Ma Tuan lin still speaks (op cit, p 394) of *Ch'uang-shan* city under that name. "La ville de *Chu-yai*," he goes on to say, in the words of his translator, "bâtie au bord de la mer, est la résidence de très-riches marchands qui s'entendent pour faire peser sur ces malheureux barbares toutes les charges et tous les impôts." This proves that the city had then become already a very thriving emporium.

The description of the dangers to which ships were exposed in the sea immediately adjoining *Sonyi* perfectly agrees, it will be seen, with the topographical conditions of Hainan Strait, notorious for its numerous sandbanks at both its entrances in and near the fairway, its shoals and patches of hard sand, its heavy overfalls or tide rips and strong currents, and the reefs that fringe its shores, especially at Hainan head and round Cape Kami (閤 泥 尾, *Kwan* [Port or Gate of] *Chiao-wei* or *Küu-mei*), the scene of so many wrecks. There can thus be no doubt as to the *Sonyi* of the Arab navigators being the

China Sea, although they had different names for portions or branches of it; e.g., Sea of *Chin-lu* (identified by us, p 164, with the sea of *Kāmalāika* and the sea of *Kudienj* or *Kerdenj*), *Ch'ih Hai* ('Red Sea,' i.e. sea of *Śrī-lohit* or *Sheldhet* = Sea of the Straits, if not actually sea of *Ch'ih-t'u*, i.e. Gulf of *Siam*),<sup>1</sup> etc. In fact, while some Chinese authors place in the sea of *Chang Hai* the island of *Tu-po* (*Darak*, *Dabag*, *Dayak*, i.e. Borneo in my opinion), sometimes also called *Chu-po* (after *Sabah* or North Borneo, see p 245 ante), said by them to lie eastwards of *Tunan*,<sup>2</sup> and the farther outlying insular group of the *Ma-ieu* or *Mā-ngú* (= *Manubo*, *Manguian*, *Wūgi*, or

*Chai ch'iy* pearl-producing district of *Piguetta*, and the *Ch'ung-ying* or *Ch'ung-shan* township of yore and of the present day—or, practically, its seaport of *Hai-l'ou* (海口), better known as *Hoi how*.

*Sender-fulat* or *Sander-fulat*, if not *Ch'ung-shan* (*Sundara-parcata*, *Somaparcata*?) itself, must have lain not far from it, as *Sulaiman's* account gives us to understand that it was not by any means an easy place for navigation. He says, in fact, in *Reinaud's* translation (op cit., t i, pp 18, 19) "*Sender-Foulat est le nom d'une île* . . . De là, les navires entrent dans une mer appelée *Sindy* . . . *Quas d, par un effet de la force du vent, les navires sont sortis sains et saufs de Sender-Foulat, ils mettent à la voile pour la Chine* . . . " The sentences that I have italicized in the last passage evidently mean that to get off safely from *Sender-fulat* was no easy job, so much so that it came to be considered a feat which could be accomplished solely through divine favour. As no similar remark is made in connection with the other ports of call on the Arab ship-route mentioned by *Sulaiman*, it follows that *Sender-fulat* was, in his countrymen's opinion, reputed to be the most dangerous point on that route. It must accordingly have been situated in close proximity to *Senji*, that is, on *Hainan Strait*, and very probably on the same side with it, namely, the one formed by the northern coast of *Hainan Island*. On p. 250 I have touched upon the possible identity of *Sender-fulat* with that island itself. Should such really be the case, *Senji* would turn out to be merely the chief town, or district, and shipping port for *Sender-fulat*.

I shall not digress any further to discuss the question, here cropping up, as to whether it is from *Senji* or *Sanji* that the sea on the farther side of *Hainan Strait* became known as the 'Sea of *Sanji*,' to the Arabs. It is quite possible that such was the case, albeit the etymological connection I have suggested between the Arab Sea of *Sanji* and the Chinese *Chang Hai* does in no way seem to be altogether accidental. Suffice it at any rate for the present to have succeeded in fixing the position of the hitherto mysterious *Senji* on, or within close proximity of, *Hainan Strait* and to have thereby got hold of the whereabouts of the farthest station on the Arab ship route in Indo China which will serve us as a basis wherewith to trace that route with unmistakable certainty thenceforth along the China coast to its terminus in *Hang chow Bay*. It was then from the farther side of *Hainan Strait* that navigation through the Sea of *Sanji* or *Chang Hai* commenced.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, p 91, also as regards the location of the *Ch'ih Hai* my paper on "Siam's intercourse with China," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1900 p 367, n 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ma Tuan lun*, op cit., pp 449, 513, and 518. Thus *Tu-po* must be *Ibu Batuta's* hitherto unidentified *Taucaisa*.

Būgi tribes?) and of the 'Fire Isles' *Jan luo* or *Hico shan* (Gūnong Apī<sup>2</sup>),<sup>1</sup> the writers alluded to make the *Tun hsun* or *Tun sun* (i.e. the Malay) Peninsula project far into that sea.<sup>2</sup> From this it follows quite clearly that the sea of *Chang Hai* was not merely the Gulf of Tonkin, within whose narrow compass Wells Williams and Giles, copying him literally, have confined it in their Chinese dictionaries, but that it corresponded to our China Sea, and in its northern portion—i.e. between the Gulf of Tonkin (or the island of Hainan) and Formosa—to the Sea of *Sanyi* of the Arab navigator and geographers.

This was the last sea known to the Arabs, but the Purānas mention another one still further to wit the sea of *Jala* or *Toyambudhi* the 'Fresh water Sea' surrounding *Puslāra dīpa*, or Northern China and Mongolia. It will thus be seen that while *Krawca* corresponds to Ptolemy's country of the Sinai or Thinaï *Puskara* represents—as we shall better demonstrate at the proper time and place—Serike or the land of the Seres.

That the port of *Senef* touched at by the Arab navigators was either *Shih nai* (Thi nãi) or *Hsin clou*, is demonstrated, apart from the arguments adduced above by the fact that its sailing distance from *Kadrang* (Koh Tron), given as ten days is equal to the distance *Betumah* (Batam, Bentan, or *Tamasak*) *Kadrang* which required the same number of days to cover. From *Senef* it took the Arab sailors another ten days to get to the island or peninsula of *Sender fulat*,

ie to either Hainan or the opposite Lei chou peninsula<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tan êrh*, now Tan chou (West Hainan) may well represent the *Sandar* or *Zandar*, or *Seider* of the Arabs, the remaining part, *fulât* of the name being not unlikely traceable to *Fu-lo* 富羅, the designation applied in A.D. 672 to the adjoining district since (A.D. 713) known as *Lun kao* or *Lam lo* whence the possible combination *Ta: êrh Fu lo* = *Sandar fulât* for the joint territory. With reference to the alternative derivation from *Sona parata* (Ch'ung shan) suggested on p. 248, I may point out that the title *Chu lu* 朱盧, conferred upon the island in A.D. 48 as noted above (p. 246), seems to lend support to that conjecture, inasmuch as the first part *chi* of it means 'red' or *sona* while the whole—from the fact of its being still pronounced *Chu no* or *S'huo* in Chinese derived dialects—looks like a transcript of the same term. *Chu ya* (Pearl Shore), the name of the ancient eastern division and pearl producing district of Hainan, which was adopted in A.D. 43 as a designation for the whole island in substitution of the term *Chu I*: just referred to, should not however, be altogether forgotten in the present discussion since it will now be seen there is some probability as to its being somehow connected with *Sender fulât*. Pearls are considered by the Chinese to be the concrete essence of the moon, hence it may be that the original name applied on that score to the island being 'moonstone island'—in Sanskrit *Candra upala*—took in Chinese the form *Chi ya*. There is some likelihood of the island of Hainan having been named after the moon. The Bhagavata Purana names eight minor *dîpas* situated beyond sea, among which is one called *Candrasukla* 'the moon bright' (see *Vîṣṇu Purana* II, p. 129, n. 1). Thus I surmise, may be Hainan. In conclusion, *Sender fulât* may well represent either *Candra upala*, *Candra pil na*, *Candra parata*, *Sona parata*, *Ta: êrh Fu lo* or some similar term, but never *Pulo Condore* as advanced by Yule and others. The Malay Cham and Annamese terms for 'island' *Pulo* and *Ka lun*, *Ko*, *Hon*, etc. always precede the name never do they follow it. Besides the position of *Pulo Condore* is unacceptable. Owing to Yule and others having adopted it as the site of *Sender fulât* they had to shift *Kadrang* and *Scuf* on to the Gulf of Siam at Chanthabun and Râch ja respectively, thus making the Arab ships spend twenty days to cover the short distance Chanthabun to *Pulo Condore* just only one third less than they took to go from *Pulo Condore* to *Hang chou*. This is evidently absurd, and from my identifications of *Kad arj* and *Scuf* it clearly follows that *Sender fulât* must have been either in Hainan or on the Lei chou peninsula near by.

To the same conclusion lead the arguments I have brought forward in a preceding note (p. 248) as regards the position of *Sender fulât* in relation to that of *Scuf*. However, in view of the fact that it is not an easy matter to detect the native name which lies disguised under the term *Sender-fulât* I would not be disinclined to include the head of the Tonkin Gulf as well in the region within which the Arab seaport may be looked for thus making its sphere of probable location comprise the whole of the coastline from the delta of the Red River to Hainan. By this means a chance of laying claim to identification with the very puzzling *Sender fulât* is also thrown open to the Tonkinese ports, where the trade at that period was undoubtedly far more considerable than in the districts previously pointed out.

From the accounts left us by I-tsing who preceded the Arab merchant Sulaiman in these parts by scarcely more than one and a half centuries we gather that the seaports most frequented by trading vessels in the region delimited as above were—

1 蘇門答臘, *Sūmāṣāṭra* which Chavannes (Les Religieux Éminents etc.) does not attempt to locate. From a passage of I-tsing however (p. 136) it appears to have been the shipping port for the *Hān nōi* and neighbouring



A great uncertainty still prevails as to the identity of the

districts, occupying a position somewhere between the delta of the Red River and Ha long Bay. There is a hill range called *Shin-uên*, or *Shên-wan*, to the east of Kani Bay, on the southern extremity of the Lei-chou peninsula and within the territory of the old *Hsü-wên* or *Su-wan* district (q v *infra*), from which it may have taken its name, but it seems very improbable that the seaport alluded to by I-tsing was in any way connected with it.

2 合浦, *Ho p'u*, the ancient port (as well as prefectural city) of Lien chow which we have identified with Ptolemy's *Aspithra*, since superseded by the treaty port of Pak hoi (北海, *Pei-hai*).

3 上景, *Shang chung*, which appears (pp 103, 136, 158) to have been situated between Ho-p'u and Shên wan, but nearer, perhaps, to the latter.

4 烏雷, *U-lei* or *Wu-lei*, located by Chavannes (p 57) a little to the west of Pak hoi. It must have lain, in fact, on either side of the land spit terminating opposite Tui mai tiao Islet, and formed by the hill-range marked *Ou-lei Shan* (evidently the local pronunciation of *Wu lei Shan*, i.e. 'Wu-lei Hills') in the Admiralty chart of the China Sea, 1831.

5 Other Chinese writers mention besides 徐聞, *Hsü wen*, existing from the T'ang period, but further south from its present namesake, on the southern extremity of the Lei-chou peninsula.

6 Again there exists a little seaport bearing the name of *Sin lao Fu* on the east side of the Lei-chou peninsula near *Pai li ku* and a little below the entrance to Lei-chou river but, apart from its insignificance, it is doubtful whether it can lay claim to a respectable antiquity as a trade resort.

Only further exhaustive inquiries can disclose which, if any, of these seaports is entitled to identification with *Sender-fulat*. As for myself, all that I can add is, that the latter part, *fulat*, of this term, bears a rather close resemblance to the Annamese words *Ba lát* or *Ba lot* occurring at present in the name of one of the mouths of the Red River, to wit, the *Kia* [mouth (of)] *Ba lat*, often written also *Ba lacht* (perhaps more correctly, *Ba-lách*, which means the place of meeting of three streams). Though this is now considered impracticable for sea-going craft, it may not have been so at a far earlier period. In such a case the initial part, *Sender*, of the Arab name, may be connected with the *Song Dāi*, the southern branch of the Red River detached from the main stream a little below *Son toi* (*Son-ti*). Ptolemy's *Sinda* according to our identification. Though now discharging through the mouth called the *Kia Dāi*, it may well have had at a remoter period its outlet at, or near, the *Ba lát* mouth with which it is even at present connected by several channels. Thus, from the *Song Dāi*, or *Son-toi* branch of the main river and from the name of its—formerly perhaps principal—outlet the *Ba lat*, the territory in this part of the delta may have become known as *Song Dāi* (or *Son toi*) *Ba-lát* rendered by the Arab navigators under the form of *Sender fulat*. Of course, I give this identification as merely tentative. It should be observed, however, that some of the maps accompanying old editions or translations of Ptolemy's geographical work, mark—though it be by oversight—his *Sinda* just at the spot alluded to above. As an instance, I may refer the reader to one of the best and most esteemed editions that of Nicholas de Donis (A.D. 1482). Albeit the position we obtained for *Sinda* shows this place to be identical with *Son toi*, it does not necessarily follow that the *Ba lát* mouth, through which the *Son toi* or *Sinda* branch of the main river probably discharged of old, could not be regarded by ancient navigators as the shipping port for *Sinda*. Hence the probability of this port being after all the *Sender fulat* of the Arabs. At all events I trust to have sufficiently demonstrated that *Sender-fulat* must be looked for on the section of the littoral comprised between the spot just alluded to and Hsianan.

*Hó tôn* spoken of in the Annals of Annam<sup>1</sup> as the primitive population of Campā which is therefore styled at the outset, in that work ' the country of the *Hó tôn* ' Luro<sup>2</sup> believes that the *Hó tôn* were the aborigines driven into the interior by Malay pirates from the Archipelago who occupied the coast and pushed up their incursions as far as Tonkin and the maritime districts of Kwang tung Launay thus concludes<sup>3</sup> that the people of Campā were a mixture of Malays, Annamites and Kambojans This theory seems to me too far fetched As to the *Cam* proper they are evidently, both from their language and physical features of the same stock as the Malays and like these latter they undoubtedly came from Southern China taking possession of the whole coast of Annam and Cochin China whence they spread

assimilation, here alluded to, may still be seen in operation at present in the south of the Malay Peninsula with the *Samangs*, the *Manthras*, and other either genuinely Negrito, or mixed Melano Malay, tribes. The south and centre of India also teem with half breed Negritos.

In several parts of Indo-China, the early Negrito, or Negrito descended, tribes were termed, on account of their degraded social status, 'dogs'. Such are, or seem to be, the *Sakai* of the Malay Peninsula and *Kanchō* (*Kon cho*) of Eastern Kamboja, whose names have that signification<sup>1</sup>. But more generally, they were named 'blacks' after the colour of their skins, and the terms *Aeta*, *Aheta*, or *Ita* [= 'black' in Tagāla, *Ītam* in Sūlū, *Aitom* in Dūsūn (N W Borneo), *litam* in Malay, *dam* in Siāmes, *he*, *hei*, *het*, *heti* in Chinese; and *tamas* or *tamasa* (dark, dusky-coloured) in Sanskrit], applied to the Negritos in the Philippines, have probably their correspondents in the *Karun* and *Kalang* (cf Skt *Kala*) of Java, in the *Sēmang* (*Samanga*, *Śyamanga* ?) of the Malay Peninsula, and the *Hò tôn* of Campā. With these terms, the Greek designation *Aithiopes*, though interpreted in a different manner (*Αἴθω* + *ᾠψ* = '[sun] burnt countenance'), may be usefully compared. It was invariably applied to the dark complexioned races of the tropical regions, but a distinction was made between the Ethiopians of the west and those of the east, that is, betwixt African Negroes and Asiatic Negritos<sup>2</sup>.

Ptolemy places his *Ikhthyophagoi Aithiopes* around the frontier and the Gulf of the Sinai, namely, about the Leichou Peninsula and the Formosan Channel. There can

scarcely be any doubt as to Negritos—the ancestors or relatives of the *Aeta*, *Hô-tôn*, and the savages of Formosa—being meant. At that period these Negrito populations must have been still in occupation not only of the seaboard of Southern China and the neighbouring islands, but also of many points of the littoral of Tonkin and Cochin-China, their last descendants being on the one end the hill tribes of Formosa, and on the other the *Tiao* or *Tiao* (pygmies), the *Tioma* (or *Choma*) and *Tju* (*Chu-iu*, *C'hü*, or *C'hraü*) of the *Bü-thwön* and *Khaü-hwä* districts in Lower Cochin-China, perhaps the *Kan-chö* of Eastern Kamboja, and other tribes of the Cochin-Chino-Kambojan frontier, as yet but little known. Driven to the hills, they have now become a hill people, as did their relatives of Formosa and of the Malay Peninsula, but they dwelt originally on the sea-shore, and, like the actual *Minkopi*, *Selung*, and *Akkye* or *Rayat Laut*, lived mainly by fishing; whence their name of *Ikhthyophagor*. By referring to them under this term, followed by that of *Anthiopes*, Ptolemy puts us in possession of two data, the importance of which can scarcely be underrated, viz. (1) that they were settled on the coast, being mainly fishermen; (2) that they were Negritos. Though he does not locate them all along the coastline of Annam, Tonkin, and China, we know very well that in his time, or not far earlier, these Negrito tribes occupied the whole, or nearly so, of the littoral between the Formosan Channel<sup>1</sup> and the Gulf of

<sup>1</sup> The *ichthyophagous* aborigines of Formosa and the Pescadores are duly represented in the Catalan Atlas of A.D. 1375 (formerly belonging to the library of Charles V of France), and located at a spot corresponding approximately to the islands referred to above, with the legend "*Aquesta gent son salvages | q'muen de peyx cruu & beuen | de la mar & tan tots nus*" (These people are savages who live upon raw fish and drink sea-water, and go [about] stark naked). See Cordier's "*L'Extrême Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan de Charles V, Roi de France*," Paris 1893, pl. II and pp. 18, 42. The identification of these tribes with the descendants of Ptolemy's *Ikhthyophagor* is, however, my own entirely. Cordier (p. 42) merely suggests that many islands in the north-east portion of the Sea of Japan are inhabited by *ichthyophagous* people, but this does not suit the present case. That fish-eating tribes occupied at an early period the littoral, as well as the adjoining islands of the Indo-Chinese coast, and that they racially belonged to the same stock of the hill-men or *Kirātas*, is evidenced by the passage of the Ramayana (*Kishin kh i-Lānda*, II) where allusion is made to "*Kirātas dwelling in islands with stiff hair-tufts, subsisting on raw fish*," in the regions to the east of India. The *Lolamukhas*, with faces of a harsh iron-

*Sabaras* in the Gulf of Martaban, in a former section of this paper. Of these latter the actual *Selung* of the Mergui Archipelago are probably the last remnants. The fact of celts of a shoulder-headed type, perfectly similar in shape, having been traced all the way from the district of Chutiā Nāgpur in Central India, throughout the seaboard of Burmā and the Malay Peninsula, to the Great Lake of Kamboja and the Upper Me-Khōng in the district of Lúang P'hrah Bāng, is sufficient proof that the same race occupied the coastline and lacustrine districts of Indo-China; and that this race is the one of the pygmy Negritos above spoken of.

The Chinese were acquainted—as evidenced by their old records—with Negrito tribes from several parts of Indo-China. The one that they denominated *Chiau-yau* or *Tsiau-yau* is located by them beyond the Yung-ch'ang (S W. Yünnan) borders. I have already adverted (*supra*, p. 72) to the connection in meaning of this term—given that it be genuinely Chinese, and not a transcript of some indigenous tribal name—with the sense conveyed by the Greek compositum *Αἰθίοψ*.<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan-lin describes the *Chiau-yau* as cave-dwellers, three *ch'ih* (about 4 ft. 4 in. English) in stature, clever hunters of wild animals; and says that they came to Court twice between A.D. 58-76 and in A.D. 107, bringing presents of elephant tusks, buffaloes,

and humped oxen.<sup>1</sup> According to one of our Sinologists, the *Chiau-yau* are the same people who were denominated *K'ang* (獠 lit. 'fierce mastiffs') during the Ming period.<sup>2</sup> From the fact that the *Chiau-yau*, or *Tsiau-yau*, did the first time (i.e. between A.D. 58-76) send tribute along with a kindred tribe called *P'an-mu*,<sup>3</sup> and that 𐤎𐤅 (*khang*) is the name that the 'Shān' (Thai) of Burmā give to the *Kachyen*, or *Kachin*, settled to the north and east of Bhāmō,<sup>4</sup> it would appear that the *Chiau-yau*'s habitat was on the hill-tracts now occupied by the Kachin or Singp'hó, and that they were somehow connected with the forbears of this people, if not actually identical with them. It remains to be seen, however, whether the *K'ang* are really the descendants of the ancient *Chiau-yau* aborigines, or whether they are, on the contrary—as I am inclined to suspect—merely newcomers who substituted themselves for the original occupants of the country, whom they either drove out or destroyed and partly assimilated. In the latter case the *Chiau-yau* should be more correctly identified with the ancestors of the present squat-bodied Wild Wahs. The *K'ang* are represented by the Chinese "as dwelling in the mountains of Siām, as very short, very resolute and determined, [having] round eyes, yellow irides, ignorant

of metallurgy and sericulture, living on wild fruits like monkeys, dwelling in hamlets under the shade of trees impervious to the sun, their language resembles chirping of birds. The hill Laos (*Liao*) understand their nature, maintain them as slaves, dressing them in worn-out garments feeding them on shark and other fish [which would argue them to be ichthyophagous], and giving them arrack to drink—all which satisfies them, they and their families serve their masters for life, and their masters' successive descendants, not quitting them to serve other masters, exposure to smoke and fire is fatal to them"<sup>1</sup> At all events, the *Kang* did not appear at Court until A D 1420, when they brought tribute to the Ming Emperor Yung lê<sup>2</sup>

Of the *Ku lun*, or *K'un-lun*, whom I-tsing calls *Chueh lun* and describes as being black-complexioned and woolly haired, I have already spoken (p 103), pointing out that they must be identified with the hybridized Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula and their descendants. Chinese historians mention another people in the same quarter under the name of *Lo ch'a* (羅刹), or *Rakhas*, whom they portray as black in colour, with red and curled hair, feet and toes like bird's claws, and teeth like brute beasts, they were dreadful in appearance, their ears were perforated, for clothing they used a strip of cloth (i.e. the usual *Pe t'ie*, or *P'ha lieu*, alluded to in a former page). However, they engaged in commerce, trading with *Lun-i* (Campi)<sup>3</sup> They were therefore not so savage after all. They must have been the ancestors of the present *Pangan*, or *Pang gang*, and *Tumors* of Kelantan, Patani and Pahang, called *Ngoh*

<sup>1</sup> *China Review* vol xix p 299

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>3</sup> See Ma Tuan lin op cit p 483 and *Ch'ia Hsueh* vol xix p 39 Chinese writers locate the kingdom of the *Lo ch'a* or *Rakhas* people to the east of *P'o li* and as this place is invariably taken by our Sinologists to be the east coast of Sumatra a position has been assigned to the *Lo ch'a* either on that island itself or on the opposite shore of the Malay Peninsula. But I think that *Lérak* is meant for *P'o li* in this instance (see p 110 *supra*) and the habitat of the *Lo ch'a* would thus be as fixed as *Lahang*.

(i.e. 'frizzly haired') by the Siamese, and *Gugassi*, *Gaigasi* (or *Riksasis*) in the Kedah Annals<sup>1</sup>

In so far as Eastern Indo-China is concerned I have drawn attention (p 171) to the fact that the Chinese envoys who visited Kamboja during the early centuries of our era described the natives as black and woolly haired, characters evidencing that at that period descendants of the Negrito aborigines were still numerous in the country. The *Kan cho*, I have pointed out, represent perhaps the remnants of that Negrito element. The *P'hmong* or *Penong* (v supra, p 207), I may now add, although taller and fairer complexioned on the average than the neighbouring wild tribes, exhibit several distinctly marked characteristics which argue a primitive type and stamp them as descendants of the race of *Fu nan* as described by the early Chinese travellers. Among such characteristics, the notable frequency of frizzly hair with them may be mentioned<sup>2</sup>. The *Tiao*, *Tiao*, *Chrau*, *Tju*, or *Churu*, owing to their dwarfish stature, may, on the other hand be more directly attached to the *Tsiau yau* stock.

"Diminutive black slaves" were, according to the Kwang tung Gazetteer, sent to the Chinese Court from the coasts of Indo China during the Ming period<sup>3</sup>. A Chinese work on novelties 1636, speaks of the black dwarfs of Cochin China in the following terms — "Any-where from Annam to Suim, there are pygmies whose



them. Some of the most salient characteristics which formerly enabled one to trace them to that early type may have by this time become obliterated or modified through intermixture with other races. But I think that, from the multiform evidence I have adduced from both historical records and ethnological observations of various nature, the presence of Negrito populations all along the Indo Chinese coast at no very remote period may be considered as fairly well proved. Further investigations into the hitherto unexplored districts of Cochín-China, Annam and Tonkin will, I scarcely doubt, contribute towards strengthening that conclusion rather than shaking it. In dealing with the past of such regions, then, we must take this ethnical element into account since it is as with the Dravidian tribes in India the fundamental negro element of most wild tribes of Southern Indo China and the Malay Archipelago. No doubt it has been in a large measure assimilated by the early settlers from without, but it has evidently founded the primitive agglomerations of dwellings the early States and principalities in this region which have subsequently developed as in Kamboja and Campā under the influx of more vigorous and socially advanced races. I would conclude, therefore that the *Hi to* of Campā were very likely of the same race as Ptolemy styles *Aithiopes* and we call Negritos. By effect of the Chām invasion, these dusky people were partly driven back to the hills of the Campā Kambojan frontier but partly assimilated, and the mixed race thus produced under the influence of immigrants from Southern India developed that power and civilization which started at first in the southern districts of Bui thwōn and Khān hwa and then gradually extended northwards until it reached the limits of the present Tonkin. This work must have been already accomplished in Ptolemy's time for it follows from our examination of his geography of these regions, that the Chām possessed then no less than two kingdoms with capitals in Bui din and Ha tūn respectively.

Tonkin or *Kidu c/i* was then under Chinese domination,

but the Chām element was probably still conspicuous in it. And this under the influence of Indū adventurers who had come thither not from the South, but from the North, of India, and not by sea but overland by that trade route which is now almost generally admitted to have existed between Manipur, through the Kobo Valley, Ava, and Ch'eng-Tung to Hā-nōi in Tonkin—or *via* Luang Phrah Bīng to Vīn—developed a civilization and founded kingdoms like those of Burmā, Lāos, Campī, and Kamboja. I have already remarked that the State of Van-t'ing, the earliest mentioned in the *Annamese Annals*, was probably an Indū kingdom. In the chronicles of Muang Yong I find it stated that King Dharmāśoka of Magadha (some other Indian prince is meant) made an expedition, not only to Muang Yong, but also to *Videha* in Yunnan, and to *Muang K'eu* (*Kiao chi* or Tonkin), whose king, out of despair, drowned himself. The shape said to have been originally given to the ancient Tonkinese capital, in the neighbourhood of Hā-nōi, like a conch shell (*shinkha*), just as it is told of *Sukhodaya* and *Lamp'hūn* in Siam, its Sanskrit designation preserved to us by Ptolemy under the form *Aganagara*, the name of the neighbouring district city of Sōn-toi (Son tay), which he transmitted to us as *Sinda*, that of its population which he calls *Indoi*—all these are evidences of the ascendancy of a Northern Indian element over the country, as in the neighbouring States of Yunnan, Lāos, etc., at that same period. This incipient Indū civilization was, of course, nipped in the bud by the Chinese conquests, but not so suddenly or anything like so completely as not to leave traces in the country and not to influence the march of events in it for many centuries after the beginning of Chinese rule<sup>1</sup>. Every outward sign of that civilization has

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I have had the satisfaction of seeing my previous in this respect in part verified having come across the following passage from a very interesting paper on 'The Black River of Upper Tonquin and Mount Ba vi' by G. Dumontier published in the *China Review* vol. xix. Here is what the painstaking author says in regard to surviving traces of Indu influence in that region (p. 163) — 'Legends abound among the tribes of the Black River we discovered among them several of the Indian fables which coming to Europe

probably been swept away by this time owing to the rather troubled existence which the country has had to experience, yet a thorough exploration of its remains may still reveal some indications of early Indū influence in that territory<sup>1</sup>

We have now to proceed to an examination of the names of towns and streams which Ptolemy locates in this region, beginning from the lower end of Southern Campī

### Thagora (No 122)

This term does not represent, as one may think at first glance, the toponymic *Tagara* or *Tagarapura* occurring in Western India but the word *Sagara* the name of an island at the mouth of the Ganges, given it in honour of the mythical king *Sagara*. The corrected latitude of Thagora is 12° 32', namely a few minutes in excess of that of Nī trīng (Nha trang)<sup>2</sup> Bay, in Khan hūi where near the mouth of the Nā trīng River, rose the famous temple of Po Nagar, the tutelary goddess of Campā and the city of *Pāmpu sagara*, most likely the first capital of the kingdom with which I identify Thagora. It was in this neighbourhood in the paddy fields by the village of Vo kau that the most ancient inscription of Campī that of King Mura rāja, engraved on a block of granite, was discovered<sup>3</sup> which

Professor Bergaigne assigns to the third century A.D. The city of Yāmapu-nagara, or its site, appears to have borne at an ancient period the name of *Kūthūra*,<sup>1</sup> which I take to signify the city of *Koṭari*, 'the naked,' a name of *Devī*; for such is the goddess alluded to under the term *Pō-Nagar*. Bergaigne, however, does not appear inclined to ascribe it this meaning.<sup>2</sup> The other name for this town, *Sagara*, which I have adopted as the equivalent of Ptolemy's *Thagora*, is easily explained from the fact—mentioned in various inscriptions found about the monument of *Pō-Nagar*<sup>3</sup>—of a mythical king by the name of *Vicitra Sagara* having here erected a famous *linga* and other monuments of a religious character at an enormously remote period, no less than the year 5911 of the *Deāpara-yuga*. Here we have, it seems to me, the legend of the *Indū* king *Sagara* transplanted with additions and new embellishments; and we can easily understand how the city—or the mouth of the *Ñā-trūng* River, in analogy to that of the *Ganges*—would be named after him, and the traditions of his exploits in India would become localized here, just as if they had taken place, and he had lived, in *Campā*. And, of course, the simple-minded *Cām*, in listening to the account read from Sanskrit books originally imported from India or recited from memory, of how the mighty king *Sagara* subdued the *Śakas* and the *Yavanas*, the *Kambojas*,<sup>4</sup> etc, naturally believed that their neighbours, the *Śak* or *Suk* of *Campāśak* (*Śaka dīpa*), the *Yuen* (*Yavana*) or *Annamese*, and the *Khmers* were the people referred to, just as among other populations of *Indo-China* events related in similar legends, from either *Brāhmanic* or *Buddhist* sources, as having occurred in India, are believed to have actually taken place in *Burmā*, *Siam*, *Lāos*, and *Kamboja* respectively.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51

<sup>2</sup> *Kūthūra* means, of course, an axe or hatchet, and also a spade, but it is evidently either, as Bergaigne observes (p. 51), "la deformation savante de quelque nom indigène," or a modification of *Koṭari* as suggested above, for an axe is also called *Kūthari*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 66, 67

<sup>4</sup> Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's *Fiṣṣu Purana* vol. iii, p. 291 seq

However fabulous the account of the erection of the *linga* by king Vicitra Sagara at such a remote period at Ñā-trāng may appear, we must nevertheless conclude that this must have been the most ancient foundation of Indū adventurers in Southern Campā, and that therefore here must have stood the most ancient settlement of the immigrants, whence their civilization and power were gradually spread all over the country. For this reason I consider Thagora or Sāgara to have been the first Indū outpost on that seaboard. Sāgara as a toponymic has apparently not yet been found in the inscriptions of Campā; but, as Professor Bergaigne himself acknowledges,<sup>1</sup> many geographical names occurring in the latter are still uncertain, and therefore they have been left for future consideration. Besides, the most ancient Chām inscription hitherto discovered does not go further back than the third century, whereas we have here to deal with a name in use from at least one century before, and which may have changed in the meantime. The most probable conjecture is that the site of the town or the port at the mouth of the Ñā-trāng River was originally named *Sagara*, and that after the building of Yāmpu-nagara it was named *Kuthara* in honour of the goddess Devī.

The *linga* above alluded to was carried off and the temple of Pō-Nagar at Ñā-trāng destroyed, according to the inscriptions, in 696 Śaka = A.D. 774, by armed men "from *Java*<sup>2</sup> who had come thither in ships"; but the temple was soon rebuilt, ten years later or A.D. 784, by king Satyavarman. This evidences in what great veneration both the site and temple were held, a fact to which the inscriptions bear otherwise ample testimony. Ñā-trāng Bay, protected by the large island of Trū or Dam-mong, forms an excellent harbour, and sea-vessels of moderate draft can ascend the river as far up as the present town of Khan-hwā. Hence

we can understand how it could easily become the initial seat of civilization in Southern Campū<sup>1</sup>

Turning now from topographical to linguistical considerations, it behoves me to justify the adoption of the term *Sājara* as the equivalent of Ptolemy's Thagora in order to dispel any doubt that may be entertained on the identity of the two words, on account of the very marked difference in sound between their initial letters. I hasten, therefore to explain that this objectionable discrepancy is only apparent, and vanishes at once when it is understood that according to the genius of the Chām language the initial sibilant in foreign imported words especially of Indian origin, is almost invariably lispéd into an aspirated dental, not only in pronunciation but also in actual writing. Thus *śakti* becomes *thal*, *śra* *thuor*, *siddhi*, *thilik*, *śrasti*, *thraltik* etc. This peculiar change is likewise often noticeable in medial sibilants *nakṣatra* becoming *nillak*, *śiva* *attheh*, etc. Analogously *Sajara* would be pronounced, and perhaps also written *Thājara* or *Thāgor* and it will be seen that Ptolemy's transcription *Θαγopa* is not only perfectly justifiable but is in entire agreement with the linguistical peculiarities of the region where this toponymic occurs.

### Balanga a Metropolis (No 121)

This is most certainly *Bal Angre* situated as pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, at about six miles to the north of the present district city of Bm dūn. *Bal Angre* is its Chām designation, while in the Annamese records it is variously styled *C ha ba i*, *C'hā lu g* and *Dô ban*. We have seen how, in consequence of the loss of Upper Campū in the struggle with the Annamese the Cham kings had to shift on to this city, and how as a result of new reverses they had to abandon it in 1471 retreating

<sup>1</sup> Crawford op cit vol 1 p 302 speaks of this place as being the entrepôt of the commerce of all this part of the country. See also vol 1 pp 237-238 in which is the remark that being very conveniently placed [it] is the centre of all commercial transactions of all this part of the empire.

further south into Bui thwôn. But long before the advent of this period of decline Châm rule extended, as we have shown, as far up as Tonkin, upon whose southern borders it was continually encroaching. The Châm capital was then established in the north, but this was apparently only the royal seat for the rulers of Upper Campā, while the rest of the country formed one or more separate kingdoms. In what relation these stood to the former is not clear, but undoubtedly it was at *Bal-Angice* that the capital of one—presumably the southernmost—of them was situated. This is made evident from the fact of Ptolemy placing here—in  $14^{\circ} 16' N$  lat corrected<sup>1</sup>—his *Balonga*, which he terms a *Metropolis*. Topographically, the position differs only by some 20 minutes from that of the now almost forgotten *Bal Angice*, whose ruins lie in *circa*  $13^{\circ} 56' N$  lat. Linguistically, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the two toponymies *Balonga* and *Bal Angice*. *Bal* is the very genuine Châm term for 'palace, capital, royal residence,'<sup>2</sup> occurring as a prefix to most names of the Châm capitals, e.g., *Bal Hangoi*, *Bal Batthinong*, and the subject of the present discussion. *Angice* is to my belief the local corrupted form of *Anga* or *Anga*, the name of the kingdom in Northern India of which *Campa*, sometimes called also *Campi puri*, *Anga puri*, *Lomapada puri*, *Malini*, *Kaina puri*, etc., was the capital. Already I have pointed out that *Lam apund* *Lun t*, the designations by which the Indo-Chinese Campā kingdom or its ancient northern capital is referred to in the Annamese and Chinese records respectively, may be traced to either of the Indū imported toponymies *Lomapada* and *Malini*. It cannot surprise therefore, to find the correlated term *Angi* brought to Indo-China and applied along with them to a portion of it, of which it undoubtedly constituted an alternative name. Ptolemy's *Balonga* thus proves to be an accurate enough transcript of either

<sup>1</sup> See Table V. No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *J. de Aymon et al. Grammaire Chame* n. *Lectures et Pecunia sinces*  
No. 31 (vol. xiv) p. 80.

*Bal-Anga* or *Bal-Angwe*, meaning, according to Chām construction and interpretation, the “Capital [of] *Anga* [*alias Campī*]”

This identification compels us to recognize that *Bal-Anga* or *Bal Angwe* must have existed as a capital—though it be only of Lower Campī—since at least the first century A D, and thus puts us in possession of an historical fact which is a couple of centuries ahead of those that the oldest inscriptions hitherto discovered locally have disclosed. Here it was then, in all likelihood, that king *Mua raja*, the author of the inscription in Khan hwa<sup>†</sup>, reigned some time about the third century, and not further up the coast, where there were other Chām capitals and other rulers. Notwithstanding its very respectable antiquity, it is just possible, however, that Bal Angwe was but the second historical seat of royalty for Lower Campī, it having superseded in this honour the far more ancient settlement of Yīmpu nagara or *Sagara*, which, we have seen above, was undoubtedly the initial focus of civilization—and consequently of organized government—in that part of the country.

How long Bal Angwe continued as a capital for Lower Campī we are unable to state with precision. The probability seems to be that this southern kingdom was gradually absorbed by the northern one as the latter grew more and more in power, and that Bal Angwe became in the course of time merely the seat of a prince or chief subordinate to the monarch who held sway in the upper part of the country. This state of affairs must have come to an end in 1061 or thereabout, when the suzerain, being forced to abandon the last resort of royalty in the north, transferred his residence to Bal Angwē, making it the capital of his now much diminished dominions. It was but natural in view of the reverses sustained that the suzerain would prefer taking up his quarters in a city which, like Bal Angwē, had been from the remotest time a renowned seat of royalty and a stronghold of some importance withal rather than proceed to build a new capital for himself elsewhere. A similar course



was adopted later on when one of his successors shifted on further south to Pīndurānga, likewise an ancient foundation and, presumably, also the residence of some petty ruler

There must have existed of old a certain number of such diminutive kingdoms, more or less dependent on one another, along the coast of Campā, which were successively incorporated by the northern State, *au fur et à mesure* that the latter was being curtailed at its upper end, and its capital had to be shifted over and again southwards. The chief cities of most of those realms thus came to form, as it were, so many stations in the retrograde career of the paramount kingdom, to which the capital was successively shifted back and but temporarily maintained. The second role that Bal Angwe played as capital was therefore the historical reverse of the first. While the first one marked a decided step in advance of the budding Cham civilization northwards, the second represented merely a stage in the phase of decline, which preceded the final collapse and disintegration of the ill fated kingdom.

Whether the names under which Bal Angwe is referred to in the Annamese records, to wit, *Cha ban*, *Cha lang*, and *Dò bān*, sprang into use at the time of its second and last existence as capital, and were mere Annamese inventions or whether, *per contra* they were modified forms of local toponymies existing prior to that period, and belonging therefore to either the Chām language or that of the Indū immigrants it is not an easy task to determine. Judging from the characters employed to represent them in Annamese, they are not exotic, but indigenous designations of very long standing—the very tribal names in fact, borne by the early settlers. *Chā bān* and *Dò-bān* written, as a local Annamese scholar informs me, [𠵿] 𠵿 (in Chinese *Shé p'an*) and 都 盤 (in Chinese *Tu p'an* or *Tou p'an*) respectively, strongly remind us of the terms *Jacan* (*Jarana* or *Yarana*) and *Dacan* (*Daccau*, *Tafin*) we have met with in Upper Burma, Eastern Laos and elsewhere, as names for the *Cheh*, *Jara*, or *C'ling* tribes after whom so many districts and even whole regions in Indo China, the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago

were designated <sup>1</sup> Issued from the great Mōu-Annam stock, to them or their descendants the Chām and the original Malaya belonged, as well as the *Larā*, *Loi*, or *Loi*, whence the name of *Loi* given to the Chām. We still find tribes known as *Cheria* or *C'haria*, *Veh Loreh*, and *Darak* in the hill-tracts to the north-west of the Bū-dīn district. These were undoubtedly the pioneers of the Chām who settled and gave their name to that strip of the sea coast, whence they were afterwards driven back by more powerful oncomers.

The term *C'hā-lang*, written 舍狼 or 舍獐 (in Chinese *Shé lang*), leads, upon investigation, to similar results. In this digram *Shé* apparently stands for the name of the *C'eh* tribes,<sup>2</sup> which the Annamese pronounce and call *C'hā*. It occurs in the name of *Meng She* (蒙舍, in Annamese *Mong C'hā*), the original seat of the kings of Nan Chao. *Lang* (literally meaning 'wolves') is likewise a tribal name still to be met with in the valley of the Black River,<sup>3</sup> and mentioned by Ma Tuan-lin as existing since the first century A.D., on the north western borders of Sz ch'uen.<sup>4</sup> It was not long ago well known also in Kwang-hsi, and, at a still earlier

period, in Kwei chou<sup>1</sup> whence the *Chek* and other offshoots of the Mōu Annam race from which the Chīm as well as the original Malays are undoubtedly descended, seem to have brought it down with themselves

But whether *Cla lang* be a compound of two different though strictly correlated tribal names or not the most luminous proof of its having been in its turn employed as an ethnical designation is in my opinion to be found in the fact that in the mountainous country to the west of the ancient Chīm capital Bal Angwī there live down to this day wild and, it is said, occasionally anthropophagous tribes known as the *Halang* or *Salang* and *Chadang* or *Sadang* (*Çedang* of French writers), who apparently are but varieties of the *Orang Glai*. Even excluding the *Salang* on the ground of a *d* occurring in their name where an *l* might be pedantically pretended in order to make the linguistical connection acceptable I think that there can hardly be any doubt left as to the *Salang* being the tribes after whom Bal Angwe became known under the alternative designation of *Cla lang*. It is nevertheless highly probable that the *Salang* and *Sadang* were in origin—if indeed they are not even now—the same people or at any rate two closely related tribes issued from a common stock.

These were originally called 狼兵 *La g p ng* (Wolf soldiers) or *La g jén* (Wolf men) and are now known either as 狼人, *Tung jé* *Chwang jé* or 山人 *Shan j n* (Mountaineers) according to Devér a (La Frontière Sino-Annamite p 94). They appear to form the majority of the population of Kwang hs (b d p 95) whether they are said to have come during the Yuan period (A D 1280-1368) their original home being in Kwei chou (b d p 96). They are by Chinese authors connected with the *La* and therefore with the race of *Pia*. Part of them are in fact called *Fau tung*. These latter appear to have preserved traces of cannibalism down to at least A D 1454 (see *LA na Revue* vol xxv p 196). All these tribes used poisoned arrows. They seem to be in more than one way connected with the *Lawa* and thus I have scarcely any doubt that they belong to the Mon Annam stock. Hence I consider that Lacouperie was for the nonce correct in assigning them to the Mon Annam family (Languages of China before the Chinese pp 42-43) although, strange to say the measure vocabulary upon which he based his assumption is for a good three fifths Thai and in his ignorance of either language he took several words to be Mon Annam derived which are purely Thai.

It may be well while on this subject to call attention to the possible identity of the term *C'hā-lāng* or *Salāng* with *C'hālāng* or *Salāng*, the name of the island (distorted into *Junkceylon* by our ever muddling geographers)<sup>1</sup> which lies off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, with *Selangor*, the appellation of a district further to the south of the above, and, eventually, also with *Selung*, the designation borne by the descendants of the primitive population of the Mergui Archipelago. If connected, these terms would but prove once more the racial affinity we have over and again pointed out between the early inhabitants of Eastern Indo China on one side and of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago on the other. But, I repeat, a more exhaustive enquiry into these philological and ethnical questions is necessary ere a final judgment can be pronounced.

Both the terms *C'hā lang* and *Dó bān* occur under the forms respectively of *Xá Láng* and *Dó Báng*, in Abbe Bouillevaux's somewhat garbled account of Chām history.<sup>2</sup> He says they designate the same town which is, as we had to find out for ourselves, the Chām capital Bal Angwe.

The second phase of this city's existence as capital was not one of unmixed pleasure, if we are to judge from the Chinese and Annamese accounts. Already I have quoted the passage from Ma Tuan lin according to which *Hsin* or *Hsin chou*, that is the territory on which Bal Angwe stood, had been held in subjection by Kamboja until about A D 1171 and apparently conquered by Tonkin a few years later. Between the former date and A D 1177 the Chām retaliated successfully upon Kamboja, and went so far as to attack even its capital. But retribution was not slow to come from

<sup>1</sup> Misled apparently by *Ūjong Salang* the form under which the island is known to the Malays. Here *Ūjong* merely means a cape or promontory hence *Ūjong Salang* = the promontory of *S lang* [Island] perhaps originally applied to some headland of the island itself or of the neighbouring coast. In any case the name of the island ever appears to be simply *Sal g* or *C'hālāng*. In Siamese it is generally spelled *C'hala g* and at times *Thalāng*.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Ciampa* in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient* t. iii p. 108. The name *Dó bāng* was borne also by one of the ancient districts of Ku chon now Than hwa (see Des Michels op cit. p. 49).

that quarter, and in 1199, we are told,<sup>1</sup> Kamboja invaded Campī with a powerful host, stormed the capital (Bal-Angwē), seized the king, carrying him into captivity, and placed a Khmēr general to rule over the conquered country. It was not until A.D. 1220 that the Khmērs withdrew from Campī. Peace was then concluded between the two countries (1222), thus terminating a war which, according to the Chām inscriptions, had lasted for thirty-two years;<sup>2</sup> and in 1227 the new Chām king Śrī Jayn Paramesvara-varman (II) could finally have himself crowned and enjoy a peaceful reign. To one of his immediate successors was reserved the satisfaction of getting at last the best of Kamboja, whose power had then begun fast to decline, for we hear how this kingdom had become a tributary to Campī towards the close of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A new era of prosperity had then probably once more dawned upon Campā. However, not many years later on troubles began with the Annamese. At first the struggle was confined to the northern borders, and even carried at times far into Annamese territory in the endeavour to regain the lost

<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan lun, op. cit. pp. 557-8. The Cham inscription 409, B, 4, of Aymonier's list places these events in Śaka 1112 = A.D. 1190, but this was probably only the date at which the war began, while the capital may have fallen several years later. On the other hand, in the Chinese records the said events may have been post-dated a few years, owing to the chroniclers having put them down to the year in which information concerning them reached the Chinese Court.

<sup>2</sup> Same inscription (409, B, 4) as quoted above. The thirty-two years during which the struggle lasted would thus seem to comprise the period A.D. 1190-1222.

<sup>3</sup> This appears from the "Chên la Feng-t'u-chi," the account of Kamboja written by one of the envoys who visited that country in A.D. 1295-7. Herein it is stated that every year the King of Kamboja was bound to send a certain quantity of human gall "to his Majesty the King of Campā a coterminous State, as tribute which its neighbour Campā exacts from its vassal, Kamboja" (see *China Review*, vol. xix p. 293). At the time when the author of this narrative was in Kamboja the practice had been abandoned, but Kamboja was apparently still subject to Campā. The human gall was used, as we learn from a Cham inscription (No. 358), to sprinkle the royal elephants, and the barbarous custom is alleged to have existed up to the reign of An-Duang in the middle of the century just elapsed (nineteenth) among the Khmers. So says Aymonier ("Inscriptions Châmes," in *Journal Asiatique*, t. xvii, p. 64), who adds the following piece of information: "Les éléphants de guerre royaux étaient chaque année arrosés de fiel humain enlevé à vie sur des enfants, des jeunes gens, par les gardiens ou preneurs de fiel, dont le souvenir est resté à l'état de Croquemitaine dans les campagnes Cambodgiennes."

provinces of the Central Campī of bygone days. But in the course of time the Annamese took a more vigorous attitude, and in 1377 they invested the Chām capital, while their fleet blockaded the port of Thi-nãi. Happily, on the throne of Campā there was then the valiant Chê-bong ngā, whom Aymonier rightly styles the Chām Hannibal, and the Annamese forces were completely routed. A second no less serious siege was successfully resisted by Bal Angwē in 1404, but its fortunes declined after this. In 1446 a double Annamese expedition, like that of 1377, again blockaded Thi nãi and invested Bal Angwe. This city was taken by assault, the king being made a prisoner. The final blow came, however, in 1471, when the now doomed capital was once more stormed, plundered, forty thousand of its people put to the sword and thirty thousand carried into captivity, including the personage who had newly set himself up as king. This disaster for ever sealed the fate of Bal Angwē. The capital of the last remnants of the unfortunate kingdom was established further south, and the territory of the fallen one left in Annamese hands.

The first thing that the conquerors did was with their usual barbarity, to efface the name of Bal Angwē from the map of the world. They accordingly renamed it *Kwē nōn*,<sup>1</sup> degrading it to the level of a common district city of their own proud dominions. They, however, kept a Chām chief to govern it until the middle of the seventeenth century, when Annamese officials were substituted, who helped in bringing about its final ruin. The palace was razed to the ground and on its site vulgar Annamese shanties were erected, the plan of its old fortifications was altered, in a word "le génie de l'impuissance et du mauvais goût n'épargna aucune insulte à l'art vigoureux et délicat des vaincus."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 歸仁, in Chinese *Kwei jen* = restored to meanness or something of that sort.

<sup>2</sup> These are the textual words of a French official Mr. J. Naville who visited the ruins of the ancient city giving an interesting account of them in *Excursions et découvertes* No. 25 pp. 51-54. It is mainly to this publication that I am indebted for the particulars about the history of the Chām capital from the time it passed under Annamese rule as well as for the information on its monuments and those of Thi nãi.

Under its exotic name the fallen city still had, in truth, the marvellous power of once lifting up its head—though for a brief period—to a height worthy of its old traditions. Nāk, the leader of that *Toi son* revolt through which he acquired the mastery of almost the whole of Annam and Cochin China made Kwī ñon the capital of his dominions. After two sieges and five assaults it fell in 1798 into the power of Jā long (Gia long), and had once more to undergo the ordeal of a re-christening with a name expressive of its new status. Thus its appellation Kwī ñon was changed into that of *Bìn dĩn*,<sup>1</sup> 'the Pacified'. The spell of this novel designation did not prove, however, of sufficient virtue as to prevent the city from reverting to its former rulers, the *Toi son*, and it took all the power and dogged persistence of Jā long, backed by foreign assistance, including that of French officers, to reduce it, and then it was only by famine that the task could be accomplished. By way of punishment Jā long abandoned the city after having plundered it, destitute and nameless withal, for he built a new stronghold which he called likewise *Bìn dĩn*, which is the city known to this day under that designation. Thus ended the fortunes of Ptolemy's Balonga, the *Chām Bal Angce*, and *C'ha ban* or *C'ha lang*, the Annamese *Kici ñon* and, for but a brief interval, *Bìn dĩn*.

On the extensive site it occupied now rise three villages, as insignificant as they are uncouth, and a lonely brick tower, the only one left to stand, together with the débris of a few statues bas reliefs, and lingas, scattered about *pêle mêle*, and the traces of ancient ramparts, ditches, and causeways, are about all that is left to attest its ancient grandeur. But through the pages of Ptolemy its original name was handed down to posterity, and can be traced back to almost the dawn of the Christian era, while what Annamese conquest did its best to efface, subsequent European research will revivify and partly reconstruct.

平 定 in Chinese *P'ing ting* 'Peacefully settled' or 'Brought back to peace'. Just the very term *Sol tui nem faciunt pacem appellant*

Thus, despite the heavy effects of Annamese vandalism, we may yet hope of learning at no distant date a good deal more about the ancient Balonga, although we may despair of ever being able to see the day when our geographers, cartographers, and navigators will consent to part with their pet toponymic *K'el n'ou* or *Qu n'ou* which, in defiance of history, topography, and every other positive science, they persist in applying to the present, the barely one century old *Blin d'ou*, to its district, and to Thi n'ou Harbour

I have already given my reasons for holding that either this trade resort or the neighbouring older one of *Hsin*, alias *Hsin chou*, must have been the *Suf* or *Senef* of the Arabs placed at ten days' navigation from *K'el en*, and noted for the kind of aloes ('eagle-wood') termed *al Senfi*. It is well known that eagle wood forms one of the principal productions of Campi and that to this day in the Bin thwou district where the last remnants of the Châm are to be found, the care of gathering this product is confined to certain villages the hereditary chiefs of which called 'masters of the eaglewood' when entering on their duties, offer up worship to the deities of the agallochum trees on certain sacred hills<sup>1</sup>

Ma Tuan lin has recorded several interesting particulars on the exploitation of the eagle wood forests of Campi during the first quarter of the twelfth century. 'Scented wood,' he says "is plentiful on the hill tracts of *Clan cheng* [Campi]. Each year the people make regular cuttings of the trees under the supervision of government officials. The State levies a duty in kind upon the felled wood. Everyone must comply with this regulation before he is allowed to appropriate the surplus. It is, on the whole what is done in China with regard to salt, in the districts where this commodity is produced"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Aymonier's *II story of Tchampa* loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 554

<sup>3</sup> As is well known inspectors were appointed to control the production and sale of salt in China since the time of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122-249) and although the industry was taken in hand by government for a short time



That *Hain*, or *Hain chou*, i.e. the territory about Bal Angwā was one of the chief centres of the eagle wood industry, we have demonstrated on the basis of unimpeachable evidence in a preceding page. It is of particular interest to learn further from Ma Tuan lin that the Arab traders still frequented the seaports of Campī towards the end of the twelfth century. The learned cyclopaedist tells us in fact how at that period "a certain *U shih tien* [Ashī (Aji Haji?) ul Din, Uzdir?] and several other merchants of the *Ta shih* [*Tajika* or Arab] nation' complained to the Chinese authorities of Fuh kien that the king of Campī who had just ascended the throne had had seized from them certain valuable articles which he afterwards sent as presents to the Chinese Court in order to obtain investiture'. Upon receiving a report of the matter the Emperor refused the presents and ordered an investigation of the charge suspending meanwhile the grant of a patent. From the context it clearly appears that the place where the alleged spoliation was perpetrated must have been either the capital (Bal Angwā) itself or its seaport known to the Arab navigators of an earlier period under the name of *Se f* or *Senef* and thus the relations of the Arab traders with the Cham emporium are proved to have continued for a further four centuries after Sulaimān's time.

#### Throana (No 120)

The position of this city at Turin (Tourane or Touron) has already been fixed with certainty from geographical data in the first section of this paper. Little or nothing can be

after A.D. 713 communal officers were reappointed upon the advice of Lau Yen soon afterwards. See Notes on the Early History of the Salt Monopoly in China, a Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xiii p. 53 et seq.

Loc. cit. The Cham ruler here alluded to is called *Tso ya o* (鄒亞鄂) by Ma Tuan lin and I have accordingly succeeded in identifying him with the *Jaya Idara* (III) of the Cham inscription dated Saka 1100 A.D. 1183 (No 409 A 3 of Aymonier's list see his Inscript. Tchames in *Jo rnal Asiatique* t. xvii pp. 44-45). He was already reigning in A.D. 1170 according to the same inscription and was no doubt the king taken prisoner to Kamboja in A.D. 1190-1199.

learned as to the history of this place, which, possessing a spacious, secure, and completely landlocked harbour, must have early become an important trading-mart. I presume it is referred to in Ma Tuan-lin's account of *Chên-la* (Kamboja),<sup>1</sup> where it is said that *Chên-la* was often in war with *Lin-i* and *T'o-huan*. *Lin-i* or *Lom-op* being, as I have demonstrated, Upper Campī, *T'o-huan* very likely is meant for Central Campī or Turān.<sup>2</sup> In any case Turān looks like a name of Sanskrit derivation. Given that this is its correct spelling, which I doubt, it may represent the word *Torana* (a pandal or gateway); or else it may be referred to other terms such as *turana*, *turanya*, etc. Ancient remains of city walls and ramparts are said to exist at Thang-biñ (升平),<sup>3</sup> a little below Turān, which will very likely repay exploration. A large inscribed stela was only a few years ago discovered in that neighbourhood amongst the

<sup>1</sup> Op cit, p 479

<sup>2</sup> *T'o-huan* is written 陀桓, which suggests an old form *Dhawan*, *Dravan*, *Darran* *Durcana* or *Dhuruana* not very dissimilar to Ptolemy's Throana. With the latter may also be connected the term *Shang yüan* (上源), in Annamese *Thiêng ngwien*, which, according to Ma Tuan-lin (op cit, p 539), was at one time the name of the western portion of *Chan ch'eng* (Campa). The name of Turan is now spelled 陀南 *T'o nang* and that of its port vulgarly known as *Fai fo* (corrupt Chinese *Hwei p u*), is written 會安舖, *Hwei an p u*. Even the modern form *T'o nang*—in Annamese, *Dì náng*—tends to show that the original name, whether Sanskrit or Cham, must not have been very different from *Da lang*, *Da ran* and, consequently, from the forms suggested above. The European way of spelling it *Tiran*, *Touron* etc. without the unaspirated *t*, would thus seem to be as too often is the case incorrect. For these reasons I am inclined to back Ptolemy's form Throana, against the new fangled one of our modern geographers. Whatever Ptolemy's failings be, there is no doubt—and these pages have repeatedly shown it—that he had a far higher sense of his mission in so far as the spelling of proper names is concerned, than the modern continuators and improvers of his work have up to the present seemed to possess. Turan's original name must therefore have been something like *Dracan* or *Dhruvan*. In this connection I may call attention to the fact that the *Bhagavata* Purana gives *Dravina* as one of the tribal names in *Kraunca-dvipa* (Professor Hall's edition of Wilson's "Vishnu Purana" vol. II, p 198).

<sup>3</sup> Des Michels op cit. p 164. Their remains are situated in the *Dien p Luak* division close to *Fai fo* Bay, lat 15° 50'

ruins of Bā du, and several epigraphic records were also found in the environs of Turan itself<sup>1</sup>

### Doanas River mouth (No 119)

The course of this stream has been fully discussed in a preceding section (*supra* p 134 seq) It is clear that the river referred to as debouching here is either the *Dīlan* (Kwang tri River) or the Hwā River having its outlet at Thwon in (Thuin an) Its Sanskrit name was probably *Drona* or something similar One should not be surprised at Ptolemy's mistake in making the Me Khong disembogue here when we see it repeated fully fifteen centuries after him in the map of the East Indies accompanying Mandelslo's travels<sup>2</sup> Though a stream is traced in that map in the place of the Me Khong and made to flow out at the southern end of Kamboja it is left without a name on the other hand a river described as Langcang flu evidently meant for the Me Khong or *Lait sanj* is represented as rising in the centre of Tonkin and debouching at or a little above Hwe on the coast of Annam that is at the identical spot where Ptolemy placed the mouth of his Doanas

It has been suggested<sup>3</sup> that Ptolemy's Doanas may be the *Djardacs* mentioned by Quintus Curtius as flowing through the remotest parts of India (evidently India extra Gangem) and breeding crocodiles and dolphins besides various aquatic monsters unknown to other nations<sup>4</sup> And as the *Djardanes* has been by several authorities<sup>5</sup> connected with the *Odanes* of Artemidoros who according to Strabo<sup>6</sup> described it as a river that bred the same creatures and flowed into the

Aymonier (*n J n nat Asiatic* Jan Feb 1891 p 86 note) says he received eight new rubbings of ancient inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Turan as well as from the stela of Ba du but I have so far seen no account of them They ought to contain some particulars as to the historical Turan

<sup>1</sup> Voya de Lersse et Amsterdam Le Cens 1727 pp 8 9

M C ndle op et p 909

<sup>2</sup> *I garda es* [*Djarden* *D a d nes* var lect] in nu celeberr [sic] quan In lu.] auditus est q a per u ma Indiae cur t e erum non roci l os modo ut Nilus sed et m d lphines guotasque ali s gent bus belluas al t (lib v ch x 9)

<sup>3</sup> C Muller s Strabo Ind var lect p 1034

<sup>4</sup> Lib xv ch

Ganges, it has been concluded that both the *Dyardanes* and *Oidanes* were one and the same stream with the Doanas, and that such a stream was what is now termed the Brahmaputra. From a geographical point of view this identification would not be very objectionable in so far only, however, as the western branch of the Doanas is concerned, which, we have seen (p 134 *supra*), Ptolemy has made to rise in Bepyrros, i.e. in the Southern Himālayas of Asam, a little to the east of Tawang. This branch stream, very likely intended to represent the Brahmaputra, our author may have by error made to join the eastern branch of the Doanas flowing down from the Damassa range, which is undoubtedly, both here and in its continuation below the confluence, the Mū-Khōng River. Linguistically, there is not an easily surmountable gap between the name Doanas on one side and the terms *Dyardanes* and *Oidanes* on the other. While both the latter may be etymologically referred to the Brahmaputra's upper course in Tibet, where it goes by the name of *Yaru Ts'ang-po* or *Yaru Tsang-bu*, and through the Himālayan gorges, where it becomes known as *Dihong* (possibly *Far-Dihong*?)—terms not very dissimilar from *Dyardanes*, *Yar-danes*, or *Yar-denes*.<sup>1</sup>—I do not know how

far the Brahmaputra could lay claim towards possessing the varied fauna ascribed by Curtius to the *Dyandanes*. I may, on the other hand, confidently submit that of all the great Indo-Chinese rivers the Me-Khōng is the one that meets the case—or, at any rate, that does so in the most eminent degree. In the portion of its course which lies through Eastern Laos, in fact, the Me-Khōng is famous for two kinds of large-sized and edible fish, which Oriental fancy may well have likened unto dolphins, termed *Pla Buk* and *Pla Rom* (i.e. *Buk* and *Rom* fish respectively), attaining on the average a weight of rather more than 120 lbs and a length of some 10 to 12 feet.<sup>1</sup> Mermaids (in reality some kind of water-snakes)

be etymologically referred to *Dāḥiranya*, *Doiḥiranya*, or *Dāḥiranya*, the latter seeming to be the form in which the second part of the name is pronounced in Asam.


The term *Jamuna* (or *Iamuna*) is indeed, borne by what is now the chief channel of the Brahmaputra, after its leaving Asam and entering the plains to its confluence with the Ganges (near the railway station at Goalanda) but this channel was, prior to the middle of the eighteenth century a mere secondary branch of the main stream. It may, of course, have been the principal channel at a remoter date, however, no proof of this exists. Neither is it possible to guess how far back into antiquity the name *Iamuna* for this channel may be traced. Balfour's 'Cyclopædia of India' (3rd ed., vol. II, p. 413), calls it also *Janaḥ*, probably a corrupted form of *Jamua*. But even in the event of this proving to be the original designation for the lower section of the Brahmaputra it would not help one what in establishing the pretended linguistical connection between the *Dyandanes*, *Oudanes* or *Iomanes*, whatever the correct spelling of this river-name be, and the *Doanas*, which would remain quite a distinct river, it being rather an herculean task to make its name read *Doa la ias*, *Doi-danas*, or something similar. On the other hand, it would not be difficult to show that the term *Iomanes*, if it really be the correct equivalent of *Oudanes*, could apply just as well to the *Doanas* or Me-Khōng, since there is positive proof (as shown above, p. 136) that this stream was also designated *Iamuna* (*Iamunā-nadī*).

called *Ngūal* (i.e. *Nāga* or *Naga-lanyā*) by the Lāu of Lúang P'hrāh Bāng, are moreover said to haunt its upper waters, while crocodiles are plentiful almost all the way, but more especially from the point that the river enters Kamboja down to its mouths.<sup>1</sup> Large cetaceans, among which there may be dolphins, ascend its course from the sea and reach as far as the Great Lake during the period of the river's overflow. As regards its possible connection in name with the *Dyardanes*, I have pointed out (p. 136 *supra*) that one of the names for the Mē-Khōng occurring in the old Lāu chronicles is *Khata-nadi*, while the districts it flows through in south-western Yunnan once bore designations approaching those recorded by Marco Polo under the forms respectively of *Carajan* and *Cardandan*, *Zaidandan*, or *Aidandan*, after which the Me-Khōng may well have been termed. It will be observed how closely these names, especially the last two, approach *Dyardanes* (or *Zardanes*) and *Oidanes*. Another possible connection may be pointed out with *Jolana* (*Jyotana*,

overflow is concerned, by Camoens, who, as everyone knows, was wrecked at the Me-Khōng's mouth in A.D. 1556. *Sings the immortal bard—*

“Vês passa por Camboja Mecon rio,  
Que capitiô das aguas se interpreta.  
Tantos recebo d'outro zô no estio,  
Que alaga os campos largos, e inquieta.  
Tem as enchentes quales o Ailo rio  
Agente della crê, como indacreta,  
Que pena e gloria tem depois de morte  
As brutos animaes de toda sorte.”

*Os Lusíadas*, canto x, estancia 127

<sup>1</sup> I have since noticed that , *ngūak*, is employed by the 'Shans' (Thai) of Upper Burma to designate a crocodile (see Cushing's "Shan and English, Dictionary," Rangoon, 1881, p. 121, s.v.) This term becomes *ngāi* in the Pa-i (Thai of Yunnan) dialect, wherein it denotes the same reptile (*vide* F. W. K. Müller's "Vocabularien der Pa-ji und Pah-poh Sprachen" in *Toung Pao*, vol. iii, p. 30). This evidence tends to show that *ngūal* is more probably the Thai corruption of the Sanskrit *nakra*, or Pali *naḷḷa* = crocodile, than of *Nāga* as surmised above, and that originally it had this sense in Lau as well. Such being the case, the title of the Me Khōng to identification with Curtius' crocodile breeding river *Dyardanes* becomes further justified.

Me-Khōng) may have been designated by the very identical terms belonging to the stream (i.e. the *Brahmaputra*) washing the Asamese counterpart of the Further-Indian *Rangabari*, *Rangāmatī*, or *Praggyotī-purī*.<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis would

explain the fact, noticed above, of the name *Yamuna* or *Jamna* being common to both the Me Khōng and the Brahmaputra. Owing to such a homonymy these streams may have been frequently confounded in the accounts of travellers. And owing to it, again, Ptolemy may have mistaken the Brahmaputra for a tributary of the Me Khōng, and may thus have been led to make of it the western branch of his Doanas. But from all this it does not at all follow that the main body of this stream can be in any way connected with the Brahmaputra. That geographically it is the Me Khōng, and that its name, as recorded by Ptolemy, can be identified with the designations borne, either by tribes settled on its banks or by localities lying along the course assigned to it by the Alexandrian geographer, we have, it is hoped, conclusively demonstrated. By way of postscript, I may add here that a tribe bearing the name of *Duan* or *Doan* (noted as *Douon* in Pavie's map) still exists in the hill tracts of the Mē Khōng water shed due west of Hw̄ or Thw̄on an, the point at which, as we have shown, Ptolemy fixed the Me Khong's outlet.

and a pretty ancient foundation too on the Me Khong not far below Ch'eng Sūn and is about 20 16 North lat. There now remain only the term *Feng* and Colborne's ribb's enigmatical *Black Water* to be dealt with in order to complete the decipherment of the rich terminology belonging to the Me Khong river. The epithet *Black Water* appears to have been applied also to either the Iravati or the Brahmaputra but more likely to the latter as may be inferred from the following passage occurring in an article based upon Chinese sources on Manchu Relations with Tibet which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* vol. xxi p. 219 — the Great Golden Sand River (or Iravaddy) rises in the south [frontier of Tibet] flowing through Burma to the sea. The Yaru tsangpu which runs through Tibet is an upper branch of the same stream which is also called the Black Water and is much larger than the Small Golden Sand River which joins the Yangtze. The translator or compiler who is Mr. H. H. Parker has here taken the Great Golden Sand River—or *Ta K'ua she* as it is probably called in the Chinese text—to be the Iravati but it will be seen that the Brahmaputra is probably meant from the fact that the Yaru tsangpu is considered to be an upper branch of that stream and that the Brahmaputra goes in Assam by the alternative name of *Hiranyā* the Golden as pointed out above (p. 24). The Iravati furthermore can hardly be said to be larger than the Yangtze while the Brahmaputra would be easily looked upon in that light. In any case the designation *Black Water* may have been applied also to what was considered to be the upper branch of either the Yaru tsangpu. On this assumption the Me Khong and the Brahmaputra would prove to possess yet another epithet in common.



## Kortatha Mētropolis (No 118).

I have already pointed out that this city corresponds to *Chiu-té* or *Kiu-té* (九德), in Annamese *Kiu-dūh*, the ancient name of the town and district now called Hā-tiū (河 靜). It is mentioned early in the Annals of Annam<sup>1</sup> as one of the fifteen *bō* or divisions of the ancient kingdom of Van-lāng, founded, it is pretended, upwards of fifteen centuries B.C. After the Chinese conquest it is alleged to have formed part of the *chūn* of Jih-nan; to have been next erected into a separate *chun* by the Wu<sup>2</sup> in *cūcā* A.D. 270, and again belittled into a simple district by the Liang (*cūcā* A.D. 502). But, as we have previously observed, this dependence was, at least in the early days, merely nominal if ever; for in reality the territory belonged to the Chām. In fact, the annals say that at the time of the Wu dynasty (A.D. 229-265) the *Kiu-dūh* and adjoining districts were dangerous and impenetrable, the *Liau* barbarians that occupied them were indomitable and knew no fear; they could not be tackled for centuries<sup>3</sup>. It was only Tao-hwang, one of the Wu generals sent to subdue Kiao-chi in 260-270 A.D., who succeeded, according to the same source, in coercing the refractory districts. We must conclude then, on the strength of the above information, that *Kiu-té* as a town or district had long existed prior to the beginning of the Christian era; and that in spite of the trumpeted Chinese conquest of the whole of Tonkin in 111 B.C., *Kiu-té* was still in the hands of the *Liau*, *Loi*, *Loi*, or *Le*—i.e. the Chām<sup>4</sup>—as late as 260 or 270 A.D. It must consequently

have formed part of the kingdom of Upper Campā down to at least the last-mentioned date, if not to A D 446, as would appear from the evidence adduced at the outset of the present section. Hence it is reasonable to identify Kortatha Metropolis with the capital of that kingdom.

We have shown that, whereas Chinese historiographers would fain make us believe that the kingdom of *Lan-i* was not founded till A D 137, or even so late as 220 *circa*, by the rebellious native chief *Oh'u-lien*, the old records, whether Chinese or Annamese, state that *Lan-i* was chastised and its capital taken, as early as A D 43, by Ma-yuan. We have furthermore drawn attention (*supra*, p 127) to the fact that the Lúang P'hrah Bāng chronicles ascribe the establishment of the kingdom of *Lan-i*—or, as they style it, *Culanu*, *Culamani*, or *Cullamalinu*—to the leader of the eastern branch of the Thai emigration, whose name, I take this opportunity to add, is given as *Chu sōng*. I have been lucky enough to find the counterpart of this tradition as to the exodus of the Thai people from Yunnan and their

pp 112 f 114) confounds both these peoples into one on the assumption that the character 僚 is also pronounced *Lao* or *Lau*. As a matter of fact this only occurs nowadays among the Annamese, who however more generally pronounce it *Lieu*. So may one hold for analogous reasons, that the *Lan* (*Lata*) are the same people as the *Lau-i* (*Lata*). Ma Tuan lun (op cit, pp 107-110) speaks of the *Liao* as being a tall people, wonderful mountain climbers, head-hunters, cannibals to the extent of eating their deceased relatives, honouring dogs and offering them up in sacrifices, practising covadism—all characteristics still to be met with to a certain extent among the wild *Hah*, the *Kayena* (log worship) and other hill tribes of the *Chiang* stock but *never* among the *Lau*. Ma Tuan lun adds moreover that there are two classes of *Liao*s to wit the valley-dwelling and those living on the mountain slopes representing the unconquered and wildest portion of them. Both classes are to this day exemplified in the *Ahā Doi* and *Thāt Hui* divisions of the *Lau-i* (*vide supra* p 53 n. 2). I think it is high time that Sinologists should be persuaded to draw a line of distinction between two so widely different peoples as the *Lan* and *Lau*. Indo-Chinese ethnology would profit a good deal thereby and be assisted to rise from the muddled state it is now in.

\* Marco Polo mentions, it is true, covadism as being practised in his day among the people of *Zardandan* or 'Golden Teeth,' at *Iac an* (Yung ch ang of the Chinese and *Wān ch'ang* of the *Lau*) but it is probably to the *Lau* and tribes of Mia stock inhabiting that district that his remarks more particularly apply. N B that Colquhoun mentions the *covade* as existing among the Miao

subsequent spread over the surrounding countries, in the legend given in the chronicles of the Nan-Chao as regards the kingdoms founded by the sons of *Ti Mêng-chu*; <sup>1</sup> and I have by this means got hold at last of the hitherto missing link connecting Nan-Chao with Lúang P'hrah Bāng history. The names of the chiefs alleged to have established the various kingdoms are somewhat transposed in the two

accounts and the locations assigned to the kingdoms themselves do to a certain extent disagree, but the substance of the story is practically the same, this being in itself sufficient evidence that both accounts have been derived from an identical source. The same remark applies to the modified versions of the same legend still surviving among the Thai of Upper Burmā and Asam, to which we have adverted in a preceding section. As regards the eastern branch of the emigration with which we are concerned at present, the Nan-Chao chronicle places it under the leadership of *Chu lin*, or *Meng Chu lin* (蒙 丑 林), and ascribes to it the foundation of the kingdom of *Kiao chi*, whereas it makes *Meng Chu sung* (蒙 丑 頌)—evidently the same personage with the *Chu song* of the Luang P hrah Bing account—the founder of the *Pai tsz*, or *Peh tsz* (白 子), kingdom with capital at *Peh ngai* over which his almost immediate descendant *Jen luo* (仁 果) was reigning, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 123), in B.C. 122, being shortly afterwards (B.C. 109) established by the Han emperor Wu Ti as king over *Tien* (Yunnan).

The designation of *Kiao chi* as the kingdom founded by *Meng Chu lin* is no doubt an oversight on the part of the Nan-Chao chroniclers for *Kiao chi* was, down to B.C. 258, but a district of the ancient realm of *Van lang* represented to have been conquered that year by Asoka himself who according to Lū accounts almost immediately withdrew, leaving it intact or according to the Annamese records, set down to rule it himself. Whatever may have been the real state of matters, however, this realm was overthrown in B.C. 208 by the Ts in general *Chao to*, who the following year proclaimed himself king of *Nan yueh* (*Nam rief*), with capital at *Pan yu* (Canton), and from that period down to the Han conquest of B.C. 111 *Kiao chi*, with the adjoining districts as far south as *Kiau chon* (Tham hwa),<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Annamese Annals (Des Vieux op cit. p. 93) include also *Ma g* and *L* in the new kingdom's territory but a few lines further on state that in B.C. 198 *Ti tsz* (Chao to) appointed delegates with full powers to control

formed part of the *Nan yueh* kingdom. It is not therefore very likely that *Mêng Chu lin* could have set himself up as king of *Kiao-chi* at some time between B.C. 225 and 200, and viewing this toponymic as a mere generic term resorted to by the Nan Chao Chroniclers in order to designate—without any aim at precision—the approximate location of the realm founded by *Mêng Chu-lin*, I prefer to follow the Luang Phrah Bīng version, which states *Culani* to have been the kingdom in question otherwise known as the country of *Kēu Ch'ong bua*, or *Kēu Kot-thē Thēn bua*. I take the expression *Kēu Ch'ong bua* to mean the *Kiao* (交 *Chiao*) people of *Chiem bā* (占波 or 占芭) or Campa. *Thēn bua*, literally meaning 'Lotus throne' in Liu seems to be more likely a phonetic transcript of *Thau hwī* (清化 *Ch'ing-hua*), while *Kēu Kot-thē* evidently implies the *Kiao* people or district of *Kau ték*, or *Káu duk* (九德, *Chiu té*), Ptolemy's Kortatha now Hu tzu. Some of the chronicles add moreover, the explanation that this country is also called *Anām Prakan*, or *Prakung*. By this I think, that part of (modern) Annamese territory once constituting the district of *Pei king*, or *Pi kin* (比鄰, *Pi chin* pron *Ti lan* by the Annamese) is meant. Originally forming part of the *chun* of *Jih nan* (B.C. 111) this district was made to include the whole of the latter's territory under the Sui and thus the erstwhile *chun* of *Jih nan* became henceforward known by the name of *chun* of *Pi ching*, or *Pi kin*. Later on it was incorporated with *Chan ch'eng*, or Campa.<sup>1</sup> It must have therefore corresponded to Ngo in and Hu tzu

the affairs of *Ju ch'ü* (Kiao ch.) and *K' ch'ü* and say nothing about either *Huang* or *Liu*. This circumstance I take as evidence that the boundaries of the *Nanyue* kingdom could not very well have extended beyond *Thau hwa* at the utmost.

<sup>1</sup> See Des Mchels op. cit. p. 51. The Annamese Annals regard the two terms *Ji ch'ü* and *Pi ch'ü* as almost synonymous: the former means 'to the east' (to the east of the sun) and the latter 'to the south' (to the south of the sun). The translator explains: 'ombra corre pondante'.

with perhaps the northern part of Kwáng-biñ included.<sup>1</sup> At one time the toponymic *Pi-lin*, *Prahan*, or *Prakung* seems to have been employed not only by the Lāu of Lúang P'raha Bāng, but also by the neighbouring nations of Western Indo-China, to designate that southern part of *Kiao-chi*, or Tonkin, comprising, in fact, the districts just named. The Burmese, we are told,<sup>2</sup> used to apply the term '*Kio-pagan*' (i.e. *Keu Pahan* or *Kiao Pi-lin*) to Tonkin itself. But this was probably only a generic designation, meaning more appropriately the southern part of that region. The same remark applies, I should think, to the other term, *Kio Kazeh* (ကျော် ကာဠေ), given by Judson<sup>3</sup> as the Burmese name for Tonkin and its native inhabitants. *Kazeh* cannot here mean *Kē-chō* (Kesho), as might be thought at first sight, because the name of this capital is written in a different

<sup>1</sup> The Annamese Annals (loc. cit.) would give us to understand that the territory of the ancient *chun* of *Pi-ching*, or *Ti'-láu*, is nowadays represented by the districts of Kwáng biñ and Kwáng-trī. There has ever been a tendency among native historians, whether Chinese or Annamese, to assign to *Jih-nan* a far more southern position than it has ever occupied, in the endeavour to show that the dominions of their race extended farther than has really been the case. Not only did our Sinologists blindly follow these historians' erring footsteps, but, dazzled by Chinese bombast and tinsel, they even exceeded the native over-estimate. Thence it comes that we are told in the works of the said Sinologists how *Jih-nan* was Kwáng nam (*Journal China Branch R. A. S.*, vol. xii, p. 41), or "Quang binh and Phu-yen ['i] with all between" (*China Review*, vol. xi, p. 328), *Lin-si*, or Campa, comprising "the modern Khanh-hoa and Binh-thuân," and so forth. In a similar strain even the scholarly Chavannes, having laid down the apodictic premise that *Jih nan* "correspond au Quang-nam actuel," concludes that "il est donc probable que *Pi-ling* [i.e. *Pi-ching*, or *Ti'-láu*] est le port connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de Tourane ['i]" (*Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes*, p. 108, n. 1). It is to be hoped that the foregoing critical examination of Cham history will luminously prove to him and his over-zealous colleagues that *Lin-si*, or *Chan-ch'eng*, or Campa, included in her halcyon days *something more* than Khan-hwā and Biñ-thwon, and that their exaggerated notion as to the extension of *Jih nan* must suffer not a few clippings ere it is brought within the bounds of historical truth.

<sup>2</sup> In the abstract from Mr Gibson's Journal given by Crawford in his "Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China," vol. ii, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Burmese-English Dictionary, Rangoon, 1893, pp. 139 and 713.

way, viz. 𑜋𑜊𑜊𑜊<sup>1</sup>; nor can it evidently stand for Kiao-chi; but is more likely intended for *Chiu-té*, *Kòt-thē*, or Kortatha. The latter being the capital, and at one time the chief district of an independent kingdom, it is but natural that its name should have spread far and wide and become employed to designate the surrounding territory, and even Tonkin as a whole, in preference to the term *Kiao-chi*, which at best denoted but a province of the Chinese empire, and was specifically a tribal name rather more than a toponymic. It was only in the former character that it survived among neighbouring nations, and thus when these speak of the *Kiao*, *Keu*, *Kiô*, etc., it must be understood that they refer to the people,<sup>2</sup> and not to the territory, of Tonkin; a people, by the way, who were in the early days composed purely of Mōū-Annam, i.e. C'hieng, or Chām elements, and not of the hybrid Sino-Indo-Chinese breed constituting the modern Annamese. The same occurred with the terms *Prahan*, *An-nam*, and *Tonkin*, which only became known to foreign nations as soon as the cities or regions which they designated set up as independent States. Although *Prahan* is given as a synonym of *Kòt-thē* or Kortatha in the Lúang P'hrah Bāng chronicles—and it is quite possible that it was so at the period when the whole of *Jih-nan* was included under that denomination—the original district or city known as *Prahan* or *Pi-lin* was, under the Western Han period, but a small subdivision of the *chūn* of *Jih-nan* alleged to have

been established in B.C 111,<sup>1</sup> and as such is said to have been situated to the north of *Lin-i*,<sup>2</sup> then called *Hsiang-lin*. For this reason I am inclined to identify *Prakan* with Ptolemy's *Pagrasa*, the city or seaport which will be treated on under the next paragraph. Lake *Kot-the*, it was a *Lāu* foundation and formed part of the kingdom of *Cūlan*, as evidenced by the frequent relations it had with the *Lāu* kingdoms lying beyond its western borders<sup>3</sup>, hence,

<sup>1</sup> See Des Michels, op cit, pp 49-50

<sup>2</sup> So states Chavannes, op cit, p 108

<sup>3</sup> Especially with the kingdom of *Mūang P'huen* or *C'hieng Khuāng*, situated between the *Lāu*ng P'hrah Bang State and the *Nghē-an* district. I always thought that this kingdom had something to do with Ptolemy's *Bareukora*, especially as its people are called *P'hūen* (or *Lau P'hūen*), this being very likely an old tribal name belonging to the early inhabitants of *C'hieng* stock, connected with those of the tribes of the Black River called *P'hū-ēr* or *P'hū-ū* (sometimes spelled *Pou-ēmā* by French writers), of the *P'o na* (訛那) or *P'o-la* (see DEVEREUX, op cit, p 116) and, perhaps, of the *P'u-erh* or *P'u-erl* (普耳) of the Chinese, whose name still survives in *P'u-erh-Fu*, away in S W Yunnan.



I think, the reason why its name, *Pialan*, was also used by the Līu to designate the State of *Culan*. It is, no doubt, owing to the active intercourse existing in the early days between *Culan* and those Līu kingdoms, as well as to the tradition of their common origins through their having been founded by rulers belonging to the same family, that the various instances of homonymy between them and their capital cities we have noticed in a preceding section (*supra*, pp 146-147) have sprung forth. It would not be surprising if it should turn out that the change which took place in the name of the *Liu* district into *Hsiang-lin* soon after B.C. 111 had some connection with the amalgamation of Muang P'hūen with Prakan, brought about by the marriage of the P'hūen king with the warlike Prakan princesses mentioned in the last footnote (p 295). Was it through this event that *Liu-t*, having become part and parcel of *Lan c'hang*, received from the latter its new name, turned by the Chinese, according to the genius of their language, into *C'hang lan* or *Hsiang lin*? And was it through some similar event, but perhaps with inverse issues, that the name of *Cudāmāla* or *Cudama-nagara* was transferred from *Chiu tē* or *Kōt the* to Luang P'hrah Bīng, or *tice tessa*, given that the conjecture about Luang P'hrah Bīng having at some time or other borne such a name is correct? I shall not attempt to answer these puzzling questions, which I gladly leave to future inquirers to definitely settle by further and more far-reaching researches into the ancient history of the regions concerned. Suffice for the present to establish the fact that *Cudama nagara* is evidently but one of

generations afterwards the king of *Men Tā tō* was invited to come and reign. But his rule did not last long as he was assassinated and a local chief put in his stead on the throne. These events must have taken place during the early centuries of the Christian Era.

It will appear from the above traditions that the State of *Pialan* (*P'lan*) or *C'la i* (*Liu*) must have occupied in its early days the territories of the present Thai hwa Ngō an and Hā t ā districts and that although inhabited by a *C'heng* or Cham population the ruling element must have been *Liu* its kings claiming descent from the Indā dynasty which in the 3rd century B.C. ruled in Yunnan.

The identity of *Culani* with *Chu te* or *K'iu-duk* and the *Lin-i* or Upper Campi kingdom that we have thus far demonstrated on geographical, historical, and linguistical grounds, receives further confirmation from the similarity in names between the *Chū-song* and *Chu lin* of, respectively, the Luang P'rah Bāng and Nan Chao chronicles—but more especially of the latter—and the rebellious *Ch'u lien* to whom the foundation of the kingdom of *Lin-i* is ascribed by the Chinese annalists. It will readily be seen that the initial term in all these names is *Chu* or *Chu*. Hence we may well surmise that *Ch'u-lien* was very likely a descendant of either *Chu-lin* or *Chū-song*, whatever the correct name of the original founder of the *Lin-i*-Campi kingdom may have been. The Chinese account followed by Ma Tuan lin<sup>1</sup> describes *Ch'u lien* as the son of a *Iung ts'an*, receiver of taxes for the *hsien* (district) of *Hsian-j lin*, and spells his name [𠂔] [𠂔], adding that *Ch'u* was his family appellation. The date of his rebellion and enthronement as king of *Lin-i* is placed in the last years of the Eastern Han dynasty (i.e. towards A.D. 221). Other Chinese texts according to Chavannes,<sup>2</sup> refer to a *Ch'u lien* (with the second character in his name differently written) who likewise rebelled in A.D. 137, but met with failure, the Chinese governor of Tonkin having succeeded in restoring

the country of *Li-li* (Yunnan vide supra pp. 64 and 121) turned his arms against *Mang K'i* (Kiao-chi) whose king in utter despair committed suicide. But Asoka rescued him and lui rendit son royaume qu'il appela *Chula*. We shall show in one of the following paragraphs that this episode is to be connected with the invasion ascribed by the Annamese annalists to the king of *Shi* in A.D. 208. The authorities just referred to say however that the *Shi* potentate having overthrown the *Ta-ti* dynasty which then ruled over *Anao-chi* changed the name of the country into *Li-li* or *O-ti* (Chinese *O-ti* and *He O-ti*) a term which has evidently nothing to do with *C'lan*. I may add that none of the *tan-a-s* (sic as narrative) on the foundation of the Thai Chom Yong nor the several versions of the Yuang Yong Chronicle I have met with do contain a word as to this story of Asoka having after his conquest changed the name of *Mang K'i* into *Culani*. Hence the latter must have been an arbitrary addition introduced by the interpreter from whom Garnier obtained his information and I more than ever see fit to adhere to my identification of *C'lan* with the kingdom of *Kot-the* or Upper Campa feeling quite certain that Asoka's conquest had no connection whatever with it.

<sup>1</sup> Op cit p 419

<sup>2</sup> Op cit p 203

order. The Annamese Annals,<sup>1</sup> quoting from the *Hou Han-shu*, make of the *Ch'u-hen* of A.D. 137 a native chief, and explain that his name was that of a family of "southern barbarians." They say nothing, however, as to this *Ch'u-hen* having set up as king of *Liu-ti*, and are likewise silent as to the coup of *Ch'u-hen* *se-mu-lu* about A.D. 221, which is only alluded to *en passant* in the commentary, compiled at a later date from Chinese sources.<sup>2</sup> At the same time they warn us that the *Tsin-shu* and other Chinese historical works write by mistake the term *hen* with a different character, although conveying the same sound.<sup>3</sup> Which this character is, we are not shown by the translator. Later on, between the dates corresponding to the period A.D. 226-230, we are told<sup>4</sup> that the kings of *Tu-nan*, *Liu-ti*, and *T'ang-ming* (or *T'ao-meng*?) sent envoys with tribute to the Wu emperor Ta Ti ruling at Niu-king,<sup>5</sup> and we are thus indirectly given

to understand that *Lin-i* was, at the time, an independent State. We may, then, well conclude, on the strength of the above fragmentary evidence, that *Chu-lin* and *Ch'u-lien* are very likely identical terms, though spelled in different ways, representing either the dynastic or the family name of the early kings of *Lin-i*, but more probably the name of the State itself, in its full form *Culan-i*. In support of this conjecture I may point out the coincidence in spelling between the last part of the name of *Chu-lin* (苴林) and the initial one of the term *Lin-i* (林邑), which would thus appear to be but a shortened form of *Chü-lin-i* (苴林邑), the probable original Chinese phonetic transcript of *Culan-i*. It must be noted, in fact, that the three characters which compose it, sounding *Chü-lang-eik* in the present Fu-chou dialect, may have been pronounced something like *Chu-lan-i* or *Chu-lan-ik* in the old days. Père Legrand de la Liraye spells *lan* the second character in the name of the rebellious *Ch'u-lien*, whom he accordingly describes as *Khu-lan*.<sup>1</sup> The connection between the two toponymics *Culan-i* and *Lin-i*

content with having discovered a new independent State within the limits of the pretended Chinese dominions, to be added to the kingdom of *Lin-i* and to the realm of the *Hsi-t'u I* (whose borders were reached by Ma yuan in A.D. 43), making altogether no less than three independent kingdoms, all to be found within the zone said to have been embraced by the famous *chun* or department of *Jih nan* established by the Western Han.

<sup>1</sup> See Des Michels, op. cit., notes, p. 108. The reverend Père, however, took *Ch'u-lien* or *Khu-lan* to be the name of a tribe, in which guess it will now be seen he was not so very far wrong as Des Michels thinks, since that name was the designation borne by either the kingdom or its capital. The Chinese character 邑 means 'a capital city' as well as 'a district,' and this is most probably the reason why it was employed in the transcription in preference to another more suitable for conveying the sound. In the language of the *Läu* populations of Yunnan, the sense of country, district or city was conveyed by the term *Muang* (transcribed as *Meng* 蒙 by the Chinese) prefixed to the name of the kingdom, thus, *Meng Chü lin* (蒙苴林), alleged to have been the name of the founder of the *Liiao-chü* (read *Lin-i*) State, is instead, no doubt, the *Läu* designation for the State itself, to wit *Muang Chüant*.

Abbé Bouillevaux says (*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. II, p. 323) that *Ch'u-lien* alias *Khu-lien* or *Khu-lan* (whose rebellion, by the way, he places in A.D. 263'), was also called *Khu-dat*, a term which it will be observed, approaches very closely to the form *Kortatha* recorded by Ptolemy as being the name of its capital city.

thus receives further demonstration from the etymological point of view. There would seem, then, to be no further room for doubt that the kingdom of *Culam*, or Upper Campā although inhabited by a Chām—i.e. Mōu-Annam descended—population owed its original establishment to the Lāu from Southern Yunnan, headed by a prince of Indū lineage belonging to that dynasty which, said to have hailed from Magadhā, founded kingdoms all over Yunnan and adjoining countries introducing therein the civilization the laws customs, and beliefs, current at the time in the country of his ancestors. This circumstance proves our contention that Northern Campā unlike its southern counterpart received its civilization from Northern India. Numbers of natives from that region who had come to settle in Yunnan followed, no doubt in the wake of the Indū Yunnanese prince that led the way to *Culam* and many more continued to flow in the new State, either directly *via* Chieng Rung and Luang Phrah Bīng or indirectly *via* Yunnan whither they had at first directed their steps jointly contributing to the development of the country on Indu lines and causing it to attain that comparatively high degree of advancement of which unmistakable traces are left to this day as we have noticed now and then in the course of our inquiry. Later on the number of the Indu settlers who had reached the country by the overland route began to receive considerable additions from those of their countrymen who had found their way thither by sea and a considerable trade was no doubt established and carried on by the latter with their mother country and the numerous Indu settlements spread all over the Indo-Chinese coast the Malay Archipelago and the Southern Chinese seaboard. Hence we may take it as certain that by the first century of the Christian era the name of the capital of Upper Campā—like those of other conspicuous cities on the same coast—must have become well known not only to Indu traders but also to those of far more Western regions thus easily coming to the notice of our incomparable geographer, who handed it down to posterity in

the form of Kortatha Métropolis. It is now well known, in fact, that early before Ptolemy's and Marinus' time, not only Syrian, but also Parthian, Arab, and Alexandrian merchants,—outdistancing the exploits of the Phœnicians and Chaldeans, the Western world's pioneers in Eastern navigation and following in the wake of the Dravidians of Southern India, to whom belongs the honour of having first opened the sea route leading to the China Sea and founded mercantile settlements all over the coast of the Far East,—pushed their journeys further from India and Ceylon on to the Malay Peninsula and the Tonkin Gulf, reaching thence Canton and the mysterious far outlying Kattigara which we have identified with and shall incontrovertibly prove in due course to be, Hang chow. In our author's own days the famous embassy from the Roman Orient, alleged to have been sent by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus landed at a port of *Jih nan* and thence journeyed overland to the Chinese capital Lo yang. In referring to this event the *Lian-j-shu* informs us that "the merchants of this country [*Ta ts'in*, or Syria] frequently visit *Tu nan*, *Jih nan* and *Chiao ch'ih*"<sup>1</sup>. We shall try to find out in the next paragraph the location of the seaport at which that so-called embassy—in reality but a private commercial mission—landed. In the introductory book of his treatise<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, after having referred to "those who have sailed from us to those places [in India] and have for a long time frequented them, and also those who have come from thence to us" proceeds to say "from the same informants we have also learned other particulars regarding India and its different provinces, and its remote parts as far as the Golden Khersonese and onward thence to Kattigara. In sailing thither, the voyage, they said was towards the east, etc. These passages clearly show how the seaports of the Tonkin Gulf must have been frequented as stations on the then well known sea route to the China coast and, at the same time as *entrepôts* for

<sup>1</sup> Hirth s. China and the Roman Orient p. 47

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xvii §§ 4 and 5

the trade which thence was carried on overland with the western parts of the Celestial Empire. Hopelessly lost in their attempts to fix a suitable site for Kattigara, to locate which almost every simulacrum of a seaport on the whole stretch of the Indo-Chinese coast from Tonkin to Martaban was variously resorted to,<sup>1</sup> our Sinologists have come to the conclusion that it was not until A.D. 166, the date of the

*Ta-ts'in* embassy to China, that the sea route to the Far East was opened by Western traders, and that Tonkin formed then, and from that time only, its terminus, which was not removed further on till the third century, and then only as far as Canton<sup>1</sup>. Such narrow views will have to be considerably broadened now that we have shown Kattigara, the Heraclean pillar of early Western Oriental navigation, to have stood considerably further to the east since the very first century of the Christian Era. Kortatha Metropolis and the other cities or seaports on the Tonkin Gulf mentioned by Ptolemy cease accordingly to play the rôle of termini tentatively ascribed to them by our predecessors in the field of Far Eastern historical geography, and appear to us in their true light of entrepôts for the trade with the southern China frontier and intermediate stations on the maritime route to the Chinese coast.

Having thus far shown the part that Kortatha Metropolis performed in Indo Chinese history as well as in Western Oriental commerce, it remains to be seen whether its site can be determined with greater approximation within the district where we have located it, and to account for the form of its name (Kortatha) adopted by Ptolemy.

As regards the emplacement of the city, the corrected latitude we obtained for it in the tables being  $18^{\circ} 42' N$ , it will be seen that its position coincides with the site of the present Viñ (Vinh), close by the mouth of the Song Ku (衛 古) River (termed *Nam Non* in Liōs). As this was the eastern terminus of the overland route from India and Burmā known to have existed from at least the first century A.D.,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hirth loc. cit. and *China Researches* v l xvi pp 51-53.

<sup>2</sup> See Harker in *China Researches* vol. xi p. 339 where however he makes as usual with Snoulenius a muddle of ancient Indo Chinese geography by making *Yueh-shang* (an old kingdom occupying the southern part of the present Tsin hwa district with perhaps a portion of Northern Haktai) extend as far as Burma and supposing that the *Ta-ts'in* embassy of A.D. 166 most probably landed at Merou or somewhere else in the Talaug kingdom of Burma, which was therefore held to be a part of *Yueh-shang* (?) and proceeded thence over land to Viñ. See also Hirth in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for July 1896 p. 491 where he quotes the following passage from an old Chinese work. 'To reach *Tai-chi* [Indra] from Anna there is an overland road by which one may go to this country' etc.



I am inclined to adopt the position of *Vĩn* for Ptolemy's capital city rather than that of *Hā tĩn* a little below. It is, however, only by means of archæological investigations conducted in that neighbourhood, that the exact site of that capital can definitely be determined. The Annamese Annals<sup>1</sup> we have pointed out, make mention of a fortress of *Khu-lot* on the Northern *Campī* frontier, which, unsuccessfully besieged by the Chinese governor of *Kiao chi* in A.D. 431, was finally taken in 446, access being thereby gained by the invaders to *Hsiang lin* (i.e. *Lin* i or *Campā*) territory. This frontier stronghold, said to have stood on the northern bank of a stream called the *Ló dlung*,<sup>2</sup> must have been situated either on the Song Ka about *Vĩn* or considerably further to the north by the bank of the Song Mĩ in the present *Thaĩ hwa* district, and it had, I think, nothing in common with *Kortatha*. I prefer in fact, to connect it rather with Ptolemy's *Pagrasa* which will be treated on in the next paragraph.

As regards the connection in names between *Kortatha* and the *Kun duk*, *Kau tek* or *Kot the* district, or the chief city which gave the latter its name, I should think it has been made sufficiently evident in the foregoing pages as to scarcely need any further demonstration. I shall, however, add a few more remarks of a purely linguistical nature in order to throw, if possible, more light on this highly interesting subject. Which was the real original name of the district or its chief city it is impossible to guess since it was differently spelled and pronounced, as evidenced by the different forms we have given to wit *Chiu tẽ*, *Cuda*, *Culama*, *Cudānala*, *Cula*, *Culanı*, *Colanı*, *Cudāmanı*, *Culamı*, *Culāmālinı*, *Cullamālinı*, *Lin* i, *Kot the*, *Kau tẽ*, *Kūn duk*, *Ko tih*, etc. Although these are as a rule, mentioned as designations borne by the district or kingdom it is almost certain that they belonged originally to its chief city, and that it was from the latter, as usually occurs in Indo China

<sup>1</sup> Des Murs Is. op. cit. pp. 12 and 121.  
<sup>2</sup> lb. i. p. 12.

that the kingdom took its name. If a distinction were to be made, I should be inclined to think that we are here in front of two sets of names, one of which may be assigned *Chiu-tê*, *Kot-thê*, or *Cūḍā* as prototype, and the other *Mālinī* (the name of the Indū Campā, transferred to its Indo-Chinese counterpart). It is apparently from the union of both that the form *Cuḷamālinī* and its derivatives were arrived at. Whether of these two sets of names one belonged to the kingdom and the other to its capital, or whether both were indiscriminately used for either, it is impossible to say. The latter was probably the case in later days. But at an early period I should imagine that *Chiu-tê*, *Kot-thê*, or *Cūḍā* more properly designated the city which, at the same time, as usual with Indū and Indo-Chinese capitals of kingdoms, may have also been known under several other names. The term *Kortatha* can, in fact, be traced to various distinct denominations belonging to ancient cities of India.

In the first place, I observe that it may be a contraction of *Nagar Thattha*, vulgo *Nagar Thattha*, in which case its name would seem to have been imported here from the banks of the Indus,<sup>1</sup> and its location would suit very well—allowing for presumable displacements that occurred in the course of the Song-Ká—either *Vīṇ* or *Hā-tiñ*.

In the second place, it may be observed—as I already pointed out at the outset of this chapter—that the name of *Kortatha*, or *Kau-têh*, very likely represents the term *Kuṭhara*, or *Kauṭhara*, occurring in Southern Campā as the probable designation once borne by the ancient city of *Yāmpu-nagara*. Final *h* is, as a rule, pronounced indifferently as *h* or *t* in Annamese and some of the Southern Chinese dialects: thus

<sup>1</sup> See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 288 seq., for *Nagar Thattha*, a name which, he says, means 'city on the river bank.' It was an ancient and important emporium. The contraction of *Nagar* to *Ga*, *Gor*, *Khor*, or *Kor* is a very common one in Indo-China. I may quote as instances in Siam *Khorut*, a contraction of *Nagar-rūf(-sima)*, therefore termed *Khorazend* in nearly all books of travel of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *Korayot* or *Khorayot*, the vulgar designation for *Nagar-nāyala*, etc. The Khmers generally make *Angkor* out of *Nagar*, *Nangar*, or *Nangor*, by metathesis. Another common modification of these terms in Siam is *Laklon* (for *Lager*, *Nagar*).

of the country, and subsequently transformed by the Sino-Annamese into *Chiu-té*, *Kiu-tet*, *Kau-ték*, etc.

Whichever of the three surmises made above be the correct one, only further local investigation will be able to disclose. Meanwhile, we may rest satisfied with the conclusion that Ptolemy's Kortatha most assuredly corresponds to the district-city of 九德 (*Chiu-té*, etc.) Were other evidence wanting, the mere fact of these characters being to this day pronounced *Kiu-tet* by the Hakkas would be sufficient to establish the etymological connection.<sup>1</sup>

Pagrassa (No 117).

We are here in the presence of a toponymic identical to the one (No. 93) we have already met with on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siām, and explained (*supra*, p 191) as being composed of the two Khmēr terms *Pa* or *Ba*, meaning 'chief,' 'great,' and *Kiās*, of as yet undetermined signification. Given that the name of the city or mart now under discussion can be traced to the same original terms, it would but prove that an identical language prevailed on both the Gulfs of Tonkin and Siām, a fact which does not come as a surprise to us, since we have over and again insisted

*Sri Banōs* by the Cham. This term may well be a mere travesty of *Sri Mani*, unless it can be proved to be connected, as I have already pointed out, with the indigenous term *Bā-lōi*.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Harth, in the paper referred to above, in which he endeavours to trace the origin of Ptolemy's term *Kattigara* to the name borne by the ancient district of *Chiu-té* or *Kiu-tet*, makes a quotation from a Chinese work which requires rectification. "The Chinese geographer," he goes on to state (see *China Review*, vol xvii, p 53), "points out a city called *Huan-chou*, situated south-east of Ngé an, opposite the promontory of Hainan, as the place where the ancient *Kao-té* [i.e. *Chiu-té*, etc.] was located when it was the capital of one of the three principalities—*Sin-ch'ang*, *Hu-p'ing*, and *Kao-té* [in Annamese, *Tân-c'hiang*, *T'ô-biā*, and *K'au dūk*], which formed the three divisions of Annam which existed in the beginning of the third century." This extract does not help us one whit in establishing the exact position of *Kao té*, since *Huan-chou* was not a city, but a district established in 581-601 by the Sui in the place of the ancient *bō* of *Hou-an* (which included Ngé-ān and part of Hā tū), and since *K'au-dūk* itself did not at first make part of *Huan-chou*, but was included in it much later, viz between A.D. 627 and 650, by the T'ang (see Des Michels, op cit, pp 107 and 153).

throughout the preceding pages on the fact that the coasts of both those regions were at the early period we are concerned with inhabited by a population of the same—i.e. Mōū-Annam or, as I prefer to call it, *O'hieng*—stock, to which the Chām also undoubtedly belonged, notwithstanding what is asserted otherwise by ethnological and philological authorities. The term *Ba* passed over to the Thai, who retain it to this day in the sense of 'chief,' 'master,' 'teacher,' or '*guan*'<sup>1</sup>; and that it obtained favour with the same signification among the Chām is exemplified by the term *Bā-shēh*, still applied to the highest caste of the priesthood, descendants probably of the Brāhmans of Campā, who are to be found all over Biū-thwōn, more especially in the valley of Panrūng.<sup>2</sup>

But we have likewise observed that in some dialects of the semi-wild tribes of Kamboja, *Ba* or *Bah* means also the embouchure of a river as well as a confluent, and it is probably in this sense that we find it in many a name of the *Bā* or *Pā* class, such as *Ba-Sāh* or *Pa-Sāl*, *Pa-Tam*,<sup>3</sup> and Ptolemy's Pagrasa, Palanda, etc. In Annam *Ba* (妃, *Bū*) is frequently used as a prefix to the names of marts owing to the fact, it is said, that many of these were established close by the house of some influential tradeswoman, wherefore they came to be designated as the 'market of *Ba* (dame) so and so'; *Bā* literally meaning 'dame,' 'lady,' in this case.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, doubtful whether at the early period now under

<sup>1</sup> In the expression *Khu-Ba-Āchan* (*Guru-Bi-Ācharya*), used as a collective designation for teachers. In ancient works, such as the "Northern Annals," *Bā* is used as a title of respect prefixed to the name of chiefs, princes, chief artisans, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Armonier's "History of Tchampa," loc. cit., p. 26, and the same author's "Les Tchames et leurs religions," p. 43. The term *Ba-shēh* may be compared with the Siamese *Ba-c'hi* (*Ba-jī*) and the Khmer *Ba-lu*, both meaning Great or Chief Teacher, Chief Priest (as applied to Brāhmans).

<sup>3</sup> Usually explained as *Pa* (father) of *Tam*, but I am inclined to think that *Pā* has the old Mōū-Ihmēr sense here also. Locally, however, it is now pronounced with the short vowel thus *Pa-Tām*.

<sup>4</sup> See Landes, "Contes et Légendes Annamites," in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 22, p. 388, footnote, and No. 26, p. 281, index, s.v. This privilege accorded to the fair sex finds its explanation in the fact that all over Indo-China the retail trade is mostly in the hands of women, and that, as admitted in *contes* 52 (see index, p. 291) by the Annamese author himself, "in Cochinchina women are superior to men in the conduct of business, an often-remarked fact."

consideration the term *Ba* was as yet used in this sense in the district where Pagraśa stood and I should accordingly think that either of the two significations given at the outset are entitled to our preference, the second one appearing to be the most eligible

The rectified latitude,  $19^{\circ} 54' N$  obtained in the tables for Pagraśa indicates for this city or mart a location about the mouths of the Song Mī not far away from the present district city of Than hwa and from the *Kua Dai* or 'Great Mouth' forming the southernmost outlet of the *Song kai* (*Song koi*) or Red River flowing by Ha noi city In the term *Kāu Dāu* or 'Great Mouth' we may have the Sino Annamese—and consequently modern—equivalent of the ancient Mōn Annam toponymic *Ba* or *Pa gīśa* If not the location proposed at the mouths of the Song Mī would agree very well with the name of the city, given that the prefix *Pā* or *Ba* is to be taken in its second sense of embouchure of a river, and in this case the term Pagraśa would mean the *Gīśa* (or *Kīś*) mouth (city, village mart or harbour) There is a place marked *Phu khê* (*Phu khê*) in modern maps a little above Than hwa and by the bank of the Song Ma which would seem to answer all requirements its name meaning 'city of the stream' or 'city (at the mouth) of the river, and approaching very closely in sound—allowing for the modifications it must have undergone in passing through Annamese tongues unable to pronounce the *ī* s and final *ś* s—to *Ba Kīś* or *Pa gīś* But it is perhaps better to leave the final settlement of these questions to local experts

Proceeding therefore in our preliminary inquiry, the next toponymic that attracts our attention is that of *Kā eh* already noticed as applied to a part of Tonlin by the Burmese in the expression *Kīō-Kī el* meaning evidently the *Keu* or *Kiao* (people) of the *kazeh* (region or district) *Kā el* may well be intended to represent *Kīś* or *Gīśa*, and *Pa Kā eh* the mouth of the river of the *Kīś* country (*Pagraśa*) I do not insist however, on this identification which is to be regarded as merely tentative owing to the

lack of sufficient data wherewith to establish the exact location of the *Kio-Kazeh* district. The same remark applies to our suggestion as regards the possible identity of Pagrasa with the stronghold of *Khu-lôt* or *Khu lat* made in the preceding paragraph. This fortress, we have seen, was situated on the northern border of Châm territory, and by the bank of a river recorded under the now forgotten name of *Lô d-ung*, which may have been either the Song ka or the Song-Mi. The district of *Lô d-ung*, where the source of this stream is located, and from which the latter took its name, is described as part of *Jih-nan* from the time of the Han conquest (n.c. 111), and located to the north west of *Liu*:<sup>1</sup> From the fact that it is mentioned in the list of the *Jih nan* subdivisions immediately after that of *Ti-lan* (*Pi-lin*), and two places before that of *Hsiang lin* (*Liu i*), it would appear that *Lô-dzung* was lying considerably north of the last-named, being at the same time coterminous (probably on the west) with *Pi lin*.<sup>2</sup> *Khu lot* stood then, probably, on *Pi lin* territory, and may have been its chief city, corresponding at the same time to Ptolemy's Pagrasa, which it somewhat resembles in name. The term *Khu-lôt* or *Khu lat* is, in fact, possibly the Annamese corruption of the local word *Krat* or *Kras*, which, in conjunction with the prefix *Bâ* or *Pâ*, may have formed the real name of the city. Not being supplied with the native characters used in spelling the Annamese name of the

<sup>1</sup> See Des Michels op. cit. pp. 122 text and 187 notes

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. i. 50. The names of the five districts into which *Jih nan* is alleged to have been subdivided by the Han in n.c. 111 are given in the following order proceeding from north to south:—

- (1) *Chou ngo* (*Chou-ou*)—location described as being north of *Chau ch'ing* (Campâ or *Liu i*)
- (2) *Ti liu* (*Pi lin*)—location described as being north of *Chau ch'ing* (Campâ or *Liu i*)
- (3) *Lo-dzung* (*Lou vung*)—location described as being north west of *Chau ch'ing* (Campâ, or *Liu i*)
- (4) *Tai kwien* (*Hai chuan*)—no location given
- (5) *Tsang lou* (*Hsiang lou*)—located to north west of modern *Chau-ch'ing* (Southern Campâ)

city, we cannot judge how far the etymological connection we have suggested can be maintained. But it seems quite certain, from the arguments we have adduced in the preceding pages, that Pāgrasa must have been somehow connected with the ancient district of *Ti-lān* and its well-known port, whether *Khū-lōt* was its chief city or not. The correct name of this district, we have shown, must have been *Pakan*, *Prakan*, or *Prakung*, since it is up to this day so pronounced by the Lāu, and very slightly differently by the Burmese (*Pagan*) and Southern Chinese (*Pi-kin*, *Pei-king*); *Ti-lān* being merely the modern Annamese way of reading the characters by which its name has been recorded in Chinese historical works. We have likewise pointed out that it was most probably a Lāu foundation, forming part of the Indū-Lāusin kingdom of *Cālāni*, and have located it to the east of the *Phten* State in the present Thū-hwā district in accordance with the evidence elicited from Lāu as well as Chinese records, which latter describe it as lying to the north of *Lin-i*. That Pāgrasa stood in the territory of *Prakan* seems, therefore, an undeniable fact. And the very close resemblance in names noticeable between the two places suggests also an etymological connection. Truly, the finals in both differ considerably, but it must be borne in mind that well-nigh two thousand years have elapsed since Ptolemy noted down as Pāgrasa what he heard pronounced *Pā-lrās* or *Ba-grās*, and that during that interval there has been ample opportunity for these terms to become modified into *Pa-lrān* or *Bā-grān*, and thence, by metathesis, into *Prālān*, *Prakan*, *Pagan*, etc. The modern Annamese form *Ti-lān* is a good instance in point as to the evolution that the pronunciation of those terms must have undergone. In any case, I shall leave it to future research to establish whether the name of Pāgrasa is to be connected with that of the *Ti-lān* or *Prakan* district or of its chief city, be it *Prakan* or *Khū-lōt* that the latter was called, or something to that effect. Suffice it for the present to have fixed the position of Pāgrasa within the territory of *Prakan* and at the mouth

of the Song Mū, not far from the present Than hwi district city, which is the place obtained by calculation in our tables on the basis of Ptolemy's data. It will be seen then, that Pagrasa was very likely the famous port on that sea-coast called *Pi lin* in Chinese records, after either the name of the district, *Pi lin*, i.e. *Pi lan*, or its chief city. Which was the case we are unable to decide but it seems very probable that the expression 'port of *Pi lin* merely meant the 'shipping port for the *Pi lin* [i.e. *Pi lan*] district,' and had no specific reference to the name borne by the port itself or the town or mart rising on its border. At any rate we presume that this may have been the place at which the *Ta tsin* embassy of A.D. 166 landed, since this mission is said, it will be remembered, to have proceeded to China from the northern frontier of *Jih nan*, and it must accordingly have disembarked about here in territory which was then considered *de jure* as part of the Chinese *chun* of *Jih nan*, though perhaps not as yet belonging to it *de facto*. Should the latter have been the case *Pi lin* or *Pi lan* must have passed under Chinese domination in A.D. 43 as a result of Ma yuan's expedition which reached, as we have seen, the borders of Than hwa. On the other hand should Pagrasa turn out to be identical with *Khu lot* its territory must have remained part of the Culani or Upper Campa kingdom down to A.D. 446 the date at which *Klu lot* fell at last into the power of the Chinese.

#### Dôrias River (Nos 116 and 181)

This is the river of Ha noi usually referred to under the vague designation of Song koi (more correctly *Song lu*) which merely means Chief river in Annamese. It is formed by the junction of three respectable streams all rising in Southern Yunnan to wit —



(1) The 'Black River' or *Song-Bô*, termed *Nam-Thê* by the Lāu, *Thê* being, no doubt, its correct and time-honoured name.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The 'Red River,' known to the Lāu as the *Nam-Tdu*, i.e. the *Tdu* River, which, we shall demonstrate directly, is its old and real appellation.

(3) The 'Clear River' or *Song-Lu*, designated by the Chinese *Lu Kiang* (淪江, *Lu Chiang*) and *Ch'ing-Ho* (清河) or *Ch'ing Kiang* (淸江).<sup>2</sup>

Of the three branches just named, the Red River or *Nam-Tdu* has, from the greatest antiquity, been regarded as the principal one; hence its name was also applied to their

<sup>1</sup> In fact it is known under a similar designation, *Tô-chiang* (沱江, *To Chiang*), to the Annamese.

The Chinese names *Lo-pien Kiang* (把邊江, 'boundary encompassing river') and *Lo-hsien Kiang* (洛仙江, 'illum-fury River'), applied to it within Yunnanese territory, do not deserve being retained in our maps, since they evidently are comparatively modern. It is to be noticed that the Chinese consider the *Lo-pien* a mere tributary, and the *Sa-pu Ho* (薩普河), one of its upper affluents, the principal branch, and give the name *Lo-hsien* to the watercourse resulting from their junction. Somehow the term *Sa-pu* appears to be of Buddhist origin, and connected with the term *Pu-sa* (菩薩), the Chinese contracted form of *Bodhisattva*. The term *Hôk Hô* (黑河, *He Ho*), i.e. 'Black River,' applied to the *Lo-pien* in the lower part of its course, before it joins the Red River, is also, no doubt, of very modern (Chinese) growth, while the native denomination *Song-Bô* which the river bears here is very probably derived from *Chô-bô* (砵坡, 'Market-limits')—the *Chô-bô* of our incorrigible geographers and cartographers, a flourishing village situated at the point where the stream, after precipitating itself down a barrier of limestone boulders, enters a very picturesque defile and turns towards the north to meet the Red River. The term *Song P'nam* marked on the Black River above An-Châu in Devéria's map (op cit., p. 84) is, if correct, another possible designation for this stream.

<sup>2</sup> To the Annamese it appears to be known also as *Song Bô dô* (澗菩提, *Song P'u t'i*), meaning the 'River of *Bodhi*,' presumably of the *Bo-* or *Bodhi*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), from some such tree having formerly stood on its banks or else from the town named *Bô dô* (*Bodhi*), which Taberd in his "Tabula Geographica Imperii Anamitici," 1838, marks on the right side of this stream.

combined waters from Son-toi (Son-tây) down to the sea. The terms *Song-koi* or *Song-khâi* (紅 馬) and *Song-ká* (紅 牙) —both equally meaning 'Principal,' or 'Chief,' 'River'— by which their common channel is now usually designated, are, it goes without saying, of too recent introduction and too vague withal to deserve of being paraded in our maps and geographical treatises as is so often done. If time-honoured tradition counts for anything and is to be at all followed, the name Red River, *Nam-Táu*, or its Sino-Annamese form *Dàu-jâng*, should be preserved and applied to the main river throughout its whole length, from its sources in Yunnan to its principal outlet in the Tonkin Gulf, discarding altogether the multiform designations that both Chinese and Annamese have devised for the various portions of its course.<sup>1</sup> The term *Dàu-jang* occurs in the Annamese Annals

<sup>1</sup> The designations here referred to are —

(1) *Ch'ih-shuei Ho* (Red water River) for its headwaters in the neighbourhood of Mêng-Hwa

(2) *Yuan Chiang* for the portion of its course lying within the Yuan-chiang (元江) district lower down. It must be noted that this district only dates from Mongol times being formerly in the hands of the Lau, who call it *Uianj Chang*. Hence the name Yuan-chiang for this portion of the river's course is indisputably modern and of Chinese origin.

(3) *Ho ti Chiang*, 河底江 (Lower River?), for the next tract down to Man-hao

(4) *Li-hua Chiang*, 梨花江 (Pear-blossom River), or *Li-shê Chiang*, 禮社江 (River of the sacrificial offerings), below Man-hao, the point where it begins to become navigable by boat

(5) *Fu-liang Chiang*, 富良江 (Very rich or very wealthy River), in Annamese *P'ku liang Jang*, for the portion of its course within Annamese territory

(6) *Êrh Ho*, 耳河 (Earring River), in Annamese *N' / a*, a poetical name for the portion of its course that lies within the Hà nôi district

(7) *Hung Chiang*, 紅江 (Red River), for the portion of its course nearest to the sea, on account, it is said, of the colour of its water, especially during the high tide

Besides these designations it may possess several others which did not come

since as early a date as *ca* 550,<sup>1</sup> and I have already

within our notice \*. All those just now referred to are, with one exception, of very modern introduction. The exception is to be made in favour of the fifth term *Fu-liang Chiang*, which I find mentioned by Ma Tuan lin (once under the date 1076 A D (op cit, p 335), and the next time in a passage he quotes from Ian Shih-hu (better known as Fan Ch'ing-ta, last quarter of twelfth century), reading as follows (ibid, p 349). "Starting from I'ui p'ing [South Kwan-tsi] and proceeding straight southwards, one passes *Kwang-lang* and *Hua ju*, next he crosses the rivers *Iu liang* and *Pi-t'ing* [White-creeper river], and reaches the capital of Annam [then called *Thang-long* = the ancient *Dh'ula* and the modern Hà-nói] in four days." I shall not concern myself with the 'White-creeper River,' which is presumably the *Su-kao*, Song Hà-lo, or Thu biu, and should have accordingly been enumerated first, but shall confine my remarks to the *Iu-liang* or *I'ui liang*. That this is the Red River most Sino-Annamese scholars seem to be agreed (see, e.g., Decria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," p 55 where only the Annamese name is given and no native characters, which I had, as usual, to hunt up for myself and found as above stated, in Ma Tuan-lin, and his "Histoire des relations de la Chine avec l'Annam," passage quoted by the Abbé Launay in "Histoire de l'Annam," p 25 n 1). It is mentioned under this name in connection with the ill fated end of the patriotic *Fung* (馮, *Chéng*) sisters, vanquished by Ma-yuan in A D 43, whose bodies, drowned in a tributary of the *Iu-liang Chiang*, floated down until they reached the main watercourse (Launay, loc, quoting from Decria, op cit). From the antiquity of the native text where this narrative occurs, it will be possible to judge how far back into the past the term *Iu-liang* can be traced. If it already existed in A D 43, the date of the events referred to, it would prove a formidable rival to the designation *Tau* or *Dau*. Both terms may have, however, coexisted from an early period as alternative names for the same river. It may turn out on the other hand, that the native author of the above narrative used, when penning it the name *Fu-liang* current in his time for the river, instead of the old one *Tau* or *Dau* occurring in the ancient records he consulted. The Abbé Launay, in his "Histoire de l'Annam" p 68, between the dates 1279 and 1293 A D, speaks of a river called *I'ui-liap* in Annamese, which, he says, is the same as the Red River and the *Fu-liang Chiang*. If so, we should have still another entry to make in the list of the designations borne by the Red River. It would be well worth while to ascertain whether the character used to represent the first syllable of the term *I'ui-liap* is the same or not with 𣎵, *Han*, employed to designate the Me-Khong (v sup, p 135).

<sup>1</sup> See Des Michels op cit, p 144, where this river is described as rising in the country of the Ai Lao. This is exact as the Red River has its sources

designates no other river than the one we know from at least the sixth century and to have been called *Tau* or *Dia*, and but recently termed by Europeans the 'Red River'. The positions we have obtained in our tables for both its sources and outlet agree most remarkably with those assigned to them in modern maps. The difference is merely 10° of latitude in excess for the mouth which can be explained by variations that may have taken place in the river bed an ordinary occurrence in all deltas. The difference is greater for the sources but yet within one and a half degree of the truth in both latitude and longitude. Hence not only does the topographical identity of the *Dorias* with the Red River become incontrovertibly proved but it plainly follows that Ptolemy had a far clearer idea of this river's course than even the Jesuit Fathers who mapped it down in the early part of the eighteenth century and innocently considered it to be a branch of the *Kin sha* or Upper Yang tse<sup>1</sup>.

From a linguistical point of view, the identity of the name of the *Dorias* with those—*Tau Tau Dau*—by which the Red River has been for centuries, and is still at the present day known to the Lāu Annamese Chinese and in fact to all neighbouring nations is too evident to need demonstration. *Dau* and *Tau* are undoubtedly the apocopated forms of some ancient term not far different from *Dorias* and presumably of Indū origin. This may have been *Tui ja* *Tui ja Dimrija Dugri* or something to that effect<sup>2</sup>.

See Dev ria op cit pp 55 56 who adds that the error was reproduced by d'Anville in the maps he drew up on the pattern of those of the Jesuits.

<sup>2</sup> Compare in fact any of these with the name *Fia g* of the Red River alluded to above should it really be so ancient as it seems. But for the initial it might be taken as the equivalent of *Doria*. The characters used a spelling it sound *Ho long* or *Po long* in the Fu chou dialect *Pu yang* in Korean and *Frio* in Japanese. Substituting *T* or *D* for the initial we would have *Turyang* *Dria g* *Dre Drie*. Possibly the river was called in the old days both *Fiang* and *Taia g*. In any case there is sufficient evidence of its having borne in the sixth century the name of *Da lang* (Chinese *Ta lang*) for we have seen that the fu-tu Annamese prince who settled at its headwaters in about 500 A.D. christened his new kingdom *Dau lang* after the river. The term *D* *Ta* or *Ta* now applied to the Red River by respectively the

## Aganagara (No 114)

In the first section of this paper I have identified this city with Hā nôi (Hanoi),<sup>1</sup> the present capital of Tonkin. An examination of Annamese records shows that the seat of government of *Kiao chu* has almost invariably been either at Hā nôi or in its immediate neighbourhood. At the time of the early kingdom of Van lāng (文郎, in Chinese *Wen-lang*) the capital was established at P'hong chōu, on the site or a little to the north of the present Sōn toi (Son-tây).<sup>2</sup> Later on, namely, in 208 B.C., P'hīn (苴), king of Thūk (the feudal state of *Shu* 蜀, in Sz'ch'uan), overthrew the

monarchy of Van lāng,<sup>1</sup> changed the name of the State into

<sup>1</sup> I must call attention to the fact that the account of this expedition of the king of Thuk agrees very closely with that of the conquest of Tonkin by king Dharmakā of Ma'adhi as given in the Muang Yong chronicle referred to on pp. 29, 30 *passim*. The Annamese Annals say that the king of Thuk invaded Tonkin in order to punish the king of Van lāng for having refused to give him his daughter in marriage and that the Van lāng monarch upon learning of the advance of his enemy jumped into a well causing his own death (Des Michel, op. cit. p. 9). The Muang Yong chronicle states that Aśoka having conquered the whole of Jambudvīpa except *Tideha rattha* (Yunnan) and *Muang K'ia* (Kiao-chi) whose kings had not yet gone to pay him homage marched an army into their countries. The king of Yunnan submitted but the ruler of Tonkin in utter despair jumped into the water drowning himself as soon as he saw the enemy approaching. The meek Aśoka however had his body recovered and brought to him then by pouring over it some consecrated water of divine virtue from a goblet he recalled the deceased potentate to life. The king of Kien as soon as he recovered his senses made his obeisance to Aśoka and the latter satisfied with having obtained his submission reinstated him upon the throne and withdrew with the army in the direction of Muang Yong. It will be seen that the date given in the Annamese Annals for the invasion of the king of Thuk 208 B.C. falls about midway between those stated in Buddhist accounts and those put forward by Oriental scholars for the period of the reign of Aśoka i.e. 325-232 B.C. and 250-233 B.C. respectively. Moreover the king of Thuk is called *Pha* or

*Ou-lah* (*Âu-lah*), and established his residence at P'hōng khc (封溪, in Chinese *Feng-ch'i*) in the province of Bak-nh (Bac ninh), district of Dong-ngân, a little to the north east of the present Hà-nôi. Here, in 255 B.C., he built for himself a capital by the name of *Lưá thañ* or *Loa thanh* (in Chinese 螺城, *Lo-ch'eng* = 'conch-shell ramparts'), so

(駱越, in Chinese *Lo yueh*) or *Mah viet* (*Mah bet* etc cf with Sulauman a *Mahé* p 203 *supra* in Chinese 貉越, *Ho yue*) at the period of the Chinese Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122-255) and was called Western *O:* or *Ou* (西甌, in Chinese *Hsi Ou*) and *O:* lăk (甌貉, in Chinese *O:* ho) under the Ts in (B.C. 205-206) both these being evidently contractions of *Tō:* *Ou lăk* (*Hsi O:* lo or *Hsi O:* ho). Fields on the seaside called the 'Fields of *Lăk*' (*Lăk d'en* 駱田, in Chinese *Lo t'ien*) are also mentioned with the remark that the natives who lived by their produce were termed *L'ăk hă:* (駱侯, in Chinese *Lo ho*) and the district chiefs *Lăk th'ang*. *Ou* or *O:* (甌) is still a name for *H'en clou* (and a river in its neighbourhood) the kingdom of which it was the capital in Han times being called *T'ing O:* i.e. 'Eastern *O:*'. This State then included Southern and Western Cheh kiang. By analogy it appears Tonkin was called *Hsi O:* i.e. 'Western *Ou*'. *Hsi Ou* we are told in fact (loc cit) was lying to the west of *P'a:* *y:* (Canton). According to Kang hi it has been remarked (*Chine Review* vol xviii p 320) the inhabitants of modern Hainan are still called *O:* *jen* (甌人), being immigrants from *Ou* or *Ayeu* as Wên chou is designated to this day. From this it would appear that the early populations of Tonkin and Cheh kiang belonged to the same racial stock which ethnographically is to a certain extent probably true. I cannot help however thinking that the designation *O:* lăk or *Ou lăk* (甌貉, 甌貉, in Chinese *Ou lo Ou ho A:* *hok*, etc) formerly borne by or applied to Tonkin may be of Indo origin. Besides the derivations suggested above I would advance a possible one from *Uraga* in view of the local legends ascribing a Naga origin to the early kings of the country and the connection that is not ceable in the names of its ancient capitals with the dragon or

called because its walls turned round spirally like the whorls of a conch-shell.<sup>1</sup> It was called also *Tu-long-thân* (思龍城, in Chinese *Sz-lung-ch'êng*), *Khá-lá-thân*<sup>2</sup> or *Kó-luá* (古螺, *Ku-lo*), and *Kón-lôn-thân*, the latter name being due to the height of its walls, which towered above the ground not unlike the *K'un-lun* (崑崙) Mountains.

The kingdom of *Ou-lāk* or *Thūk* had but a short existence, for in 208 B.C. the Ts'in general *Chao-t'o* (趙陀) conquered it and made himself king with capital at P'an-yu, at that time the name for Canton. In B.C. 116 the Han overthrew this dynasty, and in B.C. 110 they sent an official to govern the *chün* or province of Kiao-chi. The seat of government was then established at Long-bien (龍編, in Chinese *Lung-pien*) or Long-wien ('the Dragon's folds'), a city so called because when its walls were built a dragon was seen coiled up in the neighbourhood.

This city is, according to one version, the same as *Hã-nỗ*, the metropolis of Tonkin,<sup>3</sup> and it appears to have held this rank, with short intervals, ever since. Another version is to the effect that the administrative residence was first established by the Western Han at *Lien-thổ* (somewhere to the north or north-east of *Hã-nỗ*), whence it was removed in B.C. 106 to *Kiang-hsin* (廣信, now Ts'ang-wu, the prefectural city of Wu-chou in Kwang-hsi), being successively shifted in A.D. 210 to P'an-yu (Canton), and back again in Tonkin to Long-bien in A.D. 264.<sup>4</sup> Finally, a third version states that the Western Han seat of



government stood at the outset at *Lucá-lou*, an ancient city the ruins of the ramparts of which are still to be seen near the actual village of *Lúng-khê*, district of *Sieu-hwãi*, province of *Bak-niũ*, at some thirty *li* (about five miles) to the north of *Hà-nôi*.<sup>1</sup> The ancient name of the district just referred to was *Dìn-lou*.<sup>2</sup> It would appear from this description that *Lucá-lou*, if not absolutely identical with the *Lucá-thần* of K'unlunic fame—I borrow this reboant, although perfectly harmless, adjectived form from Lacouperie, who so well loved to employ it,—must have stood very close to its site (which, we have seen, was also in the province of *Bak-niũ*, district of *Dông-ngân*, and a short distance north-east of *Hà-nôi*), and may perhaps have been named after it; for *Lucá-lou* and *Lucá-thần* look practically identical as toponymies. It is a pity that the native annalists do not tell us whether these terms designate one and the same city or not. Some among them give us indirectly to understand, however,—which is rather more important for our present inquiry—that the city of *Lucá-lou* rose within the territory of *Long-bien*.<sup>3</sup> Most of the evidence is thus in favour of the seat of government for *Kiao-chi* having been situated, during Western Han rule, in the *Long-bien* district, and, if not at *Hà-nôi* itself (identified with the *Long-bien* district-city of the period), at any rate within a radius of no more than five or six miles from it.

Opinions again differ not a little as to the location occupied by the administrative residence during the succeeding Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25–221). Those who incline to place it at *Long-bien* (i.e. *Hà-nôi*) in Western Han times, declare that it was removed thence to *Mê-luĩ*

(north east of *Son-toi*) in about A D 25, and there remained under the Eastern Han.<sup>1</sup> But this view is emphatically rejected by the modern native historians, who hold that *Me-liŭ* never enjoyed such a privilege at the period in question. At the same time they are not at all explicit as to what they believe to have then been the seat of government for the *chun* of *Kiao-chi* proper, as distinguished from the *lō* or *chou* of *Kiao*. Since the latter included Tonkin as well as Kwangtung, its general administrative residence may well have been from B C. 106 to A D. 210 at Kwang-hsin in Kwang-hsi, and next at *P'an-yu* or Canton (A D 210-264) as stated.<sup>2</sup> But with regard to the former, the district governor must have resided either at *Lac-tou* or *Long-bien*. The greater share of probability rests with the latter-named city, for we are told that its ramparts were built since A D 208, or fully

fifty-two years before it became the capital of the re-organized *chou* of *Kiao-chi*, now reduced by the Wu to practically the same limits occupied by the Tonkin of the present day. There would be no reason for such defensive works, had not *Long-bien* been at that period the seat of government for the *Kiao-chi* district. I am not prepared to assert that the jurisdiction of the official residing at that city extended to the adjoining Tonkinese *chuns* as well, for these appear to have had separate governors, subordinate, equally with that of the *Kiao-chi chun*, to the governor-general at Kwang-hsin or P'an-yü. But in view of the long connection that the *Long-bien* district had had with the ancient capitals of the region, and that the *chun* of *Kiao-chi* of which it formed part and parcel now had with the name borne by the whole territorial division of *Kiao-chou*, I should imagine that the *Long-bien* district-city must have enjoyed a certain prestige, if not actual ascendancy over the sister-towns, and must somehow have been regarded nominally as the chief city, and its district as the principal district not only of the *Kiao-chi chun* but of the whole Tonkinese territory. Its strategical position at the head of the delta of the Red River, which made of it, down to recent years, the key of Tonkin, and to about four centuries ago its principal commercial port,<sup>1</sup> has no doubt, and in a great measure, contributed to heighten that prestige and give point to that ascendancy, granted that the latter already made itself manifest at the period in question. At any rate, it is undoubtedly due to the peculiar advantages enumerated above that *Long-bien* was singled out among all the sister district-cities for protection with defensive works; and it is difficult to perceive the full necessity of such a step being taken without admitting that *Long-bien* was, at the same time, the seat of government for, at least, the *chun* of *Kiao-chi*.

It was in connection with the building of its bulwarks that a coiled dragon is fabled to have been discovered in

<sup>1</sup> "Il n'y a guère plus de quatre cents ans que Hanoi a cessé d'être port de mer" (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, Cochinchine Française, No. 30, p. 166)

its neighbourhood as already stated. From this incident, we are told, the city had its name changed into *Long uien* (龍 涎, in Chinese *Lung yuan*), the 'Dragon's stealthy approach'. But its former designation, *Long bien* (龍 編, in Chinese *Lung pien*), must have been also connected with some dragon story, for it means, as we have seen 'Dragon's folds,' or 'Dragon's coils'. Under this name the district had been known since the time of the Han conquest (n.c. 111), when, according to one of the versions given above, it became the seat of government for the whole region of Kiao chi. Since A.D. 208, the date at which its *chef lieu* was girt with protective ramparts, it is mentioned in native records both as *Long bien* and *Long uien*. From A.D. 264 to A.D. 533 the administrative residence for the whole *chou* of Kiao-chi stood at *Long bien* district city.<sup>1</sup> At the latter date a revolt broke out headed by the patriotic *Li bôn*. This personage took possession of *Long bien*, drove out the Chinese governor maintained there by the Liang dynasty and having readily become the master of the adjoining districts, he set up as king of the country (A.D. 538) which he called *Nâm riet* (南 越, in Chinese *Nan yueh*).<sup>2</sup> His reign, however, was but of brief duration, and in consequence of reverses he met with at the hands of the imperial troops he had to withdraw westwards into the hill tracts of the Black River where he was carried off by jungle fever in A.D. 548. Thereupon one of his valiant generals proclaimed himself king with the title of *Trieu Viet-vuang*, and having defeated the imperialists made *Long bien* his residence (A.D. 550).<sup>3</sup> Thus, after an interval of seven and a half centuries, Tonkin recovered its independence from foreign rule, with *Long bien* as capital.

A few years later a formidable competitor arose against *Trieu Viet-vuang* in the person of *La phot tá* a relative of the former king *Li bôn*. Civil war broke out, and fortune favouring *La phot tá*, he suppressed *Trieu Viet-vuang*.

<sup>1</sup> Des Michels op cit. p. 101

<sup>2</sup> *Ib id.* pp. 32 and 133

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 143-144

and set himself up as king (A.D. 569).<sup>1</sup> From that date *Long-bien* ceased to be the capital, for the new ruler established his residence at P'hong-chôu (north-east of Son-toi), the ancient metropolis of *Van-lâng*. The *Viêt-nâm* kingdom was destined, however, to be short-lived. In A.D. 602 the Sui despatched against it an expedition which was successful, and Lî-p'hot-tú made his submission.<sup>2</sup> Tonkin thus became once more a Chinese possession, being known under the old name of *Kiao-chou* at first, and *Kiao-chi* shortly afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

The T'ang re-established the designation *Kiao-chou* in A.D. 619; but having reorganized the country in A.D. 679, they called it 'Protectorate general of *An-nan*' (安南), i.e. the protectorate general that was to 'pacify the south.' Thence originated that vague term *Annam* (this being the local pronunciation of the above two characters), which, in the course of time, with the extension of Sino-Annamese dominions southwards at the expense of *Campā*, came to be applied to what was formerly *Chām* territory, while being superseded (in 1428) by the term *Tonkin* (東京, *Dōng-kiū*, *Tung-chung*, *Tung-ling*, etc.) in the region it used to designate at first. The seat of government for the protectorate was established at *Kiao-chou*, i.e. the *chef-lieu* of the *Kiao* district.<sup>4</sup> Whether this was the old *Long-bien* city or not we are not told, but we may well declare ourselves for the affirmative. In A.D. 757 the designation *An-nan* for the protectorate was changed to *Chên-nan* (in Annamese *Tron-nam*), only to be re-established, however, in 768.<sup>5</sup>

In the interval we hear of a new city being founded, which is termed *La-thân* (羅城, in Chinese *Lo-ch'êng*). Its construction, the native historians tell us, was started in A.D. 767, continued in A.D. 791, and completed and improved upon in A.D. 808,<sup>6</sup> from which date the town

<sup>1</sup> Des Michels, op cit., pp. 149, 150

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 151

<sup>3</sup> Under Yang-T's reign (A.D. 605-617) See Ma Tuan-lin, op cit., p. 308

<sup>4</sup> Des Michels, op cit., p. 153

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 168 and 171

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 169, 173, 176

*Dăi-lă* must have arisen close to the site of the ancient *Long-bien* or *Long-wien*; perhaps on its ruins, as it is possible that *Long-bien* may have been dismantled and partially destroyed during the Chinese invasion of A.D. 602, which is the last time we hear of its existence.<sup>1</sup> We thus obtain the equation: *Long-bien* or *Long-wien* (A.D. 208-602) = *Lă-thăn* (A.D. 767-808) = *Dăi-lă* (A.D. 808-866 et seq.). Let us see what further proofs can be adduced in support of its correctness.

The native commentators tell us that the *Lă* made *Long-wien* their capital, changing its name to *Thang-long* ('Dragon at rest'), a designation which it preserved under the *Trần* and the *Le*.<sup>2</sup> Now, according to the Abbé Launay,<sup>3</sup> *Lị-thāi-tố*, the founder of the local *Lă* dynasty, who reigned between A.D. 1010 and 1028, had established his capital at *Dăi-lă*, and, after having embellished it considerably, he changed, in consequence of a dream, its name into *Thang-long*. This capital, that author tells us in a note, is the present-day *Hà-nôi*. We learn furthermore that towards 1399 A.D. a new capital having been built further to the west with the name of *Tôi-dô* (西都 in Chinese *Hsi-tu* = 'Western Capital'), *Thang-long*, i.e. *Hà-nôi*, became known, by contrast, as *Đông-dô* (東都 in Chinese *Tung-tu* = 'Eastern Capital').<sup>4</sup> On or shortly after A.D. 1428, the date of the *Lê*'s advent to power, its name was once more changed into *Đông-khê*<sup>5</sup> with exactly the same signification (東京, in

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 150, where it is said that the indigenous king *Lị-p'hôt-tô*, whose capital was then at P'hong-chôu, had just appointed a governor over *Long-bien*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> "Histoire de l'Annam," p. 48. I have to avail myself of this work for this later period, although I am aware that it is by no means a standard one, for want of a better authority. Des Michels' valuable translation of the Annamese Annals unfortunately stops at A.D. 967, and it is a pity that it was not brought down to completion, especially as he would then have given us an index of all proper names with their transcription in native characters, as he promised to do at the outset. In inquiries like our present one the toiling investigator is always handicapped in his identification of toponymies by the difficulty of getting at the native characters by which they are represented in the countries where they occur.

<sup>4</sup> Launay, *op. cit.*, p. 89. He seems to ignore, however, the designation *Thang-long* which the city had borne up to that date.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Summarizing now the results of the above discussion, we find that, according to the most accredited views and the evidence to hand, the capital of the *chun* (province) of *Kiao-chi*—if not, indeed, for the whole region of Tonkin as understood in our days—stood, during the two and a half centuries or so immediately preceding the publication of Ptolemy's work, on territory forming part of the *Long-bien* district; and, more precisely, at either—

(1) *Lac-lou*, a city about five miles to the north or north-east of the present *Hà-nôi*, which is seemingly identical with *Lac-thân* or *Kò-lac*, the capital of the ancient *Ou-lăk* or *Ôu-lăk* (*Ou-lo*) kingdom (B.C. 258–208); or,

(2) *Long-bien* district-city—after A.D. 208 called *Long-ien*, and later on *Lă-thân* (A.D. 767) and *Dư-lư* (A.D. 808)—rising practically on the site of the present *Hà-nôi*.

There is, therefore, no possible doubt that either of the two ancient cities just named corresponds to Ptolemy's *Aganagara*, and that the location we have assigned to the latter in our tables on the site of *Hà-nôi* has every chance of proving absolutely correct, and in the worst instance cannot be out more than some five miles from the position indicated. We must remain content with this result, so eminently satisfactory, it being impossible at the present stage of our knowledge to push the topographical inquiry any further. Investigations conducted locally should very soon settle the question as to which of the two neighbouring cities pointed out must be finally identified with Ptolemy's *Aganagara*. Provisionally we hold for *Long-bien*, i.e. *Hà-nôi*, which appears to be the most eligible of the two.

Passing now from topographical to linguistic considerations, we find that the chances are almost equally divided between *Lac-lou* and *Long-bien*. *Lac-lou*, we have seen, is, to all appearance, the same as the erstwhile *Lac-thân* or

recognize their ancient vestiges." It is to be hoped that Mr. Dumoutier's investigations, the results of which are so far unknown to me beyond what is set forth in the above extract, and the researches of other European scholars, will finally settle the points of detail that still remain doubtful or obscure in this topographical question.

*K'ô-luâ*, the ancient conch-shell-shaped city whose high towering walls were compared in majesty with the *K'un-lun* mountain, the Olympus of Chinese fiction. This particular as to the loftiness of the city walls may have suggested to the Indû settlers in the country the designation *Aganagara* (in Pāli *Agganagara*), meaning 'High City' or 'High Citadel,' which would naturally be adopted by the ruling class (of Indû descent, as we have shown), as well as by the people, at a period when Indûism was in the ascendant and Chinese influence was as yet probably nil.

On the other hand, as regards *Long-bien*, it is quite possible that its name, absolutely Chinese in character, is but the translation of some older designation of Indû origin borne by the city, and likewise connected with the dragon, the Sanskrit *Nāga* or *Uraḡa*, such as e.g. *Nāga-nagara*, *Uraḡa-nagara*, which may have become in the course of time contracted by the vulgar or by foreigners into *Aganagara*, whence Ptolemy's *Aganagara*. The term *Uraḡa*, we have seen, is probably embodied in the toponymic *Ôu-lâk* applied to the maritime region about *Hâ-nôi* in general, and, specifically, to the kingdom founded there by the *Thûk* (*Asôka*?) dynasty in B.C. 238. Subsequently to the fall of the latter the term *Uraḡa* or *Ôu-lâk* may have survived in connection with *Lwâ-thân*, the *Thûk* capital, and its later namesake *Lwâ-lou*; or else with *Long-bien*, the name of the particular district where that capital stood, passing thence to the *Long-bien* district-city, in the event of this having been made the seat of government by the Han, instead of *Lwâ-lou*.

Yet another interpretation may be put upon the term *Aganagara* should we feel inclined to derive it from the Sanskrit *Aganagara* or the Pāli *Agganagara*. Both these words may be taken to mean also 'Chief City.' In this sense *Aganagara* would imply the *chef-lieu*, the administrative residence for the *chün* of Kiao-chi, and perhaps for the whole Tonkinese region, in Ptolemy's time. This, again, leads us to either. (1) *Lwâ-lou*, the erstwhile *Lwâ-thân*; or (2) *Long-bien*, the present *Hâ-nôi*.



Thus, unless we ascribe to the term *Aganagara* the meaning of 'High or Lofty City,' we find ourselves brought face to face, in the arena of philological debate, with the same alternatives that confronted us on the field of historical controversy. Surely, it is only from a thorough archæological survey of the sites of the two cities in dispute that the definite solution of this intricate problem can be expected, it being unlikely that the vague and often contradictory information contained in the extant records can throw any decisive light on the question.

In so far as the ancient and somewhat mythical *Lưã-thần* is concerned, it should be remarked that, although it may have been destroyed in consequence of the fall of the *Thúk* kingdom in B.C. 208, its site was not forgotten, nor perhaps entirely abandoned. We have seen, in fact, that according to one version the Han seat of government was established there in B.C. 111, when the old *Thúk* capital was perhaps rebuilt in the form of a provincial chief-city bearing the slightly modified name of *Lưã-lou*. As time rolled on and the memory of its ancient glory dimmed in the mist of centuries, a halo of myth and fable began to grow around the historical traditions connected with the ancient city, to which each successive generation considerably added. The designation of *K'un-lun* or Olympus-like city was applied to it, we are told, by the Chinese of the T'ang period (A.D. 618-907).<sup>1</sup> The story as to the loftiness and spiral arrangement of its walls has, no doubt, been sensibly magnified and partly invented in after ages.

In 939 A.D. a pleasant surprise awaited the legendary city. *Ngô-kwân*, governor of the *chou* or province of *Ái* (established in A.D. 523 on the territory of the ancient *Káu-chôn*, now *Thañ-hwã*<sup>2</sup>), having rebelled against Chinese rule and set up as king of the whole Tonkinese region, established his capital at the ancient *Lưã-thần*, which became henceforth known by the name of *Kố-lưã* (古螺).

<sup>1</sup> Dea Michels, *op cit.* p. 12

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 131.

in Chinese *Ku-lo*).<sup>1</sup> The Ngô dynasty founded by him had, however, but an ephemeral existence, and came to an end in A.D. 965, although the country managed, in spite of internal dissensions, to maintain its independence from Chinese domination for another four and a half centuries. The capital was then removed to *Huà-lū* in *Ngê-ân*, and next to *Dài-lô* or *Hà-nôi*, now called *Thang-long*, in the first quarter of the eleventh century; and never again do we hear of the ancient *Luá-thaï* or *Kô-luá* coming to the front in Tonkinese history. Future investigations will tell whether, in its earlier days, it did so under Han rule, thereby winning a permanent place in Ptolemaic geography.<sup>2</sup> Until its claim to such a position is established, however, I prefer, as I said, to consider its competitor *Long-bien*, the present-day *Hà-nôi*, as the real Aganagara.

*Sinda*, a town (No. 115).

This name evidently represents the Sanskrit *Sindhu* or *Sindh*, which in Chinese takes the forms *Shên tu* (身毒) and *Hsin-tu* (信度). The Annamese *Son-toi* (Son-tây), although spelled with quite different characters and looking in more than one respect what it is represented to be—namely, a modern designation applied collectively to the territories of several ancient districts known of yore under absolutely dissimilar names,<sup>3</sup>—is likely to have, as we shall

<sup>1</sup> Des Michels, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> I have just learned, although too late in time to make use of it in these pages, that Mr G. Dumoutier, several years ago, published a monograph on the ancient *Luá-thaï* or *Kô-luá*, under the title “*Étude historique et archéologique sur Cù-Lou, capitale de l’ancien royaume de Au Lao (reunion de Thue et de Fan-lang)*,” in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* t. III, 1892. I draw attention to this work here, as perhaps in it the reader may find the elements for the solution of the question set forth above.

<sup>3</sup> *Sôn-toi* (山西, in Chinese *Shan-hsi*) has, in Annamese the meaning of ‘Western Hills’ or ‘Western Hill tracts’, this designation being apparently applied to the province it now denotes on account of this being situated at the foot of the hills bounding Tonkin on the west. But probably it is, as surmised

see, some etymological connection, whether direct or indirect, with the term *Sindhu* and its derivatives, which it strikingly resembles in sound. Quite independently, however, of the still problematic circumstance as to the name *Son-tōi* being the modern Sino-Annamese travesty of an ancient local term *Sindhu*, or something to that effect, handed down in a more or less corrupted form through many successive generations, topographical reasons concur in pointing to *Son-tōi* or its immediate neighbourhood as the most probable site where Ptolemy's *Sinda* must have stood. Hence, although my identification of *Sinda* with *Son-toi* may still be open to criticism from a linguistical point of view—at any rate, in so far as the alleged modern term *Son-toi* is concerned—it is almost beyond doubt geographically correct, especially if, as I think, *Sinda* in Ptolemy's time—like *Son-toi* in our own day—designated not only a town, but also the district of which it formed the *chef-lieu*. However it be, these topographical indications, coupled with the fact of the close similarity in names between the two places, entitle *Son-toi* to be regarded, for practical purposes, as the present representative of the ancient *Sinda*.

Truly, it may be objected that the rectified position we have obtained for *Sinda* in the tables, while almost coincident in latitude with that of *Son-toi*, which it exceeds by a mere 3', is as much as 57' less than the latter in longitude, thus falling far away into the valley of the Black River, somewhere to the west of P'hū-yen Chōu (富安州). This being, however, a rather peculiar location for a thriving commercial centre, such as we may well suppose *Sinda* must have been,

above, merely a modern travesty of the early name borne by the district. In Chinese *Sōn-tōi* or *Shan-hsi* would mean instead 'West of the Hills,' which is topographically untrue. The *chef-lieu* is likewise called *Son-tōi*. The present province embraces the territories once belonging to the ancient districts of *Chōu-t'ien*, *P'ān-lōk* (潘洛, *Fu-lō*), and *Fan-lang* of the primordial *Fan-lang* kingdom, to the districts of *Chōu-t'ien* and *Mā-lā* of the Han period; to the *chūn* or province of *Tōn-ch'uang* (Hsin-ch'ang) of the T'ang (constituted A.D. 271), and to the *chou* of *P'āng*, or *P'āng-chou* of the T'ang, formed A.D. 679. (See Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 2, 8, 49, 57, 103, 106, 160, and 232.)

it will be far more expedient not to lay too much stress on the result obtained in longitude, and to assume for that town a position somewhat more to the east and out of the wilds than that. By a glance at a modern map it will be noticed that at a short distance to the north-west of Son-tôi a most interesting geographical phenomenon occurs, for here both the Black and the Clear Rivers join the Red River within almost a stone's throw of each other, forming, as it were, a common confluence, which has, indeed, ever been considered as such by the natives, it being usually referred to in the Chinese records of this region as the *San-ch'ü-chuang* (三岐江) or 'confluent of the three rivers,' and employed as an alternative term for Son-toi.<sup>1</sup> The strategical as well as commercial importance of this multiple junction of waterways, tapping the valleys of three conspicuous streams, is too evident to need demonstration, and must have attracted attention since the earliest days. That such was the case is proved by the fact of the ancient kingdom of *Van-lang* having been established just about this spot. It was on the northern bank of the main river that its capital *P'hong-chôn* stood, and precisely on the territories of the present *Lom-dân* (臨機, in Chinese *Lin-t'au*)<sup>2</sup> and *Piñ-thang* districts, whose *chef-lieux* lie within short distances respectively, to the north-west and the north of Son-toi city. The circuits of *Băkh-hũh* (白鶴, in Chinese *Pai-hau* or *Pê-ho*), at the confluent of the Clear River with the main stream, and *Son-rì* (山圍, in Chinese *Shan-wei*), near the junction of the Black River with the latter, are pointed out as the most probable sites,<sup>3</sup> hence we may limit the position of the ancient *P'hong-chôn* between the two confluent

Thus the territory in question became the scene of the

<sup>1</sup> See Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," pp. 53-54.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently named, as we have already observed, from the *Nam-Tân* or *Dân* (Red) River, whose name is sometimes written with the character 機 instead of 機. *Lom-dân*, I notice, is now usually spelled 臨丹, *Lou ch'ân*, but for the old form 臨機 see Devéria (op. cit., p. 54), who is, I believe, correct.

<sup>3</sup> Des Michels, op. cit., p. 2.

earliest events mentioned in Annamese history, and seems to have been also one of the first seats of Indū power and civilization in Tonkin, for the place-names *P'houg* (𡗗, in Chinese *Fèng, Tung*, etc = *Banga* or *Yanga*<sup>2</sup>) and *Van-lāng* (文郎, in Chinese *Wén-lang* = *Banrāng, Vanrang, Vanaranga*?)<sup>1</sup> look much like being of Indū origin. The Annamese annalists, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of their later masters, the Chinese, do, of course, endeavour, with a supreme pride as well as delight, to trace the ancestry of their ancient kings to the fabulous Chinese emperor *Shén-nung*, otherwise *Yen-ti*, the 'Fiery God,' said to have ruled between B.C. 2838 and 2698, but the legendary accounts they give must naturally be taken *cum grano salis*, and we are presumably within reasonable bounds of historical truth if we place the foundation of the Van lāng kingdom at a much less remote date, say in the fourth or fifth century before the Christian era, or only a couple of hundred years before the invasion of king Thūh P'hīn (*Aśoka-vardhana*?) took place. This result is to some extent borne out by the native annals themselves. According to the latter, in fact, there were eighteen kings of Van lāng, the length of whose reigns is not given. Reckoning back from the last ruler, dethroned in B.C. 258 by King Thūh, for the full number of eighteen reigns as indicated by the annals, and at the rate of twenty years a reign, a very reasonable average, we get to B.C. 618, say to the end of the seventh century B.C., which would thus prove to be the remotest date to which the foundation of the Van lāng kingdom could be ostensibly shifted back.

<sup>1</sup> This name should be compared also with that of *P'lanrang*—said to be a contraction of *Pandiranga*—in Lower Cochinchina. The Cantonese pronunciation *Men lang* of the characters with which it is spelled suggests also a probable form *Manrang* or *Men rang* but it is little likely that the *Men* or *Kei Me* are implied. Dumoutier, in the usual reckless style adopted by our Sinologists of interpreting Indo-Chinese toponyms transcribed in Chinese characters after the sense that the characters themselves have in the Chinese tongue takes *Van lang* (in Chinese *Wen lang*) to be the name of a tribe which he thus translates as the 'Saiants' (see *China Review*, vol. xix p. 150). It is indeed high time that our Sinologists should give up this absurd, useless and utterly unjustifiable system of dealing with the foreign place names occurring in Chinese records.

But as next to nothing is told us of the exploits of these eighteen rulers, history being silent even as to the individual names they bore, and simply referring to them as the *Hùng-tiêng*, i. e. kings of the *Hùng* dynasty, after the title of its founder, we may well reduce the number of them to a mere few without fear of being very far wrong, and thus we obtain the fourth or fifth century B. C. as about the extreme chronological limit to which the origin of the *Van-lăng* kingdom can be logically assigned. Such being the case, this primordial Tonkinese kingdom would prove approximately coeval in its rise to other realms founded elsewhere in Indo-China by adventurers from Northern India, and there seems thus to be nothing extraordinary in our assumption, which we trust will one day find confirmation in fact, of its having had a similar origin.

Meanwhile it will be admitted, I hope, that the connection I have pointed out between the toponymic *Sinda* recorded by Ptolemy, and a *Indū* term *Sindhu* or something similar, is unmistakeable. It cannot fail to occur to one as quite possible that the district we have just described, being so rich in fluvial waterways, may have received from the early *Indū* settlers the name of *Sindhu*, which, it is well known, means generically a 'river,' and its native inhabitants the name *Sindhus* or *Saindharas*, because of their dwelling in an eminently fluvial region. Similarly, the chief city or commercial centre of the district—for something of the kind must have existed—may have become known as the town of *Sindhu* or *Sindh*, either from the district itself or from its being situated, as very probably was the case, on the banks of the main river and close by the *Sindhu-saṅgama*, as the *San-ch'i-chiang* of Chinese writers of a later period would then be called.

Against the objection that would naturally be raised as to no mention occurring in the native annals concerning the period in question of any district or settlement bearing a name similar or even slightly approaching in sound to *Sindhu* or *Sindh*, I shall oppose the demonstration that some well defined trace existed within the very territory of the

present Son-toi, of some such term, handed down to us in the form of a tribal name which, whether derived from it or not, is with it undoubtedly connected.

We are, in fact, told in the native accounts of the ancient Van-lang kingdom, that the latter was founded by a prince *Lāl-long*,<sup>1</sup> of Dragon (*Naga*, *Uraga*, or *Lāk*) descent on his mother's side, who, as the legend has it, often appeared to his courtiers in the form of a dragon coiled up on the throne. This extraordinary personage wedded a girl of celestial, or divine, lineage (from Sun or Fire, identified here with the Chinese Fire-god and Emperor Yen-ti) bearing the name of *Ôu lî* (= *Aggi*, the Pāli word for 'fire'?), and had a hundred children by her, of whom fifty were boys and the other half girls. When these had sufficiently grown up in age, the prince said to his bride "I am of Dragon (*Nāga*, *Uraga*) descent, and thou art offspring of the Celestials. Water and Fire, being elements antagonistic to each other, cannot long dwell together," and forthwith he intimated that they should part, after having divided the children of either sex equally amongst them, each of the parents taking one half. This was agreed to by the mother, but before the separation took place their eldest male child was appointed to rule, by common consent, over the country that was the scene of these events, with the title of *Hung-ruang* (雄王), i.e. King Hùng. It was this potentate who founded, according to the legends, the *Van-lang* kingdom with capital at P'hong chou, on the bank of the Red River opposite to that of Son toi. Princess

<sup>1</sup> *Lac long quai* of Des Michels (op cit, p. 1) and others. But here *qi da* (*kou*) is merely the Chinese 君, *chun* - 'prince', hence *Lāl long kion* means Prince *Lāl long*. In this name *long* is the Sino-Annamese term for 'dragon' while *Lāl* (龍, Chinese, *lo*), although having a different meaning, is very likely a corrupt rendering of its Indian synonym *Nāga* or *Uraga*. The above name means, therefore, Naga Prince, or Prince Dragon. Des Michels informs us (ibid, p. 6 notes) that according to the legend this prince being of dragon race on his mother's side took pleasure dwelling in the bosom of the waters. This is, of course, a fiction allusive to the amphibious character of the people of the delta inhabiting a country still subject to tidal influence and having no doubt acquired proficiency in boatmanship whereby they were likened unto serpents and called *Nagas* or *Uragas* (*Lāl* or *Ôu lî*) their country being termed the country of *Lāk* and their fields the fields of *Lāk* (*vide supra*, p. 321).

Ôu-kí, his mother, returned with one half of her offspring to the region of Mount *Ba-vi*—situated to the south-west of Son-toi close by the Black River, and not far from its junction with the main stream—apparently her original home; while Prince Lāk-long with the other half of the children, minus the newly crowned king Hùng, proceeded to the alluvial plains of the delta, the region of waters or Nāga country, as the legend says, where he settled.<sup>1</sup> Some accounts represent him as having taken up his abode at the bottom of the sea, the mythical sojourn of the Nāgas; but this is, of course, merely an allegorical allusion to the mode of life of the people of the delta, spent for the most part afloat and, as it were, amidst the waters, owing to the periodical inundations, tidal and otherwise, to which the country was subject

Endeavouring to read through the above legend by divesting it of all the mythical finery in which Oriental imagination has wrapped it up, we find that the sense it is intended to convey is very probably as follows—The country of Tonkin was in its earliest days inhabited by two populations distinct in habits and mode of life, at least, although probably issued from a common original Mōū-Annam stock, to wit: (1) a people of the plains, identified with the element of Water and ascribed a Nāga descent, either because of their dwelling on the border of streams and on that part of the delta subject to periodical inundations, or of their being addicted to serpent-worship, perhaps for both reasons at the same time; (2) a people of mountaineers, living in the hill-tracts on the west, about the celebrated Mount *Ba-vi*, and identified with the element of Fire (*Agni*, or *Agni*), because of their worshipping this element, especially in its celestial form of thunderbolt and genius of the mountains (volcanoes), a cult of which traces still

<sup>1</sup> It should be understood that the version I have followed here is in the main that contained in the above quoted Siamese translation of the *Pitak* 5<sup>th</sup>-21, the account given in the annals translated by Des Michels (pp. 2, 3) being too brief, and the one presented by the Abbé Launay (pp. 8, 9) too garbled to be of much use.



survive in that region,<sup>1</sup> and of their probably being metal-workers like most hill tribes of C'hieng race now in Indo-China. Each of the two peoples had their own chief, both coming in the course of time nominally under the supreme authority of a king, said to be descended from an intermixture of the two races, but being more likely the scion of some adventurer who had come from India, and had united the two heterogeneous populations of the country under the same sceptre, thus founding the first simulacrum of a kingdom among peoples who were not at all by instinct kingdom-founders, but accustomed to independent tribal organization. The fact of the district where the capital stood being, like the whole kingdom itself, called *Van-lang*, shows that the *de facto* jurisdiction of the new ruler did not probably extend much beyond the limits of that very district, while

<sup>1</sup> At Mount *Ba ri*, of which worship Dumoulier speaks in the following terms (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 105) — "Every three years, people say, in those parts the neighbours of Mount *Ba-ri* are in the habit of offering to the genius of *Tân-Viên* [another name for the mountain, see note on next page] axes of bronze and stone, the *huyen* [district] of *Bat-bat* supplies the stone axes, and the *huyen* of *Thống thiên* those of bronze. The offering is made in the forest temple: the genius comes to fetch these axes, which he uses for knocking mortals on the head during storms. From the cloudy peaks of *Tân-Viên* say the natives, amid flashes of lightning, he hurls shafts of bronze and stone indiscriminately: these shafts bury themselves deeply in the ground, but each thunderclap makes them jump up again, and they are found soon afterwards on the surface of the ground, whence they are carefully collected for they constitute a valuable talisman against thunderbolts." From a Siamese MS in my possession I learn that a similar worship was and probably is still practised in Yunnan, as the following extract I translate will show — "The *Ho-kuang* [i.e. the Great *Hô* or Yunnanese] dwell in a city at the head of the *Nong Sê* Lake [the Great *Nông-Sê*, i.e. lake of Yunnan Fu], near which there is a high mountain. They practise the worship of genu. This they perform by placing a copper axe with offerings of food high up on the mountain slope, then they withdraw to wait at a *sala* [resting shed] below. Soon the genius displays a flash of light like a rainbow descending upon the offerings. An interval of obscurity follows during which the spirit devours the eatables. When his repast is over the luminous streak reappears, and then the oblations go up for the tray left empty of its contents, which they take back with them. It is said that the *Muang Tum-wang fā huen*, in the *Hô* country, was at an early period the *Muang Sūen-Thên* [tributary to the *Thên* or celestial spirits] where the copper axes were made which are offered [literally, brought as tribute] to *Balarama*." We see from this extract that the early Indo immigrants identified the Indo-Chinese genius of the mountains and thunder with *Balarama* or *Rama* with the axe, the axe meaning the thunderbolt. Since that period he has ever been looked upon in this character by Indo-Chinese populations. The Siamese call him more often *Rājasura*.

the people of the delta and those of the mountains each continued, as will be seen directly, under their own particular chiefs. It is, in short, the same state of affairs that we meet with in ancient Kamboja: the lords, there styled kings, of Fire and Water<sup>1</sup> of the early populations, now

<sup>1</sup> *Sdach-P'along* or 'Fire-King,' and *Sdach-T'ūh* (from Skt *udaka* = 'water') or 'Water-King,' said to be still found among the Jara and Tampūan tribes on the eastern frontier of Kamboja. For a brief account of them and their mode of life see *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No 16, pp. 172, 173. According to the Annamese, there would seem to have existed Fire and Water Kings—*Bua-līa* 布烈 and *Bua nūak* 布諾, as they style them—also in Campa. It would be well to ascertain whether those of the neighbouring Jara and other frontier tribes are meant, or local ones. Marini ("Delle Missioni," etc., Roma, 1663, p. 33) states that part of the territory of the *Rumoi* (by which he evidently means the country of the *Khā-Moi* tribes called *Mōi*, 莫, by the Annamese and sometimes *Khā-Moi* by the Lau) acknowledged the authority of Fire and Water Kings ("... certi popoli [*Rumoi*] che habitano nelle montagne più alpestre, e che vbbidiscono a due Regoli, che colà chiamano Re dell'acqua l'uno, e Rè del fuoco l'altro ..."). Toiv ("Dell'India Orientale," Roma 1669, pp. 160 and 208), a few years afterwards, repeats the same statement with further particulars and more correctly terms those tribes *Kemoi*, which spelling proves that the *Khā-Moi* are really the people implied. His description runs "... incominciamo dalla parte più lontana verso Ponente [i.e. from the westernmost part of Tonkin], cioè dalle montagne de' Kemoi ... Regnano in quei monti, che per lungo tratto stendono i loro aspri, e seluosi gioghi due Regoli, uno, che si chiama Re del fuoco, l'altro, che si noma Re dell'acqua, a' quali rendono vbbidienza trà gli altri montanari i popoli Kemoi, hnomini, che hanno più del selvatico, che dell'humano, e che resi dall'oprezza di quei luoghi inaccessibili securi, non riconoscono la sovranità del Re del Tunchino, benché sotto la sua giurisdizione compresi sieno" (p. 408). As in December, 1646, when proceeding overland from Wieng-Chan to Ngē an, the Piedmontese Padre Leria crossed according to Marini (op. cit., p. 538) the *Rumoi* (i.e. *Kemoi* or *Khā-Moi*) Mountains, it follows unmistakably that the latter were the range forming the separation between Lāu and Tonkinese (or Annamese) territories, and that the tribes settled on its slopes had probably Fire and Water Chiefs of their own, as distinct from those of Campa and Kamboja.

It occurs furthermore to me that the puzzling terms—hitherto unexplained—火舍, *Huo-shé*, and 水舍, *Shu-shé*, the latter of which is said to refer to *Lam-ap* (Campa), and especially to its ancient southern capital *Chā-lōn*, *Chā-ling*, or *Bal-Angao* (cf. *China Review*, vol. xx, p. 203, where "Quinhon" is given, which is practically the same), mean 'Fire' and 'Water,' *Sai*, *Chāi*, or *Chāh* respectively, and therefore allude either to the above *Khā-Moi* or to tribes of the same race settled on the hill tracts of Lower Campa subject to Fire and Water potentates. Similarly, the terms—likewise so far unexplained—火真臘, *Huo-Chén-la* (sometimes called *Lu*, 陸, i.e. 'Dry-land' or 'Highland' - *Chén-la*), and 水真臘, *Shu-Chén-la*, said to refer to the two

\* *Ide* pp. 129-132 and 272, *note*

relegated to the hill-tracts on the east of that realm, both acknowledging the nominal rule of the monarchs of Kamboja, alleged to be descended from the union of the hill tribes with women of Nāga race, but in reality owing their origin to adventurers from India. These coincidences in the early legends of the two countries tend to show that their primitive populations belonged to the same racial stock and were subject to similar influences, passing through analogous phases of social development.

Towards the fall of the Van-lāng kingdom, i.e. about 300 B.C., we hear that one of its last rulers of the Hùng dynasty had a beautiful daughter by the name of *Mi-nuāng*, whose hand was sued for by three different parties, these being the king of *Thūk* (evidently in Southern Yunnan) and the two chiefs of, respectively, the mountain and the riverine or maritime tribes. After much hesitation the princess was ultimately conceded in marriage to the chief of the hillmen, who led his prize to his residence on the *Ba-r* mountain. This unexpected denouement aroused the indignation of the other two suitors. The king of *Thūk*, on his part, enjoined his son and grandson to destroy the Van-lāng kingdom as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself. His threat became an accomplished fact under his grandson, *Thūk-P'hān*, in B.C. 258, as already explained. But the chief of the people of the plains took immediate

States into which Kamboja became split up in or shortly after A.D. 707 (see Ma Tuan lin, op cit., p. 483), evidently mean respectively 'Fire' and 'Water' Kamboja, and thus throw a novel sidelight into ancient Kambojan and, indeed, Indo-Chinese history in general, showing that the authority of Fire and Water Kings was at that period by no means restricted, and mostly nominal as at the present day. As *Huo-Chūn-lā*, or 'Fire Kamboja,' included, according to the Chinese authors themselves, the "northern and mountainous region," and *Shui-Chūn-lā*, or 'Water-Kamboja,' the "southern half of the country, bounded by the sea and studded with lakes" (ibid., op cit.), it will be seen that the portion of the population ruled over by the Fire King corresponded to the mountaineers, while that subject to the Water King consisted of the inhabitants of the plains and of the delta, living in a water-covered region, and therefore likened unto *Nagas*, exactly as we have shown was the case in ancient Tonkin. In the face of this evidence one must feel inclined to admit that these Fire and Water Chiefs were real personages and not myths, as we shall see directly it has been suggested, at least in respect of Tonkin. Behind them there must have been tribes of flesh and bone, and not mere phantoms.

action against his successful competitor, and a long series of wars thus ensued between the dwellers of the plains and the hillmen, in which the latter ultimately came out victorious.

In Annamese tradition the chief of the mountaineers is called *Son-tiñ*, and that of the people of the delta *Thiñ-tiñ*—literally 'Genius of the Mountains' and 'Genius of the Waters'.<sup>1</sup> They undoubtedly are, however, the mythical impersonation of two contending tribes of the mountains and plains, and in such light they are regarded by many a native chronicler and a Western commentator.<sup>2</sup>

Now, it is with the *Son tiñ* or hillmen that we are concerned. The residence of their chief was, as we have seen, on the *Bā-rī* mountain, which has in consequence become so famous in Annamese legend.<sup>3</sup> The tribe must

<sup>1</sup> In native characters 山精 (in Chinese *Shan-ching*) and 水精 (in Chinese *Shuei ching*). *Tiñ* or *ching* means 'essence,' 'spirit'. Hence, *S n-tiñ* or *Shan-ching* = 'Spirit of Mountain,' and *Thiñ-tiñ* or *Shuei ching* = 'Spirit of Water'. I may here incidentally point out the etymological connection, so far overlooked, I think, between the Sanskrit and Chinese words for 'water' = *shāve*, *thiñ*, *shui*, and *soya*.

<sup>2</sup> So in the *Viet nam Sū kī* for instance. The Abbé Launay ('Histoire de l'Annam,' p. 12), Romanet du Caillaud ('Notice sur le Tong king'), and others, positively take them to be tribes, and I think they are right, the terms *Son tiñ* and *Thiñ-tiñ* being rather curious designations to apply to a single person while there is nothing strange or improbable as to a conflict having actually ensued between the tribes of the plains and the hillmen. Hence I cannot at all agree with Mr. Dumoutier's view (see next note) that *Son tiñ* and *Thiñ-tiñ* belong entirely to the dominion of poetical myth. Fire and Water Chiefs, we have seen, are an old Indo-Chinese institution.

<sup>3</sup> *Ba vi* 巴位, so written in Annamese, means 'Three tiers,' or layers owing to its being said to present a three storied appearance. It is also called *Tān-tien* 傘圓 (in Chinese *San yuan*), or 'parasol round'. In connection with it and the *Son tiñ* legend the following extract from Mr. Dumoutier's paper on 'The Black River of Upper Tonquin and Mount Ba-Vi' (see *China Review*, vol. xix p. 165) should prove of interest—"Mount Ba Vi has an elevation of about 4 000 feet, its jagged profile is distinguishable in clear weather from all parts of the delta. *Ba-Vi* is a popular name which means Three Peaks [? see above] but its poetical name is *Tān-tien* (parasol round). The Annamese regard this mountain with a timorous veneration and connect it with all sorts of marvellous legends, they hold it sacred, and say that its peak is the dwelling of one of the powerful genii who is able to launch thunderbolts upon the plain. There are historical traditions touching the very earliest beginnings of the Annamese nation connected with *Ba-Vi*. These

territory is what must have constituted at first the dominion and stronghold of the *Son-tūn*. But in the course of time these people may have pushed on along the hill-range bounding on the south the delta of the Red River as far as the sea-coast just above *Thaū-hwī*. This seems the more likely from the fact of the *Son-tūn* having been, as we are told, victorious over the *Thūi-tūn*, part of whose country they may have annexed, at least that portion lying at the foot of the hill slopes. If they have at all reached the littoral of the Gulf it must have been at the point where the southern branch of the Red River detached at *Sōn toi*, and, called the *Dū* or *Sōng Dū*, has its outlet (*Kūa-Dū*), which lies just at the extreme of the hill-spurs bounding the delta on the south. It is on the section of the coast comprised between the *Kūa Dū* and the *Kūa Ba lot* or *Ba lát*, the present principal mouth of the Red River, that we felt inclined in a preceding paragraph (p 201) to locate the *Senderfulat* of the Arabs—the place which, as we have observed, may have been regarded by ancient navigators as the shipping port for *Sīnda*. We have pointed out in that connection that in some of the maps accompanying early editions or translations of Ptolemy's geography, among which that of Nicholas de Donis (A D 1452), *Sīnda* is actually marked on the sea-shore just about the spot referred to and, Ptolemy's *Indoi*, whose name is here spelled *Sīndi* are located to the west of it, that is, on the hill tracts forming part of *Son tūn* territory. This transposition, if not caused by oversight may be due to the fact of the *Dai*, *Sōng Dū*, or *Son toi* branch of the Red River having been regarded and become known as the *Sīnda* or *Son tūn* River, and its outlet as the shipping port for *Sīnda* or *Son-tūn* territory, *Sīnda*, the chief settlement, lying, as it seems more probable, at the point of embranchment, or slightly further up towards the *Sindhu samgama* or confluent of the three rivers, in the neighbourhood of the present *Son toi* <sup>1</sup>

I have scarcely any doubt that Ptolemy's Sinda and Indoi are connected with the *Son tui* tribes and their principal settlement in the neighbourhood of the present *Son-toi* and Mount Bā vi. The term Indoi is almost certainly a clerical error for Sindoi, as appears from the form *Sindi* adopted by Nicholas de Donis and others. Its resemblance to the term *Son tui* is, it must be admitted, very striking, but still more so is that of Sindoi with *Son-toi*, although, perhaps, this is merely an accidental coincidence, the toponymic *Son-toi* being in appearance modern. Nevertheless, it would be worth while to enquire whether, as we have suggested with some reason, *Son-toi* is an adaptation, in Sino-Annamese garb, of an old indigenous term like *Sindhu*, *Sindhava*, etc., that survived, in a more or less modified form in local tradition down to a few centuries ago. The same remark applies to the tribal name *Son-tui*, which as we have explained, looks rather queer to be of Annamese origin. *Nui*, 山, is in fact, the indigenous Annamese term for 'mountain,' and not *son*, which is the local, and perhaps old, pronunciation of the Chinese 山, *shan*. Now, at the dawn of the third century B.C., the epoch of the *Son-tui* wars Chinese influence in Tonkin was as yet practically nil. Hence we see at once that *Son-tui* cannot be aught else but the Sino-Annamese travesty at a later period, of a local tribal name or toponymic such as handed down to us by Ptolemy under the forms *Sinda* and *Indoi* or *Sindoi*, derived in all probability, from the terms *Sindhu*, *Sindhava*, applied by the early Indū settlers either to the population they found in occupation of the territory about the *Sindhu sarigaria*, the confluence of the three rivers, or to the place of meeting itself of the three streams. From the fact of this people living in a hilly country and bearing the traditional name of *Sindhū* or *Sindhava* the Chinese who centuries afterwards came to rule supreme in Tonkin, must have thought it a clever feat to Sincize that term into

A.D. 1838) Of course this name *Son-tui* is spelled in a different way from that of *Son-toi* and is ostensibly modern, still it is worthy to note the curious coincidence of the presence of such toponymics as *Son-tui*, *Son-tui*, *Son-tui*, *Son-tui* in the very region where Ptolemy located his *Sinda* and *Sindoi*.

*Son tū*, the probable pronunciation at the period of the two characters that represent it thus making it convey at the same time the meaning of 'mountaineers,' tolerably well consistent with the topography of the country that formed their habitat, although in rather striking opposition to the *Indū* terms, which mean a river people. But, as instanced by many Chinese transcripts of foreign place names we have explained in the course of the present inquiry, the early Chinese colonists never bothered themselves as to what such names meant their only preoccupation being of rendering them as nearly as possible phonetically by such particular characters as would convey some definite meaning, no matter however odd to their countrymen. As regards the term *Thui tū*, it was no doubt, invented so as to make pendant with the other for we have seen that the real name of the people of the delta or their country was *Ōi lū* or *Uraga*, probably exemplified in Ptolemy's *Aganagara* their principal settlement—as the name of their ancient rivals the *Son tū* or *Sindhū* is embodied in *Sinda* undoubtedly their chief city or trading mart practically corresponding it will now be evident to the present *Son toi* (So n tay)

#### The Indoī (No 2<sup>o</sup>)

The original location of this people at and about *Sinda*, or *Son toi* and their probable subsequent expansion towards the sea coast along the hill range bounding on the south the Red River Delta, having been fully discussed in the foregoing paragraph, it remains now to add but a few considerations chiefly of a linguistic and ethnological character

The name *Indoī* applied to them by Ptolemy is we have suggested a probably faulty transcript of *Sindoī* or, as some among his translators and commentators put it *Sindi*. To this view we adhere, although perfectly aware that a tribe bearing a very similar name to *Indoī* is still found on the *Kamboja Annam* watershed—much further south, it is true but which may have occupied at the period in question part

of the Tonkinese hill-tracts referred to, being subsequently driven off thence by other peoples advancing from the north. The tribe to which we allude is that of the *Inthi*, or *Indi*—so far, I believe, unheard of by our ethnologists—and forms a branch of the *Ta-ô* (not *Ta-hoi* as I see generally written<sup>1</sup>) inhabiting the hilly country of the Attapu district, the *Attopen* of French books and maps. The possible fact of this tribe still dwelling on Tonkinese territory in Ptolemy's time can in no wise upset our conclusions, but would, on the contrary, furnish us one more plausible argument wherewith to account for the origin of the term *Sindhu* and its derivatives in that region. For, being granted that *Indi* was the original and local tribal name of its primitive inhabitants, the early *Indū* immigrants and civilizers would, upon learning it, be led to change it into *Sindhu*, and apply therefrom the designation *Sindhu* or *Sindh* to the country. From these modified terms, and not from their prototype *Indi*, Ptolemy's *Sinda* and *Indoi*, or *Sindoi*, as well as the Sino-Annamese form *Son-tin*, could only have been derived, it being quite certain that *Indū* influence had been exerted in the country long before Ptolemy's time. At best the reading *Indoi*, if correct, would prove that in our author's day the original term *Indi* was still current, along with the *Indū*ized forms that ultimately superseded and outlived it. But perhaps it will be well for the present not to lay too

<sup>1</sup> I dedicate this seasonable remark to all those—and they are legion—who write *Nam-Hou* or *Nam Hu* instead of *Nam U*, *Hou-then* or *Hu-then* instead of *Ū-then*, and so forth, thus increasing the already considerable list of unrecognizable, and locally unintelligible, place-names. My information as to the existence of the *Inthi* or *Indi* is derived from native sources, the basis being a Siamese description of twenty one tribes, all said to belong to the *Ta-ô* family, only three or four of which—the *Davak* and *Lañau* (the *Legnau* of our writers) among them—have, so far, been brought to the notice of the public. Now that we know the correct spelling of *Ta hoi* to be *Ta ô*, we may obtain a clue to the antecedents of the presumably collateral tribe of the *Sen oi* of the Malay Peninsula (see *supra*, p. 159), about whose origin nothing is so far known, whereas no connection could be inferred from the faulty spelling in vogue. This exemplifies the necessity of the topographical and ethnological lists concerning Indo-China being revised by competent authorities, if any further progress is to be made in the historical and ethnical study of this so highly interesting region.



much stress on the presence of the *Indi* on Tonkinese territory at the period in question;<sup>1</sup> hence I prefer to ascribe the origin of the epithets *Sindhu* and its Ptolemaic derivatives to the causes at first referred to.

Turning now to examine into what was the racial stock to which the Indoi, or Sindoi, must have most probably belonged, there seems to be no reason for doubting, from what has been said, that this tribe was a branch of the so-called Mōñ-Annam race, or, to put it more precisely, of the same race as the tribes now on the Kambojan-Annamese watershed, which latter are, as likely as not, its very descendants driven further to the south by newcomers. No historical notice of the people inhabiting the hill-tracts to the west of Tonkin is found in Chinese records earlier than A D 271, when we are told that the said hill-tracts were, and had been long before that, occupied by the *Liau*. Now, *Liau* is a generic name for populations of the Mōñ-Annam race, the *Li*, *Loi*, *Lōi*, etc. Although the old Indoi had by that time probably left for more southern climes, we may well take it that these *Liau* who replaced them were offshoots of the same racial stock to which the Indoi belonged—in a word, their younger brothers. The already quoted passage from the *Annamese Annals*<sup>2</sup> most distinctly states that down to A D. 271 the territories of *Vô biñ* (*Wu-p'ing* = present Bak niñ and Hüing-yen districts), *Káu-duh* (*Hā-tiñ*), and *Ton-ch'uang* (*Hsin-ch'ang* = *P'hong-chou* = *Son-toi*) were dangerous and impenetrable, for the *Lieu I*, or *Liau*, barbarians who inhabited them were undaunted and knew no fear: for centuries they could not be tackled. The Chinese general and commissioner T'au-hwang was first successful in chastising and pacifying them in A D. 271; out of their territories he made the three *chun*: above referred

<sup>1</sup> There is a tribe known to the Phu-thai as *Hin* or *Ahū-Hin*, dwelling on the hill tracts of Muang Thung (Điện-bien P'hủ) and Muang Mun, between the Nam Ú and the Black River, whose name may be etymologically traceable to that of the *Indi*, *Sindi*, or *Hindi*. I have not seen it mentioned, so far, in any European account of that region.

<sup>2</sup> Des Michels op cit., p. 106

to and established over thirty colonial districts, which he placed under the jurisdiction of *K'iu-ch'ou* (Thaü-hwä) The *Liau* alluded to here could not evidently be the *Läu*, i.e. people of Thai race, for although we have seen that the latter formed the ruling class in *K'iu-dük*, or *Hä-tiü*, and *Ngë-än*, the bulk of the population must have been *Chäm*; and it is besides highly improbable that they could hold *Son-töi* and *Bak-niü* as well at the period in question. At a much later date Chinese writers still speak of *Liau* tribes occupying the hill-tracts to the north and north-west of *Son-töi*;¹ and quite recently we have been told of *Män-Liau* (蠻獠) being yet to be found in the district of *Twien-kwäng* (宣光), not far to the north of the same place² I have no doubt that populations of the *G'hieng* or *Mün-Annam* race are in every instance implied, although Chinese writers may have made some confusion between *Liau* and *Läu*, owing to these two terms being almost alike in sound³

¹ In A.D. 546, according to the Annamese Annals (Des Michels, op. cit., pp. 138, 139), the fugitive native emperor *Li hôn* took refuge among the *Liau* in the country of *K'wot Liau Dung* (*K'iu Liau Tung* = the caves or mountainous recesses of *K'iu Liau*) ending his days there in 548 A.D. From the account of *Li hôn*'s doings, the region here referred to, which has been left unidentified by the commentators, appears to have been on either the Red or the Clear River, in the north or north-west of *Son-töi*. *K'iu Liau* is very likely the name of a branch of the *Liau*, applied to the district where this particular branch had settled. Although the spelling in native characters is not given, it seems very probable that this people were the 獠, *Chau Liau*, the race from whom the modern *T'u-Liau*, 土獠, of South Eastern Yunnan and Kwang-tsi are said by tradition to be descended. (See Deveria's "Frontiere Sino Annamite," p. 114.) It is worthy of note that these *T'u-Liau* are also termed *Shan-tsü*, 山子 (Annamese *Sôn tũ*) or 'Sons of the Hills,' a name much analogous in structure to those of the *Shan-chung* or *Sôn tũ* and of the *K'wä Doi* (for which latter see above, p. 58).

² See Deveria op. cit., p. 69, where this people are, I believe wrongly, taken to be *Läu*. According to Ma Tuan-lin (op. cit., p. 70) the name *Män-Liau* was, in fact, applied to the *Pa-shün Mäi* (板橋蠻), who are affiliated with the *Miao* stock.

³ See note on p. 258 above. Mr. Parker remarks (*China Review*, vol. xxii, p. 610) that for some unaccountable reason the *P'ei wen Yun-fu* reads the character 獠 or 獠 as *chao* while in another place the second character is read

I shall leave it to subsequent research to clear up this point, and also to show whether the 西 厓 夷 (*Tai-dò* or *Hsi t'u I*) located by some native writers on the northern side of the *Hsiang-lin* (*Hü-tün*) borders, and by others further to the south of *Lin-i*<sup>1</sup> at the time of Ma-yuan's expedition into Tonkin (A D 43), are in any way connected with the Indo or Sindo. For although they are shifted so far down the coast, from the incidental mention that the brass pillars erected by

as *iao*," and vaguely adds that either character "is usually applied to the Indo-Chinese (?) tribes." In the preceding page (609 *ibid*) he goes further and makes the sweeping assertion that "the 獠 [*Liao*] are the *Thai*, or Siamese [?]" colonists who date from about 1 000 years ago. *Liao* or *Loa* [*Loi*, *Lau*?] is a term which covers Burmese, Siamese, Annamese, and Indo-Chinese generally including Arabs and Hindoos, [*excuse du peu*] *when they come by sea*." Thus far fetched notion as to the ethnographical area embraced by the term *Liao* seems to have been suggested to Mr. Parker by the following extract he gives elsewhere in the same Review (vol. xxi, p. 56) "The 程 史 [*Ch'ing shih*] says that at Canton (番禺 [*P'an yü*]) there were a good many Indo Chinese (海 獠 [*Hai Liao*, i.e. 'Sea-Liao' or 'Coast Liao']) The most influential were the 蒲 [*Pu*] family, called the 'white barbarians' (白 番 人 [*Po Fan Jen*]), originally nobles from *Chau ch'eng* (占 城, near modern Tourane [*Campã*, as we have diffusely shown]) Having had bad weather in coming to Canton, they were afraid of going back, and begged permission of their king to remain in Canton as a sort of commercial agency. With reference to the above, it may be noted here that 蒲 [*Pu*] seems to have been a common family name amongst the ruling castes of Hindoo origin settled in the South seas generally." However, in the foregoing extract, the term *Hai Liao*, i.e. *Liao* of the Sea or of the Sea coast, seems to imply that the persons alluded to were Cham, at least by naturalization, thus proving our contention that the word *Liao* refers especially to populations of the Mon-Annam race and not at all to the *Lao* or *Thai* or to other Indo Chinese populations that do not belong to the Mon Annam or Miao stocks. That the word in question cannot apply to Burmese, that is, to Tibeto Burman tribes is sufficiently evidenced from the statement of the Chinese historians, who class the *Liao* among the southern barbarians and tell us that they did not spread into *Sán*, i.e. *Sz ch wan*, from their native homesteads in the southern mountains until A D 313 and after (see Ma Tuan lin, *op cit*, pp. 106-9, who draws his information from the *Tsin Sán* or Chronicle of the Tsin dynasty, the first historical work where the *Liao* are referred to). As regards the term *Pu*, it is not a family name in the present instance, but the Cham title *Po* borne by Cham ministers and chiefs (see Ma Tuan lin *op cit*, pp. 540 and 547, for the names of two dignitaries of *Chau ch'eng* prefixed by such a title). *Po* means simply 'lord' 'Mr'.

<sup>1</sup> Vide *supra* pp. 231 and 233. Des Michels, *op cit*, p. 67, and Ma Tuan lin, *op cit*, pp. 97 and 418.

Ma-yuan in that region denoted the line of demarcation between Han dominions and the territory of the *Hsi-t'u I*,<sup>1</sup> we may well infer that their real habitat was no further south than Thaṇ-hwā, which district, we have shown, was in all probability the farthest point reached by Ma-yuan, and therefore the place where his famed pillars were set up. Now, it has been seen that the *Sōn-tū*, *Sindoi*, or *Sindi* had very likely, and before Ma-yūan's time, extended from Sonto towards the coast, reaching the latter at about the same point; hence the suspicion arises that the *Hsi-t'u I* may have been somehow connected with them. The Chinese historians of the T'ang period are inclined to regard the *Hsi-t'u I* as the descendants of the soldiers left behind in the country by Ma-yuan, and add that for this reason they called themselves *Ma-lu* (馬留), i.e. 'left behind by Ma[yūan],' or *Ma-lin Jên*, that is, *Ma-lu Men*;<sup>2</sup> but it does not seem to me that this story deserves much credit. It should be probably classed along with the wonderful yarns wherewith Chinese writers delight to adorn their narratives. If *Ma-lu* were really an alternative designation for the *Hsi-t'u I*, it may be more likely connected with *Mālini* or *Cūdāmala*, *Cūdāmaṇi*, *Cūdāmalya*, the name of the Upper Campā (*Lin-i*) kingdom,<sup>3</sup> in which case the *Ma-lu* would prove to be Chām. The term *Hsi-t'u I*, if taken in the sense of 'Western T'u I' or T'u (in Annamese *Dô-dz* or *Dô*), leads, more or less, to a similar conclusion, the native vocable implied being in appearance *Dô*, a synonym of *Loi*, *Loi*, *O'hieng*, and the generic designation for the hill tribes of Mōñ-Annam race. I should not think that people in any way connected with the modern T'u (土) or T'u-jên (土人)—called *Thô* by the Annamese—now occupying the hill-tracts about the Black River, the Red River, and to the east of the latter as far as Kao-băng on the Kwang-hsi frontier, are meant, for these are said to be a very heterogeneous tribe, the scattered groups of which have not all the same language, and are alleged

<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan-lin, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 418, 419, and 97, 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem supra*, pp. 127, 144.

to constitute the remains of those military colonies which the Chinese government used to station there to guard the frontier and the newly annexed territories.<sup>1</sup> Should

<sup>1</sup> See *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 152, and Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite," p. 97. I may add that those among these tribes called *Thô-dên*, 土 甸, or 'Black *Thô*,' by the Annamese, are apparently of Thai race, being the same people whom the Eastern Lau term *P'hu-Thai Dim*, or 'Black *P'hu-Thai*,' from the colour of the garments they wear. They were in occupation, at no distant period, of the whole region comprised between the Black River and the Nam Ma (the *Song Mā* of the Annamese), which then formed the *Sib song Chuê T'ai*, or Twelve Thai Marches (literally, the 'Twelve-Thai-holding' [Districts]) of the Lûang P'rah Bang Kingdom. Parker is somewhat in error (*China Review*, vol. xix, p. 196) in suggesting 十二土州, or 十二歹州 (*Sai erh P'u* [i.e. *Thô*], or *Sai erh Tai*, *Chou*), as the probable Chinese equivalents. *Chuê* means 'to hold,' 'to contain,' and not exactly *Chou*, a political or administrative division. According to Dumoutier (see *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 168) the natives of the sixteen *châu* (*Châu*) of the Black River also style themselves *Thô*, 土. This has led later travellers in that region, among whom are Messrs. Nicolai and Lefèvre Pontalis, to identify the *Thô* in general with the *Thai* (see *Excursions*

a population by the name of *T'u* be intended, it would be

extrait), of Central and Western Kwei-chou, who are notoriously of Moï Annam stock (see Laconperie's "Languages of China before the Chinese," pp 48-49) \* Nor is this all, for the old 西屠夷, *Hsi-t'u I* or *T'u-dô*, are by the same authority (in *Toung Pao*, Mars, 1896, p 61) thought to have been also *Thô*, 土, and therefore (in his opinion) Thai, on the assumption that *Dô* means 'red' in Annamese, a circumstance arguing (according to him) that they may have been the same tribe as the 'Red Thai' still found existing in the Song Ma valley down to the point where it debouches into the Thai-hwa district But this is a mistake, for any tyro in Annamese knows that the word meaning 'red' in that language is represented by the character 紅, pronounced *dô*, *rising tone*, and not by 屠, pronounced *dô*, *sinking tone*, a fact quite sufficient by itself for anyone acquainted with the mechanism of Sino-Annamese phonology to relegate such a queer theory to the limbo of infantile absurdities Neither does the suggestion as to the racial identity of the *Hsi-t'u* or *T'u-dô* with the Thai and of the latter with the 土, *T'u* or *Thô*, appear any more tenable on historical grounds It should be observed, in fact, that the 土 蠻, *Tu Man* or *Thô-Man*—that is, the 土, *T'u* or *Thô*—are referred to in Annamese history since A D 858, in which year they are reported to have made raids into Tonkinese territory (see Des Michels, op cit, pp 189-190) With them are, immediately afterwards, mentioned the 南詔, *Nan-Châu*, *Nān-Chiau*, or Thai of the Yunnanese kingdom of Ta-li Had those *Thô* been, like the Nan Chau, of Thai stock, they would presumably have been confounded into one with the latter by the historians, and therefore passed over in silence Neither can it be logically inferred that those *Thô* or *Thô-Man* were the same people as the *Tou dô* or *Hsi t u*, for the characters 土 and 屠 employed to designate, respectively, these two populations are very dissimilar, while the dates at which the latter appear in history do not differ by more than eight centuries (A D 43-858), and far less if it be considered that the *Hsi t'u I* do not seem to be referred to until the seventh century, that is to say, retrospectively, by the historiographers of the T'ang period (see Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 97), as being descended from soldiers under Ma-yuan, who had increased, by the time of the Sui dynasty (A D 589-618), to three hundred families, all bearing the name of *Ma* or *Ma lu* (馬留) Had they been *Thô*, there would have been neither need nor reason for calling them *Do* or *Tou dô* in the seventh century and *Thô* or *Thô Man* in the ninth

As regards *Lūk t'ā* (*Luc thô* of French writers), the name of a district (chiefly on the Red River) inhabited by *Muang* (莽), i e Thai populations, it would seem to occur in Annamese history, if P Legrand de la Luraye is correct, since A D 679 (see Des Michels op cit, p 187, notes), namely, nearly contemporaneously with the *Dô* and *Tô* As, however, no native characters

\* They are so much Thai that they do not at all understand the *Chung k'ia* (种家), who speak a Thai language (see Devéria, op cit, p 104)

far more preferable to identify it with the *T'u-hau* (土 徠), *Shan-tsz*, or *Sön-tu* already alluded to.

In conclusion, Ptolemy's Indoi or Sindoi, whether connected or not in name with the *Hsi-t'u I*, appear to belong to the same racial stock, C'hieng or Mōū-Annam, as the tribes anciently inhabiting the hill-tracts of Tonkin, whose remains are now still to be found scattered thereabouts under the name of *Liau*, *Loi*, or *Dai*, etc. Almost certainly they correspond to the *Sön-tu* of Annamese legend, while probably having connections, racial or otherwise, on the one side with the *Shan-tsz* or *Son-tu* of South-Eastern Yunnan and South Kwang-hsi, and on the other with the *Indi* and other hill-tribes at present on the Kamboja-Cochin-Chinese watershed.

#### The Kudatai (No 223).

Ptolemy locates this people south of the Khalkitis (the 合刺章, *Karayang*, or Black Lolos of Eastern Yunnan), and makes them, together with the Barrhai, extend to the Great Gulf (Gulf of Tonkin). In De Donis' map they are marked, under the name of *Codupe*, to the north of Doana (Lúang P'hrāh Bāng) and between the Doanas (Me-Khōng) and the Dōrias (Nam Tāu, or Red River). Their habitat becomes thus fixed at about half-way betwixt the Me-Khōng

are given, we cannot make any linguistical rapprochement except that, judging from the sound (*Thô*), the character here employed must be different from either of those used to represent the *Do* and *Thô* tribes.

On the other hand, the *Quan-to* noticed since A.D. 1808 by Leyden ("On the Languages and Literature of Indo-Chinese Nations," in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. 1, p. 160), as being an ancient race inhabiting *Kau-bāng* (高平), who "regard themselves as the original inhabitants of Tonkin and Cochin China," are no doubt 土, *Thô*, and the correct form of their name must be either 軍土, *Kwōn-Thô*, meaning '*Thô*-people', or 君土, *Kwōn-Thô*, 君 臣, *Kwōn Thô*, meaning '*Thô* Chiefs,' '*Thô* district,' or tribe. I may add, in explanation of the second form here given, that the native chiefs of the *Thô* districts bordering upon Lau territory are, by the Lau, called *Āi-hu* (from the Sanskrit *ājña*) 阿祿, of which term the Annamese *Kwōn-Thô* or *Kwōn Thô* would seem to be a translation.

at Luang P'brah Bāng and the head-waters of the Red River at Yüan-chiang, straight away north. Such being the case, I have no hesitation in taking Ptolemy's Kudatai to be the same people as the *K'a-lo* or *K'a-t'o* (卡 𐑦), whom Garnier found exactly in the territory of the Yuan-chiang or Yüan-kiang prefecture,<sup>1</sup> whence they seem to extend along the hill-tracts further to the south. According to Lacouperie the *K'a-t'o* speak a language of the Lo-lo family, closely connected with that of the *Ho-ni* (和 泥), whose name is usually applied to them.<sup>2</sup> If so, they would belong to the Tibeto-Burmān group. It remains to be seen, however, whether this is the language they spoke originally, or whether it has been adopted, in the place of their primordial one, from the Lolos. Lacouperie's suggestion that the *K'a-t'o* are "probably the same as the *Kado* of Burmā," must as yet be taken with all reserve. Truly, the two tribal names are strikingly similar, if not actually identical, but the *Kado*, or *Kadu*, are far away on the Manipur borders, and though a tribe by the name of *Kadun* is mentioned along with the *Li-su* on the Burmo-Chinese frontier, I am unable to say whether it is in any way connected with the *K'a-t'o* and *Kado*. In view of our knowledge of the ethnography of these regions being as yet quite rudimental, it is impossible for the present to investigate the identity of Ptolemy's Kudatai any further. I propose, however, to revert to the subject in the next volume, when dealing with the Ptolemaic geography of Southern Yünnan. Suffice it here to have established their very probable relationship with the *K'a-t'o* of our day, whose name appears to be the corruption of an older term, *Khadu*, *Kadu*, or *Kudu*; perhaps *Kudut* or *Kuduta*, in which case it might prove traceable to some toponymic or tribal name, *Kuluta*, *Kuluta*, etc., introduced somewhere in this region by the early Indū immigrants. From *Kuluta* the derivation Kudatai could be easily accounted for, and with

<sup>1</sup> Op cit, p. 483

<sup>2</sup> "The Languages of China before the Chinese," p. 93



it could be eventually connected *Kico-lo* (獐 狸) or *Kico-lu*, one of the names borne by the *Lo-lo* or *Lu-lu*,<sup>1</sup> the tribal designations of the *Khā Huet*, *Kha Hōk*,<sup>2</sup> and *Khā-Ūt*; and

<sup>1</sup> See Deveria, op. cit., p. 141

<sup>2</sup> The *Khā Huet* or *Khā Hōk*, I learn from local sources, are so called by the Lau of the districts on the Upper Nam U (Muang Hun, etc.) in which they are settled on account of their relish for squirrels as an article of food. *Karok*, the Thai word for squirrel, becomes, in fact, *Kahok* (and, by contraction, *Hōk*) in Lau, in virtue of the law of phonetic change by which Thai *r* is converted into *h* in Lau pronunciation. But *Karok* is an Indic derived word (from Sanskrit *Kalaka*, Pali *Kalaka*), whose more correct form should be *Kakak* or *Kalok*. Now, it is interesting to observe that the *Lo lo* are also called *Laka*, and that their name or nickname 獐 狸, *Lo-lo*, is said to mean 'squirrel'.

perhaps also that of the *Hu-t'ou* (虎頭), *Hó-dao*, *U-tu-t'au*, or *Khudu-t'au*, the so-called 'Tiger-Heads' of the Black River.<sup>1</sup> These modifications in nomenclature cannot surprise, in view of the fact that in India the tribal name *Kulūta* or *Kulūta* appears to have been eventually changed to *Utūla*, and *vice versa*.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the form *Colupe* appearing in De Donis' map, I believe that it is to some extent justifiable, for in the very same Yüan-chiang district, side by side with the *K'a-t'o* or *Kadu*, we have the *No-pu* (拏比),<sup>3</sup> whose name is given under the form *Lo-pe* by Garnier.<sup>4</sup> These people are, like the *K'a t'o*, mere varieties of the *Ho-m*; in fact, Devéria

Colborne Baber on the Chien-ch'ang border, but to tribes approaching the type of *Lo-lo* or *Kico-lo* still occurring in Kwei-chow, described by the Chinese themselves as possessing black faces and other characteristics quite in keeping with those of the *Khā Hōk* or *Khā Hūt*. In his paper on 'The Aborigines of Hainan' (in the *Journal China Branch R A S*, new series, No. vii) Mr Swinhoe speaks of the *Li* of the central part of the island as calling themselves *La* or *La-lia*, a term which Dr Edkins, in a note appended thereto (p. 39), thinks to be probably the same with *Kico-lo* or *Lo-lo*. This view is, in my belief, incorrect, for here *La-lia* seems to mean simply *La-chia* or 'La family', and these *La* are described by Swinhoe (p. 26) as being "a short, sturdy, light coloured race," thus widely differing from the *Kico-lo* and *Khā-Khā*. As regards the "large, big-boned, dark men" inhabiting the 'Nychow' (Yai-chow) district and calling themselves *K'lai*, referred to on the same page they are very probably, as shown by their name (*K'lai* = *Ghā*), racially identical to the *Orang Gias* of Campa (*vide* p. 261 *ante*).

Colborne Baber makes the following statement as regards the independent *Lolos* occupying the mountainous district of the Liang Shan tracts: "Old people say that the Liang-shan tribes are a branch of the *La-lia* (?) family, and came originally from the west" ("A Journey of Exploration in Western Ssu-ch'uan," in *Supplementary Papers, R O S*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 1832, p. 71). This would seem to imply that these so-called *Lo-lo* came to be considered as part of the aboriginal *Kalaka* (i.e. *Kico-lo*, *Khā-Hōk*, etc.), not necessarily from their being racially connected with the latter, but merely from the fact of their having settled on *Kico-lo* territory. Their original name was presumably neither *Lo-lo* nor *Kico-lo*.

gives *No-pi* as an alternative designation for the latter.<sup>1</sup> The Siānese and Lāu, in their turn, consider the *Ho-ni* to be the same as the *Khā-Kō* or *Khā-Khō*, and often call them by this name, occurring also in the Chinese variant *Ko-ni* (哥泥) of the term *Ho-ni*.<sup>2</sup> From this evidence it may be inferred that *Kō*, *Khō*, or *Ko* is the generic name or surname of this people, probably prefixed to the designation of the tribes into which it is divided: thus, *Ko-Lo-pe*, *Kolu-pe*, or *Colupe* may be explained as the *Lo-pe*, *Lu-pe*, or *No-pi* tribe of the *Ko* family. On the same lines, the term *Ko-ni* or *Ho-ni* would appear to be, not the collective name for the whole race, but a mere tribal designation denoting the *Ni* variety of the *Ko*; and the term *Kudutai* might be taken to mean the *Duta* or *Luta* tribe of the same people, its correct reading being thus *Ko-Lu-ta*. It should be observed in this connection that a tribe bearing the practically identical name of *Koalut* is actually to be found in Southern Formosa, on the territory around South Cape, where it made itself notorious for its predatory as well as head-hunting proclivities.<sup>3</sup> Again, there was a tribe in Yunnan, apparently about the southern bend of the Yang-tsz River, bearing the very similar name of *Lu-to* or *Luk-to* (鹿多), and first appearing in history in A.D. 47, to which we had already to call attention in a preceding section.<sup>4</sup> Lacouperie far too easily jumps to the conclusion that these people were the *Lok-tai* (*Lu-tai*, *Lau-tai*) of the Thai family;<sup>5</sup> but this remains yet to be proved. Should

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> See "Aborigines of Formosa" in the *China Review*, vol. XIV, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 167. See also *China Review*, vol. XIX, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Op cit.*, p. 58, note 5. The Chinese spelling is 六多, sounding *Luk-tai* in the southern dialects. It is said to be the Chinese generic term for the Lau or Thai race, and was employed as an equivalent of *Pai-I*. (See Devéria, *op cit.*, p. 102.) Probably it was meant to refer, retrospectively, to the original Six Cháu (六徠, *Lu Chao*) of the Thai confederation that became afterwards the kingdom of *Nan-Chao*, an observation which has escaped Devéria and others. Devéria remarks, nevertheless (l.c., note), that "*Lo-tai* [*Lok tai*] pourrait se traduire par 'les six Thai,' mais pourrait être aussi un nom de localité", and Parker, following him, translates the term as the 'Six Tai' (see *China Review*, vol. XIX, pp. 79 and 196). On the other hand,

evidence adduced above goes must have belonged to the *Ko* or *Ho* tribes now called *K'a t'o* and *No pi*

### The Barrhai (No 224)

These people close the list of the tribes mentioned by Ptolemy as dwelling on the Tonkinese borders and extending thence to the Great Gulf. In De Donis map they are marked above Aganagara (Ha noi) to the east of the *Codup* and the *Doria* River. The location I have assumed for them in the map about *Pu êrh Fu* at the outset of these studies and before I had access to De Donis work is as we shall see directly not at all unjustified, although too restricted for I have since acquired the conviction that this tribe must in agreement with what Ptolemy says have extended well into Tonkin in his time it being still found on its western borders at the present day.

has been shown above by the Lau in what is now the *Ha t'u* district. We are told again of another confederacy on the Upper Red River called 六猛, *L M' g* (pron *L l M* in Annamese) a term again puzzling Parker who translates it (*China Rev.* vol. xxiv p. 54) the *Six Muangs* of *Tonquin* and adds that in 1806 *China* said these belonged to *Lan an Fu* and declined to give them to *Annam*. I doubt however that *M' ang* districts are here implied as the term *M' a g* is transcribed in Annamese under the form 莽 and in Chinese usually represented by 蒙, *M' ng* (Ann *M' a g*) although 茫 *Mang* (Ann *M' ang*) 孟 *M' g* (Ann *M' an*) and 猛 *M' ing* (Ann *M' an*) appear to be at times employed in a similar sense. The districts in question must have been on the Red River in the neighbourhood of *Man hao* and *M' ng t'z* (蒙自) or *Mongtze* and the term *L M' ng* may have reference to the *Lo a g* a *Mo* Annam tribe similar to the *Lamot* or *Kha Met* who are settled in that vicinity. Should the real meaning of the term be *Six Muangs* (as in 三猛 *Sa t' g* = *Three Muangs* vide *supra* p. 139) it would be an additional proof as to the prevalence of the hexameron political organization among the Thai. The instance just quoted of the three *Muangs* of *Ch'eng Rung* could scarcely be regarded as forming an exception for three is a sub multiple of six while in the case of the twelve *P'han na* who have a multiple of the same numeral. These seemingly abnormal groups may have resulted in the one case from the scission into two of an original aggregate of six districts and in the other from the coalescence of a couple of the same typical agglomerations. It will be seen below (p. 364) in fact that when the *Pu êrh Fu* prefecture was formed exactly six *P'han na* were withdrawn for the purpose from *Ch'eng Rung* territory.

About the identity of the Barrhai there can be no possible doubt. They are till now represented by the people called *P'u-érh* or *P'u-rh* (普耳) by the Chinese, and *P'hu-Ō* or *Khā-Ō* by the Lāu. They inhabit the territory to the east and south-east of Lúang P'hrah Bāng, which the Annamese have wantonly styled Tron-niū (鎮寧, in Chinese *Chên-ning*, the Tràn-ninh of French writers), although it has ever been known under the name of *Muang P'huen* applied to it from time immemorial by the Lāu. This term *P'huen* is, I presume, the ancient local corruption of *P'u-érh*, the final *r* being either dropped or turned into *n* in Thai pronunciation. *P'u-érh* being the name of the people whom the Lāu found in occupation of the country when they first reached it under Khún Chet-c'hūang,<sup>1</sup> it is but natural that they should have preserved that denomination under the slightly modified form of *Muang P'huen*, and become themselves known to the surrounding nations as the *Lāu P'huen*, i.e. Lāu inhabiting the country of the old *P'huen* or *P'u-érh* tribes. According to recent explorers,<sup>2</sup> local tradition points to the two great families of the *P'u-érh* and *P'u-ch'a* (普岔) as being the original occupiers of the region comprised between the Me-Không at Lúang P'hrah Bāng, the Black River, and the Tonkinese borders, now improperly termed the country of the *Muang*, because of its having been at a later period organized into districts (*Muang*) by the Lāu conquerors.

As regards the *P'u-ch'a*, they evidently correspond to the people otherwise called *Ch'a* (舍), *Khuu*, and *Khā Cheh*, to whom reference has often been made in these pages. Chinese writers attach them to the *Chung-jén* (仲人) or *Chung-lia* (仲家) of Kwang-hsi, and through them to the *Miao* stock.<sup>3</sup> This means that they belong to the Mōū-Annam

or *Chieng* race, as we know, in fact, their kinsmen the Khmu or Khā Cheh do<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the *Pu erh* seem to have been a far more important branch of that race than the *Pu ch'a*, for we find traces of their existence all over Indo China The *Pu erh* district on the south western Yunnan borders was no doubt like Muang *Phuen* named after them,<sup>2</sup> and with them were probably connected the dark complexioned and dwarfish *Pu-na* (普那), now called *Pu la*<sup>3</sup> (撲喇), met with by Garnier<sup>4</sup> in the Lan an prefecture of Eastern Yunnan but known to extend thence southwards to Yuan Chiang territory and eastwards into Kwang hsi From the fact of the latter being known likewise by the name of *Ma la* (嗎喇),<sup>5</sup> it would appear that it was they who gave the Lau country its first name of *Mala* classicized afterwards by the Indū settlers into *Malava desa* My suggestion in this sense made in a preceding

section<sup>1</sup> would thus seem to have been well founded. I have, however, also hinted at the possible racial connection of the Barrhai with the *Pru* or *P'hyu* of ancient Burma, and the present *Poru*, *Brau*, *Bahnar*, etc., of Kamboja<sup>2</sup>. This connection will appear all the more evident now that the Barrhais identity with the *P'u êrh*, *Pu ih*, *P huen*, or *P'u na* has been demonstrated. We may then take it as pretty well certain that the *Poi*, *Poru*, *Pear*, or *Bar*, surnamed by the Khmêr *Manus-P'har* (cf. Barrhai) or 'Jungle Men,' the *Brau*, *Pru*, or *P'har*, the *Bahnar*, the *Bahora*, and other tribes of the Kambojan Annamese watershed bearing similar names, and having practically the same customs and language, must be so many offshoots of the original *P'u êrh*, driven out of their home in Southern Yunnan and on the Lāu Tonkinese borders by the Thai and other more powerful races advancing from the north. So must be the *P'hyu*, *Phru*, or *Bru* of ancient Burma, who settled, since about 484 B.C., at Old Prome (*Prañ* ပြာနီ

in Burmese, and *Pran* or *Pro*: ပြနီ in Mōn), and very likely are the *P'iao*, 飄 (in Cantonese *P'iu*), of the Chinese scattered remnants of whom were still lingering on the Burmo Yunnanese borders at Momien in A.D. 796<sup>3</sup>. Probably this western branch of the *Phru* or *Bru* reached as far down as the Malay Peninsula, where, with the *Bhulu*, *Bhil*, or *Bila*, and other more or less cognate tribes, they contributed to form its early population, for the term *Pahru* is used up to this day by the Mōn to designate its inhabitants the present Malays in the form *Mnih Pahru* (မြန်မာ ပုဂ္ဂ), i.e. *Pahru* Men<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Supra p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 129-130.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 73 and 130.

<sup>4</sup> See the Rev. E. O. Stevens' *English and Peguan Vocabulary* (Rangoon 1895) p. 62 s.v. *Malay*. The Burmese pronunciation of *Pahru* is *Jashu*. Leyden however uses the spelling *Masu* and says this is the name given by the Burmese to the Malays (see *Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, reprinted in *Essays relating to Indo-China*, 1st series vol. I p. 87). The term is omitted in *Judson's Burmese and English Dictionary*.

However, the tribes of this race that became known to Ptolemy and were by him recorded under the name of *Barrhai* merely included, as we have seen, the *P'u-êi* or *P'u-'i*, then extending in scattered groups—in consequence of their having been cut off into sections by the stream of the Doanai or Thai invaders from Southern Yunnan—all along the hill-tracts intervening between the Me-Không at C'hieng Rūng and the Clear River of Tonkin, if not even further till the head of the Gulf, as Ptolemy would seem to imply. It is probably with the more eastern portion of them that his informants became acquainted, and these, we have shown, are still represented in the highlands of *Muang P'huen* or *Tron-nū* to the east and south east of *Luang P'brah Bāng*,



under the old name of *P'u êrh* or *P'u-êrh* and its *Lāu* forms *P'hu Ō* and *Khā-Ō*. Every vestige of those that had settled in Northern Tonkin has probably disappeared long ago, and from no mention being found of them in Annamese history,<sup>1</sup> we must conclude that they have been partly absorbed into the bulk of the people, and partly driven southwards along with other tribes that entered to form the population of Campī.

On the other hand, groups of the *P'hu-Ō* or *Khā-Ō* are still found on the hill tracts of the Black River, especially in the district of *Muang Lai*, the *Lai chow* or *Lai-chāu* (萊州) of the Annamese. From a Siamese account of them we gather that they, whether males or females, are wont to tattoo the part of the face round the mouth with black streaks and other designs. Now, we have formerly drawn attention to the fact that the custom of face tattooing was peculiar to the *Li* or *Loi* of Hainan and to the Khyeng of Burmā in so far as women were concerned, and to the *Hua mien*, or 'Flowered Faces' tribe of the *Liau*,<sup>2</sup> among whom it was presumably adopted by both sexes. Ma Tuan lin tells us that it was also in favour among a tribe of the *Pu* (濮) somewhere on the Burmā frontier, termed for this reason *Wên mien Pu*, i.e. 'Striped face *Pu*'. These people, he says tattoo their faces with blue designs.<sup>3</sup> They may

<sup>1</sup> On the Chinese side Ma Tuan lin makes mention (op. cit. p. 325) of natives—apparently of Hainan—called 符 護 *Fu hū* (Cant. *Fu hū* Ann. *P'ā hū*) who gave some trouble to the Chinese authorities of the island in A.D. 1154–55 but it is difficult to judge from the scanty information given as to whether this tribe were in any way related to the *P'u* on the main.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 301. It is interesting to notice that face tattooing is also in favour with several Naga clans on the Burmo-Assamese frontier among which is that of the *Ahor*, who strange to say bear a name strikingly similar to the one of the *P'u êrh*. Among the Kolarian tribes of India the practice prevails especially with the Juang, Khariya, Ho and Oraon where however it is restricted to women and to the forehead and temples only (see Crooke's *Folklore of Northern India* 1896 vol. ii p. 31). In the Malay Peninsula it is still observable among the Semang and Benua while in Sumatra it was noticed since the first quarter of the fourteenth century by Friar Odoric at *S. moltra* or *S. mola* (Sumatra city near Paser or Samara) and in the century next followed by Nicolò Conti among the *Batech* (Batta or Battak). In Northern

have been Wah or Pwo-Karens, not necessarily connected with the *P'hū-Ō*, although the character, 濮, employed in representing their name, is strikingly similar, both in form and sound, to that (濮) used to denote the *P'u-la*. In the alternative designation of the latter, *P'u-na*, it should be noticed, the initial character takes the form of 蒲, which also occurs in the name of the *P'u-Jên* (蒲人), or *P'u-Men*, said by the Rev. George W Clarke to be called *Pu-Ren* and *P'u-long*, and to have been termed *Pen-pu* from B.C. 1122-867. Some of them, he adds, live in the neighbourhood of Nan-tien, to the south-west of (modern) Yung-ch'ang.<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to find out whether these *P'u-long*—or, as he writes their name, *Pulong*—are one and the same people with the *Palong* or *Palaung*

Indo-China it has been remarked of the *Nu ts*, *Lu ts*, or *Au jên* (怒了, etc.), dwelling to the east of the *Nu* or *Lu* River (怒, or 潞, 江 = Salwin), that they "tattoo their faces with blue lines" (see "Actes du 10<sup>ème</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes," Leide, 1897, Section VII, p. 61), without any further particulars as to the part of the face where the disfiguration is applied to, and what form it takes. The tattooing about the corners of the mouth we have described as forming part of the toilet of the *P'hū-Ō* was, therefore, probably in favour with all the *P'u* or *Pu* tribes. It is a pity that the lack of more detailed information about these and kindred populations in Chinese literature prevents us from turning the above supposition into a certainty as the question is one of great importance for ethnological classification. Outside of Indo-China the latter peculiar form of tattooing is found among the *Che-luan* (*Shing-fan*) or hillmen of Formosa, and beyond it it reappears among the women of Fiji. Leaving, however, the last-named aside and confining our considerations to Formosa, it cannot fail to strike one as very probable that the presence of an identical custom in the same characteristic form among the *Che-luan* of that island and the *P'hū-Ō* of Northern Indo-China is a very strong argument in favour of racial affinity between the two peoples. The *Che-luan* style of tattooing is minutely described in the *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, new series, No. ix, 1875, p. 64, and in the *China Review*, vol. xii, pp. 200-201, to which I refer the reader. It is to be hoped that more attention will henceforth be paid to this subject, especially in connection with Indo-Chinese tribes, and that likenesses of the different patterns in use for the face will be taken, so as to enable ethnologists to institute comparisons, and eventually arrive at some definite result in respect of the racial relations in which those tribes stand to each other.

dwelling to the north-east of Ava (Taungbain district, etc) and in the northern part of Muang Lem. These latter Lacouperie's terms *Po-lung* (勃 龍, really *P'o-lung* or *P'uh-lung*) and rightly ascribes to the Mōn-Annam family. From the evidence adduced above, they must be identical to the *Pu la* and closely allied to the *P'u-eh* or *P'hu-O*, in whose neighbourhood they originally lived, as exemplified by the fact that *P'o-lung* or *P'uh-lung* (spelled with the same characters) was the name of the department of Peh-ngai of the Nan-Chao kingdom. Ma Tuan-lin, speaking of the south-western barbarians called *Pu-jén* (卜 人), i.e. *Pu-Men*, takes them to be one with the *Pu* (濮) above referred to, and does not hesitate to suggest that all these tribes styled *Pu* must be the same people.<sup>3</sup> From the prevalence among most of the *Pu* or *P'u* of the custom of face tattooing, from the fact of their being as a rule, dark complexioned<sup>4</sup>, from their speaking similar languages, and having practically the same customs, we have no hesitation, in our turn, to still more generalize Ma Tuan-lin's view, and pronounce all the tribes mentioned above, whether *Pu* or *P'u*, closely related to the *Pu-eh* and issued from the same racial stock, if not absolutely identical with each other. Another people with a name strikingly alike that of the *P'u-eh* or *P'huen* are the *P'hicon* or *Picon* (their name being so spelled by Ney Elias), mentioned in the Mogaung Annals as one of the eight races dwelling in that kingdom at the time of its foundation, circa 1215 A.D. They were then divided into Great and Little P'hwons, and their descendants are still to be found settled about the third or upper defile

of the Irāvatī<sup>1</sup> According to a tradition surviving among them it would appear that their remote ancestors were already in the country at the time of the expedition from *Sein*, or *Sin*, that stormed and destroyed Tagaung in *circa* *bc* 550 These primeval Phwons, the legend runs, were pressed into service by the conquerors to conduct the elephants captured in the city back to *Sein*, but they escaped thence and wandered back to the banks of the Irāvatī, where they and their descendants have remained ever since Ney Elias writes throughout 'China' instead of *Sin*, or *Sein*, in the above narrative, and, indeed, some of the native versions give *Gandhāra safta* (Yunnan) as the land whence the invaders came I have shown however, that the country around Bhāmo, forming the ancient State of *Shen* (滇) of Chinese records, is very probably implied<sup>2</sup> Anyhow, the legend, while no doubt confusing events, points to some dim tradition still lingering amongst the Phwons, as to their early ancestors having come into the country from Yunnan by way of the Taping Valley, i.e. *cid* Yung ch'ang, Momien and Bhīmō about the middle of the sixth century *bc*, if not much earlier Such being the case, it is quite possible that they are a branch of the *Pu êrh*, *P luen*, *P hui*, or *P hyu*, left behind in the Taping Valley (where, we have seen, p 130 *ante* there have been *P iao*, or *P hyū*, at Momien down to *AD* 796) when the said *P hyu* wandered down towards Southern Burmā along with the *Kanran* and *Sal* (i.e. the *Pu ch'a* and other tribes of *Chek* race, such as the *Khamu*, *Klamu* or *Khamu*, *Kanrang*, etc) As the *P hyū* are said to have reached Old Prome in about 484 *bc*., there is nothing improbable as to their having left the country around Bhāmo (Tagaung etc) at the time of the *Shen*, or *Sein* invasion (*circa* *bc* 550), instead of several centuries before as the legendary native records pretend Otherwise the Phwons may be regarded as a younger branch of the *P hyū* who followed

<sup>1</sup> See Ney Elias ( History of the Shan, p 12)

<sup>2</sup> See above p 62

in the footsteps of their elder brothers long after these had permanently settled on Burmese territory, and were arrested, through some cause or other, in the country around Bhāmō, where they have remained ever since. Of the ethnical characteristics of the P'hwons, Ney Elias does not tell us much beyond that "they are closely allied to the Kadus on the borders of Munnipur [*sic* for Manipur] both in language and customs, and are probably of one origin with the latter, whether the above tradition be true or not."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mason enumerates the *Kadū* or *Kadu* among his "eleven Burmese tribes of unquestionably common origin," but as with them he includes the *P'hŷū*, *Kanian*, and others whom we have shown to be, almost unquestionably, of Mōū-Annam origin, his classification can be no more relied upon than the modern title 'Burmese' he assumes for a group of populations who were for the most part in the country many centuries before the Burmāns ever put their foot in it.<sup>2</sup> Forbes more judiciously says of the *Kadu*, *Yō*, *Yabaing*, and others that "they are recognized by the Burmans proper as being the wilder and more primitive branches of their race, but, unfortunately, we have no trustworthy specimens of their dialects from which to form conclusions."<sup>3</sup> Other writers on Burmā and its ethnology make it a point of ignoring both the *Kadu* and *P'hŷon*. The fact is, then, that nothing certain is so far known about their language, and much less as regards their racial connections.<sup>4</sup> It is to be hoped that new researches will throw further light on these questions; in the meantime there seems to be more than one probability that both these tribes belong to the

<sup>1</sup> *Loc cit*

<sup>2</sup> The *P'hŷon*—whose name he spells *Phŷon* or *Mŷon*—he classes, along with the *Paleng* or *Palen*, among the 'Shan' (Thai) tribes

<sup>3</sup> "Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India," p. 56

<sup>4</sup> The recently published "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States," Rangoon, 1900, vaguely says about the *P'hŷon*, whose name it variously spells *Hŷon*, *Hpon*, *Hŷon*, etc (part 1, vol 1, pp 567-8) "It is possible that they are a mere sort of dshelout, like the Yaws and Danus and Kadus, full of traces of all their neighbours. On the other hand, they may prove a valuable link in the chain when the many detached links begin to be joined together. The Hŷons look perilously like half-breeds, but they may be a back-wash."

Môn-Annam race, and if Lacouperie's suggestion as to the identity of the *Kadu* or *Kadô* with the *K'a-t'o* of Southern Yunnan is in any sense justifiable, it is quite possible that we have in the former and in the *Phicon* western ramifications of Ptolemy's *Kudutai* and *Barrhai* respectively

### Seros River (Nos 113 and 180)

I have identified this stream with the *Hsi yu* (*Hsi yu chuang*), noted as *Si you* River in Dutreuil de Rhins' "Carte de l'Indo Chine Orientale" (1881) and as *Tiah* (or *Tial*) *You liang* in Pavie's map (1894). This watercourse undoubtedly corresponds to the one termed *Yu chou chuang* (漁洲江) in Devéria's "Frontière Sino-Annamite" (p 4, and sketch map on p 7), apparently so designated after a village of the name of *Yu chou* ('Fishing Islet'), marked simply as *Fu* in Dutreuil's map above referred to at a short distance to the east of the river's embouchure and at the head of a bay denoted as *Baie Luyu*. This indentation of the coast lies immediately to the east of Cape *Pak lung*, and in most modern maps, even down to the latest, it is made the estuary for a doubtful watercourse, to wit, the *Ngan nan liang* (Annam River), which seems to exist only in the fertile imagination of our geographers<sup>1</sup>. Another stream further eastwards, the *Lung mén* River, debouching near *Ch'in chou* (K'in chau), is given in the Chinese official descriptions of the country a name similar to the *Hsi yu*

<sup>1</sup> See Devéria, op cit p ix preface and p 5 text. Ever since the appearance of the first Jesuit maps of the country—published by D'Anville in 1729—the *Ngan nan liang* has persistently occupied a conspicuous position in the cartography of the Tonkin seaboard. The latest Admiralty charts of that region still retain it while Pavie's map is almost alone among the few recent ones that omit it—or to be more exact that following the example set forth in the rude Chinese sketches of the country published by Devéria mark in the place of that stream an insignificant rivulet which they leave nameless. The China Sea Directory vol 1 4th ed 1899 still speaks (p 466) of the indentation in the coast referred to above as a deep bay into which the *Ngan nan liang* discharges apparently encumbered by shallow banks. It duly acknowledges however that the coast about that point is but little known a fact which accounts for the incessant repetition down to this day of the error as to the existence of that fabulous river.

or *Yu-chou*, to wit, *Yü-hung* (漁洪);<sup>1</sup> but Ptolemy's rectified position of the mouth of the *Sēros* (long. 107° 36' E. and lat. 21° 37' N.) points to a location further to the west, while the term *Si-you* occurring in Dutreuil's map—evidently the local name by which the stream in question has long been known—argues an origin from a designation somewhat like *Hsi-yü*, which is undoubtedly the prototype of Ptolemy's transcript *Sēros*.

Indeed, the term *Hsi-yü* is by no means new on the upper seaboard of the Toukin Gulf. The Annamese Annals, for one, tell us of an ancient district called *Tōi-rū* (Tây-vu) whose name, though spelled with different characters (i.e. 西于, meaning 'westward going,' or 'extending towards the west') from those employed to denote the *Hsi-yü* or *Yu* River, is nevertheless identically read *Hsi-yu*. The location that this district occupied is unknown, but it formed part of the *Kiāu-chau* department (*Jāu-chōu p'hū*), it having been constituted by the Han at the time of their conquest of the country in B.C. 111. In A.D. 43 its population had grown up to as much as thirty-three thousand families; hence Ma-yüan, the Chinese victorious general, split the district into two divisions, which he named, respectively, *P'hōng-khē* and *Vōng-hāi*,<sup>2</sup> doing away altogether with the old term *Hsi-yu* or *Tōi-rū*, which thus became obsolete from that date. As *P'hōng-khē* (in Chinese: 封溪, *Fēng-ch'ī* = 'Fief Creek') was the original name—taken from that of a rivulet near by—borne by the territory on which the capital of the *Thūk* king, afterwards termed *Kó-luā*, was built, and as we have seen that the same territory now forms part of the district called *Dōng-ngân* (東寧), in the province of *Bak-niñ*,<sup>3</sup> we may well infer that the erstwhile *Tōi-rū*, otherwise *Hsi-yu*, district, must have included part of the present *Bak-niñ* territory, and may have stretched eastwards as far as Cape *Pak-lung* and the *Hsi-yü* River, having been possibly named after the latter. This would appear to some extent

<sup>1</sup> *Devéria*, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See *Des Michels*, op. cit., pp. 49, 63, 107, and note 446.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

from the sense of 'westward going' embodied in the district's name, which could thus be interpreted 'extending to the westward of the *Hsi-yü* River,' the then probably eastern boundary of the *Kidu-chau* department. The fact of the name of this river being now spelled somewhat differently does not constitute a sufficient plea against the etymological connection here suggested, as many a Chinese place-name is known to have been at various periods represented by characters differing in form, although identical, or nearly so, in sound.

But, without laying too much stress on the homonymy, if any, between the *Hsi-yü* River and the ancient *Hsi-yu* district—which latter, it must in any case be remembered, lasted until A.D. 43, i.e. up to about the period to which Ptolemy's information about the region in question is apparently to be referred,—the presence of a water-course, on the tract of coast where our eminent geographer makes his *Séros* discharge, known to this day by such names as *Si-you*, *Tiah-you*, or *Hsi-yü*, is, I should think, sufficient evidence upon which to argue an etymological connection between the names of the two streams, and to conclude as to the latter's topographical identity. Of course, we do not know how far back in antiquity the actual designations *Si-you*, *Tiah-you*, etc., may be traced, in the event of their having nothing in common with the name of the ancient *Hsi-yü* district. But there would still remain the old term *Hsi-Ou* applied to Tonkin in Ts'in times to resort to as an alternative, which no doubt long survived in the country and may have remained attached, albeit in a somewhat modified form, to the name of the river constituting its former eastern boundary, in the same manner that the term *Ngan-nan* became at a much later date identified with a neighbouring—however imaginary—watercourse, supposed to form the eastern limit of Annamese territory.

An apparently very serious objection that could be raised against our identification of the *Séros* with the *Hsi-yu* is the insignificant size of the latter as compared with so conspicuous a watercourse as the former is represented to be



in Ptolemaic geography. In this system, in fact, the Seros is made to rise in the Semanthinos range from two sources, of which the more western lies in long  $106^{\circ} 52'$  E, lat  $30^{\circ} 24'$  N, and the more eastern in long  $109^{\circ} 4'$ , lat  $29^{\circ} 13'$ , their confluence being in long  $107^{\circ} 15'$ , lat  $27^{\circ} 25'$ , all these being the rectified positions obtained by us as shown in the tables. Such data suggest the idea of a mighty water-course rising about the boundary of Sz ch'wan and Hu nan on the east and slightly above the Yang-tsz at Ch'ung king on the west uniting in a single main channel near Tsun yi towards the centre of Kwei chow and wending thence its way to the Tonkin Gulf. A geographical monstrosity indeed, but for all that by no means exceeding those perpetrated by cartographers at different periods regarding the same region. We have already pointed out, in fact, how the real hydrography of the tract of country now under consideration has proved a puzzle to geographers up to quite recently, and may be, is still so for some of them to this very day. By reference to the map in Mandelslo already alluded to<sup>1</sup> it will be seen that the river of Hā nōi, and another more to the east as well, are made to issue from the Tung tung lake in Hu nan, not far from the point where Ptolemy located the eastern source of his Seros. And, by turning to Deveria's "Frontière Sino Annamite" (p. 6) one will be not a little surprised to see how D'Anville, in the map of the Kwang tung province he published in A.D. 1729, constructed upon that originally made by the Jesuits, connected—though it be by an oversight—the *Lu shwei* River (a tributary of the *Lung* or *Tso liang*, i.e. the 'Left River' of Kwang hsi, through the *Min liang*) with the *Ngan nan liang* of mythical fame, thus making—most absurdly—a branch of the Left River to flow down to the Gulf of Tonkin. Nor is this all, for Dutreuil de Rhins' map of A.D. 1881 repeats the same error and makes the *Ngan nan liang* drain the basins of the *Tso liang*, *Min liang* and *Lu shwei*, and so do the Admiralty charts down

to A.D. 1886 and later. In comparison, and due regard being had to the time at which he lived, we may justly say that Ptolemy was far ahead of our modern geographers in his treatment of the hydrography of the region now under consideration.

But I will push on still further in the appreciation of his talents and demonstrate that in making his *Sēros*, that is, our *Hsi-yü*, rise in the *Sēmanthinos* range—or in what he believed to be such, or, at any rate, its prolongation—he was perfectly correct. By looking over the hydrographic description of the *Hsi-yü*—or, as he terms it, the *Fu-chou*—which Devéria compiled from Chinese sources, it will be seen (op. cit., p. 4) that this stream is, like the *Sēros*, formed by the junction of two branches; the one coming from the west taking its source in the mountain range called the *Shih-wan Shan* (十萬山) or 'Ten-myriads' Peaks, a very conspicuous orographic group forming the natural boundary between the K'in-chau district, that of Shang-sz chou in Kwang-hsi, and the Tonkin borderland. Now, the name of this mountain range, *Shih-wan Shan*, is variously pronounced *Shép-man Shan* in Cantonese and *Thōp-rân Son* in Annamese, a circumstance which argues that its old pronunciation must have been not very far different from *Shé-man-shan* or *Shé-man-thin*, in which forms it will not take a great stretch of imagination to recognize Ptolemy's *Sēmanthinos*. Of course, this is not in reality the same mountain chain as the one which our geographer makes to run through Eastern Sz-ch'wan and Hu-nan. This, I propose to demonstrate in the next instalment of the present inquiry, owes its Ptolemaic designation to a closely similar term, the name of the *Hsie-man* (西蠻) tribes formerly settled in that region—Ptolemy's *Sēmanthinoi*, — and means 'Mountains of the *Hsie-man* tribes'; in Chinese, *Hsie-man Shan*. But it seems perfectly natural that Ptolemy having heard, as he very probably did, the *Shih-wan Shan* range vaguely mentioned as the source of the *Hsi-yü*, he rashly jumped to the conclusion that this must be the same as the *Hsie-man Shan* of Sz-ch'wan and Hu-nan, and thus he was misled into making his *Sēros* rise in the latter.

The last possible objection to be disposed of in the present retrospective inquiry is of a linguistical character, and concerns the etymological connection I have assumed throughout to exist between the names of the *Hsi-yu* and *Sēros*. On this point I may say that I hope to conclusively demonstrate in the section devoted to *Sērīkē* that some term closely akin, if not absolutely identical, with *Hsi-yu*—and not 絲, *Sz*, *Si*=‘silk,’ as it has been generally held hitherto—is the most likely etymological prototype and equivalent of *Sēra*, *Sēres*, *Sēr*, *Sir*, etc. Many circumstances concur in indicating that in the China of the old days *Hsi-yu* and allied toponymics were very probably pronounced somewhat like *Sēr-u* or *Sēr-o*; possibly *Sē-ru*, should one prefer believing that the strayed *r* in that compositum still survives in a latent and softened form, represented by the present *y*.

I may add, before dismissing this subject, that in the case in point the name of the *Hsi-yu* River may be of Sanskrit origin, that is, traceable to some such term as *Saras*, *Śarayū*, *Sarjū*, etc., corrupted locally as time went by into *Hsi-yu* or *Si-you*, but recorded by Ptolemy in the more correct and early form of *Sēros*.

#### End of the Great Gulf towards the Sinai (No. 112).

This corresponds to the head of the Gulf of Tonkin between K'in-chau (欽州, Ch'in-chou) and Pak-hoi Harbour.<sup>1</sup> Here the Indo-Chinese (India extra-Gangem) seaboard ended, and that of the Sinai or people of China south of the Yang-tsz commenced. Ptolemy, in fact, includes the Lei-chou peninsula and the Lien-chou district (ancient *chun* of *Ho-p'u*, 合浦, Ann. *Hiep-p'hó*, whose name he renders as *Aspithra*) in the territory of the Sinai. In his time, however, this *chun*, as well as the more eastern one of *Nan-hai* (now province of Kwang-tung or Canton), formed part,

<sup>1</sup> The exact position as rectified in the Tables (long. 108° 42' E., lat. 21° 37' N.) coincides with the site occupied by the islet marked *Yai-mu Tiao* in the charts, which lies at the extremity of the headland separating the estuary of the Lung-mén (K'in-chau Bay) from the indentation in the coast terminating eastwards at Kwan-tau Point, within which Pak-hoi Harbour is situated.

administratively, of the *ts* (*pu*) of Kīu-chi, from which they were not separated—and that but partially, in so far as the *chun* of *Ho-p'u* was concerned—until A D 226 temporarily, and A D 264 permanently, when the *chou* of Kwang (Kwang chou) was constituted with its own seat of government at *P'an-yu*<sup>1</sup> (Canton, which on this account became from that date known as *Kwang-chou*, the name it has borne up to the present day) Ptolemy's division is therefore more geographical and ethnological than political, and from that point of view it must be recognized as remarkably correct

<sup>1</sup> See Des Marts' op cit pp 91 100 101

## (10) ISLANDS OF TRANS-GANGETIC INDIA

*A. The Andāmāns and Nikobārs.*

Bazakata (No. 156).

"In this island some say there is found in abundance the murex shell-fish (κόχλος), and that the inhabitants go naked, and are called Aginnatai."<sup>1</sup> So far Ptolemy's text. A good deal of speculation has gone on among Oriental scholars as regards the identity of this island; but Colonel Yule was certainly the most correct in assuming it to be the Great Andāmān. I think that the whole group of the Main Andāmāns should be included under Ptolemy's designation, as the three islands of which it consists—or rather four, if we are to include among them, as seems reasonable, Bārātān Island, closely sandwiched in between Middle and South Andāmān—have long been believed by navigators to form but one single island, and it was only in February, 1792, for instance, that the passage between the North and Middle Andāmāns (Austin Strait) was discovered.<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy's description suits also very well these islands, both his statements as to the nakedness of the inhabitants and the abundance of murex shell-fish being confirmed by modern travellers.<sup>3</sup> It remains, then, to account for the name he collectively gives them, a task which preceding commentators have preferred not to broach. In order to arrive at an understanding of the term Bazakata it must be remembered that the group of the Andāmāns, together with that of the Nikobārs, has always been known as the 'Archipelago of Naked People'. This is not only the denomination applied to those islands by

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 236<sup>2</sup> See Symes' "Embassy to Ava" (Edinburgh, 1827), vol. 1, p. 153 and footnote<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159, speaking of the Minkopi, "they go QUITE NAKED", and at p. 163, "THE SHORES AROUND in a variety of beautiful shells, gorgonias, madreporas, MUREX, and cowries, with many other kinds." The sentences here printed in small capitals correspond literally to Ptolemy's words

Chinese authors,<sup>1</sup> but it is also the common term employed to designate them in India and Further India. *Nikobār*, in fact, is simply a corrupted form of *Nagga-tāra* (in Pāli *Nagga - tāra*) or *Nag-bār*, meaning 'Country of Naked People,' often written by mistake *Nāga-tāra*, in Siamese *Nāgarasi*.<sup>2</sup> I found the latter name in an old Siamese map forming part of an illustrated *Traip'hum*, a famous work on Buddhist cosmology<sup>3</sup>, a short explanation is appended, which means "naked people [are living here]" The *Nagga dipa* mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* is probably the same archipelago.<sup>4</sup> In modern times these names were

<sup>1</sup> I-tsing, in Chavannes' "Religieux Éminent," etc., pp 100, 120, has 裸國, which is apparently a misprint for 裸國 (*Lo kuo*), i.e. the 'Kingdom of the Naked (unclothed, or stripped) People.' The description he gives (pp 120-121) seems to apply to the Nikobars and not to the Andamans, for he speaks of coconuts growing there, which are absent in the Andamans. Other Chinese authors have *Lo-hsing-kuo* (裸形國), which has the same meaning. See Phillips in *Journal R. A. S.*, July, 1895, p 529, note 3. I have since noticed in Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," translated from I-tsing's work, that this author employs also the spelling *Lo jen-kuo* (裸人國), i.e. 'Naked-Men Kingdom' (Introduction, p xxxviii).

<sup>2</sup> Compare with this Marco Polo's *Nocueram* or *Negueram*. The Burmese way of spelling the name — နဂာဘာရီ = *Nakabari*, pronounced *Nagabari* — is practically identical with the Siamese, nevertheless, it should be observed that the term နဂါ, the Burmese transcript of *Naga*, is not represented in it, thus making it probable that *Nagga* is the sense intended.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed account of this work, see my book 'Culakantamangala, or the Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siam' (Bangkok, 1895), pp 95 et seqq. The illustrated *Trai-Pāṇi* volume here referred to is now in the Königl. Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, where the curious and valuable map alluded to may be inspected by those taking interest in the geography of the Far East.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. vi, where it is said that Vijaya's children and those of his followers drifted there. In other chapters (xi, xx, xli, liv, etc.) we have *Naga dipa*, which term appears, from the context, to refer to a district on the north-eastern coast of Ceylon Island. The same may be inferred from a passage in the *Valāhassa-Jātaka* (No 196), the text of which runs: "Kalyāṇiṃ orata Nāgaḍḍipam it'evaṃ samuddatiram," meaning "along the sea shore as far as Kalyāṇi on the other side, and Nagaḍḍipam on this side [of Ceylon Island]." As Kalyāṇi must be the district or kingdom of the same name alluded to in the *Mahāvamsa* (ch i passim, ch li etc.) still represented by the present village of *Kalani*, on the *Kalani Ounga* (Kalanu River), on the west side of the island (about six miles north from Colombo), so

restricted, apparently, to the Nikobars, the term *Andāmān* being used to denote the islands of the northern part of the

must *Nāgadīpa* have stood on the opposite, i.e. eastern shore of the island termed "this side" in the text (in reference to the Yakkha city of *Srisaratttha* alluded to therein, which I think identical with the *Siricatttha* of the Mahavamsa (ch. vii) and etymologically connected with the havens of either *Risala* (*Sirisalatt*) or *Spatana* (= *Srisa patana* *Siri patana*) recorded by Ptolemy on that coast in the neighbourhood of *Trinkōna malai* (Trinkomalee) Bay]. It is here in fact and on the sea shore that our eminent geographer places Nagadiba a town and the Nagadiboi tribes. Colonel Yule has located Nagadiba on the north-west coast of the island but thus it will now be seen, is unsatisfactory, as conflicting with both the evidence adduced above from the *Lalāssa-Jātaka* and the position on the east coast of the island assigned by Ptolemy to Nagadiba city. I therefore believe Sir J. E. Tennent to have been far more correct in fixing for the latter a site near Trinkōna malai Bay. The result I have obtained—8° 18' N. lat.—on the basis of the Ptolemaic latitudes of respectively, the North Cape (*Βόρειον ἄκρον*) and Cape Orson the two extremes of the island points to an emplacement a little to the north of that bay that is between it and Boulder Point and calculations based upon Ptolemy's equator passing through Nābartha lead to practically the same result the difference in this case being of barely 4 less in latitude. The district stretching to the north of Trinkomalee Bay is therefore the land of *Nāgadīpa* where the Mahavamsa tells us (ch. i) Naga kings reigned over a Naga population (Ptolemy's Nagadiboi) and whither it pretends Buddha to have come to pay a visit\*. By perusing the chapter of the Mahavamsa just referred to it will be seen that while Buddha is represented to have been to Ceylon twice only (i.e. in the ninth month and the eighth year respectively of his Buddhahood) and once besides to *Nāgadīpa* (fifth year of Buddhahood) the account of these visits concludes with the words "thus the all bountiful luminary visited this most favoured land of the world three" (Turnour's translation) thus indirectly leading us to conclude that *Nāgadīpa* must have been part of Ceylon since it is only by a line the visit paid to that district to the two made to respectively *Mahāyāgana* and *Kaljani* in other parts of the island that the sum of three can be made up.

It will however appear forthwith how owing to the close similarity in names between the *Nāgadīpa* district (in Ceylon) and the *Nāgadīpa* island or archipelago (Andamans and Nikobars) the two toponyms and their locations became inextricably mixed up in Oriental legend so that in the course of time the visit paid by Buddha to *Nāgadīpa* came to be regarded as having been actually made to the Andaman Nikobar group of islands.

Dr. Rouse in his translation of vol. ii of the Jataka tales took the *Nāgadīpa* referred to in the passage quoted above from the Valabassa Jataka to be an island lying off Ceylon (p. 90 and Index, p. 312) and so did before him both Turnour in his version of the first chapter of the Mahavamsa (p. 4) Spence Hardy (loc. cit.) and Childers (Pali Dict. s.v.). But it will be seen that in either instance no island whatever is meant albeit the toponymic may be literally interpreted in the sense of 'Naga Island'. Analogous is the case with the *Nāgadīpa* of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (bk. ii ch. 3) which although signifying literally the same is distinctly stated to be part of *Bharatavarsa* i.e. to be a division of

in Ptolemy, are possibly synonymous terms which were very likely in use in his time. It will be seen, in fact, that *baza*

from the *Ts'uei-lan* [Nikobār] islands" (Phillips in *Journal China Branch R A S*, vol. xi, p. 212). This piece of folklore, evidently picked up by Chinese navigators on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, corroborates the view that we have just advanced, namely, that the Ceylonese district of *Nagadīpa* became, from a very early period, identified with the Nikobār Islands in Oriental legend. We shall have to revert to this curious tradition directly. Suffice for the present to note the equation *Naga dīpa* = *Ts'uei-lan* = Nikobār. The original spelling was evidently *Nagga-dīpa* or *Nagga-tara*, 'Archipelago or Country of Naked People,' the alteration into *Naga* (serpent-people) being introduced in the sequel, presumably by Buddhist writers, as being more in accord with Buddhist ideas and with the character of the aborigines of those islands, who find themselves as well at home on the sea as on land. Or is it possible that, as we have suggested, the reverse was the case, and that these people were in origin called *Nāga* from their connection with the Nagas of the eastern coast of India and Ceylon, and that the terms *Nagga*, *Nanga*, etc., were applied to them afterwards on account of their nakedness?

As regards the name of the Andamans, I am under the impression that it is derived from the same source as that of the Nikobars, hence it is that I am inclined to include both insular groups in the 'Archipelago of the Naked People.' Marco Polo, it will be seen, refers to the Andamans under the names *Angaman* (Latin texts), *Angamanam* (French text), and *Aghama* (Italian text), which all seem to me traceable to *nanga*, the term for 'naked' in Urdu and other Indian vernaculars. *Nangamanava*, *Nangamanusya*, *Nangamanu*, and similar compounds, would explain, in my opinion, not only Marco Polo's *Angaman*, etc., but also Sulaiman's *Lenyebalus*, or *Lanyebālus*, which he records as the name of some islands separated from two others beyond by a sea called *Andaman* (Reinaud, op. cit., p. 8). The description given by Sulaiman of the inhabitants of these islands (p. 16) tallies almost word for word with that left nearly two centuries before (A. D. 672) by I-tsing (Chavannes, op. cit., p. 120). It is clear



may stand for the Sanskrit or Pāli *śaṭa* = 'clothes,' a term which takes different forms in the vernaculars of Southern India and Indo-China, becoming *laju* (= 'a coat') in Malay, *pato* in Burmese, etc. *Kata* may have the sense of 'taking off, removing,' as in *kart*; or else it may stand for *kṛta*, as in the compounds *ritastrikṛta*, *nagulkṛta*, etc. = 'stripped of clothes,' 'undressed.' However it be, there seem to be sufficient indications that *kata* or *kota*, as it is variously spelt (Bazakata, Bazakota), has in this compound the sense of 'removed, taken off' (cf. *loṭari* = 'a naked woman'). Hence, Bazakata looks like a derivation of *Vāsa-kata* or (*Vā*) - *śaṭa-kata*, meaning 'stripped of clothes,' i.e. 'naked people.'

The same construction I am inclined to put upon the term Aginnatai. Lassen proposed to read *Apinnatai* (from the Sanskrit *Apinaditha*), which he translates 'unclothed.' McCrindle, however, points out that this interpretation is wrong, the sense being instead 'clothed.' Indeed, I think that Lassen might have more properly suggested *apanṭa*. But we need not have recourse to such radical alterations in the spelling of Ptolemy's term, since it can be more easily traced to the Pāli word *acchinna*, Sanskrit form *acchinna*, making it read *Acchinatai*, which is much nearer to Ptolemy's rendering. *Acchinna* has the same sense as *apanṭa* ('removed, taken off'); it was probably preceded or followed in the original expression by some term meaning

*Journal Straits Branch R A S*, No 17 (June, 1886), p. 83. "I have little doubt that the Andaman Islands owe their name to the fact that their inhabitants were identified by the Malays with the monkeys of Hanuman. The Malays call the group 'Pulau Handuman,' or the islands of Hanuman, and thus we have corrupted into Andaman." This suggestion is worth considering, but in the old Siamese map elsewhere referred to, I find written *Antoman*, and the Burmese

name of the islands is *Andaman* (အံဓမ္မာ) The homestead of Hanuman

is, in the map just mentioned, noted down as "Country of *Mē Mē*, here Hanuman *Sesvambhu* resides." I recollect that it is located on the coast of the Malay Peninsula, not far from Tanau (*Tanara éri* or Tenasserim). It may be Ptolemy's Berabai (Mergui), which is the only name I know of on that coast bearing some similarity to the Siamese *Mē Mē*. Possibly the Mergui Archipelago is meant. In any case the position falls just oppositely to the Andamans.

'clothes,' which was dropped in the course of time. It should be noticed, furthermore, that the term *acchinna* (or *acchinna*) has also the sense of 'stolen,' 'snatched away,' wherefore *Acchinna tsa* would mean 'deprived of clothes,' as well as 'stolen (or snatched away) clothes.' This interpretation finds support in the legend according to which Buddha, during his stay in *Nagadipa* (here taken to mean the Andāmin-Nikobār archipelago) had, whilst bathing, his yellow robes (*kasaya* or *kāsaya castia*) snatched away by the wicked natives. This legend first appears, so far as I am aware, in Ma-Huan's relation, the *Ying yai Sheng lan*, published in 1416, but it must have been current long before that in and about the Bay of Bengal, where the Chinese traveller just referred to has evidently picked it up. Phillips' translation of the portion of the text relating to it runs as follows —<sup>1</sup>

"When you leave the south of 'Hat Island' [*Mao Shan*, 帽山],<sup>2</sup> and sail in a north easterly direction for three days with a favourable wind, you sight the *Tswei lan* Islands [*Tswei lan Shan*, 翠藍山]. These islands are three or four in number, and one of them, the largest, has the foreign name of *So tu man* [*So tu mán Shan*, 梭篤蠻山]. Its inhabitants live in the hollows of trees and caves. Both men and women there go about stark naked, like wild beasts, without a stitch of clothing on them. No rice grows there. The people subsist solely on wild yams, jack fruit, and plantains or upon the fish which they catch. There is a legend current among them that, if they were to wear the smallest scrap of clothing, their bodies would break out into sores and ulcers, owing to their ancestors having been cursed by *Sakyamuni*, for having stolen and hidden his clothes while he

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. ix, pp. 211-12.

<sup>2</sup> Either Pulo Rondo or Pulo Way more probably the latter and not Pulo Bras as both Groeneveldt and Phillips have surmised. I have put between quotation marks in this and the following pages the absolutely useless English renderings of place names which the translator—out of homage to a mistaken notion prevalent among Sinologists—has thought it necessary to supply and I have given at the same time within brackets the Chinese originals since these alone being as usual and as I shall always insist upon mere phonetic transcripts of native toponyms can lead us to the identification of the latter.

was bathing, at the time when he crossed over [from Ceylon]<sup>1</sup> and stopp'd at these islands.

"Continuing your voyage, and sailing westward from here for seven days, the 'Hawk's Beak Hill' [Ying-lo-tsuai Shan, 鷹嘴山]<sup>2</sup> is sighted, and in another two or three days the 'Buddhist Temple Hill' [Fo-t'ang Shan, 佛堂山] is reached, near to which is the anchorage of the port of Ceylon called *Pich-lo-li* [別列里].<sup>3</sup>

"On landing, there is to be seen on the shining rock at the base of the cliff an impress of a foot two or more feet in length. The legend attached to it is, that it is the

imprint of Sīkyamuni's foot, made when he landed at this place, coming from the *Ts'iei lan* Islands" <sup>1</sup>

The same yarn is repeated, in well nigh the identical words by Fei hsün a few years later (1436), and soon after this it found a place in Chinese historical literature <sup>2</sup> A no less wonderful story is told in the *Ajāib* <sup>3</sup> concerning a golden shrine enclosing a tomb to be found in the 'Great Andāman,' to which the natives of "both isles" convene in pilgrimage to worship believing it to be the burial place of Sulaimīn (Solomon), the son of David Here, however, a confusion seems to have been made between *Samana* or *Sīamana* an epithet of Buddha (*Samana Gotama*), *Sumana lita* or *Samanta lita* both well known names of Adam's Peak, *So tu man* or *Sudhama* : (?) Island (Great Nikobār ?), Adam, and Sulaiman (Solomon) for the Buddhist temple at Adam's Peak is evidently the place the author of the narrative had in mind and there is no likelihood of such a splendid structure as the one he refers to ever having existed on either the Nikobārs or Andamans <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that the author does not mean here the well known footprint on Adam's Peak to which he refers further on in his account but some other similar vestige to be found at the base of some cliff in the neighbourhood of Belgam Local inquiry may lead to the identification of the spot actually intended

<sup>2</sup> In the *Ming shih* or Outlandish history of the Ming dynasty published A.D. 1459 (See extract on the subject given in the *T'ou g Pao* vol ix p 185)

<sup>3</sup> *Merveilles de l'Inde* by A. Vander Lath and Marcel Devic p 134

<sup>4</sup> The same compilation refers (p 69) to another island under the name of *Armanan* which the translator thinks may be one of the Andamans although no direct evidence to that effect can be gathered from the vague indications given in the text These are simply that in A.D. 309 (A.D. 91?) a sailor attached to an Arab ship then on a visit at *Kalala* left this place in the ship's galleon and was blown for a distance of something over 70 *zans* to an island called *Armana* inhabited apparently only by fishermen Thence having provided himself with fresh water and fruits (bananas etc.) he set sail at a venture and after having made some 70 *zans* he chanced to come upon another island named *Bel'rkaka* from which he was enabled to reach *Kalala* in safety and thence his native country

As no bearings are given and as neither *Kakola* (Qaqola) nor *Bel'rkaka* have been as yet satisfactorily located it will be seen that the translator's identification of *Armana* is mere guesswork of the most vague character As regards *Kakola* which is evidently one with the city and seaport visited in 1345 by Ibn Batuta lying at 21 days' sail from Samudra on the north coast of Sumatra it could not certainly be *Kakola* or *Kikola* in the interior of the island as Mr van der Lath most absurdly suggests (op cit pp 239-241) nor is it to be looked for on Java as some writers would have it I am completely in accord with Colonel Yule in making it to be certainly a city on the Gulf of

This story, nevertheless, did not fail to come, in its turn, to the notice of the Chinese, and to be duly put on record in their extensive repertoires of matters relating to foreign

Siam," and more precisely, on its west coast. It is thus possible that *Armanan* was situated in that neighbourhood, being, possibly, an island of the Anamba group. *Befürkalah* suggests some word like *Ji-Baskala* *Ji-diur-kala*, or even *Bel-ber-lah*, *Bita-ber-hah*, and, accordingly, it might refer to the Berhali islets (Pulo Berhali) in Berhali Strait, near the east coast of Sumatra—not apparently to either of their namesakes in Malacca Strait, and in the Gulf of Siam, nor, to be sure, to Perlak (Cape) on the north-east coast of Sumatra, as Van der Luth wildly conjectures (*op cit*, p. 264).

The utter absurdity of Van der Luth's identifications is further proved by the fact that the distances given between the places mentioned in the narrative do not in the least correspond to those intervening between the locations he assigns to them. Truly, there is some difficulty in forming a correct estimate as to the distance actually travelled in each case, owing to its being given in *zims*, a measure about whose value there is still much uncertainty. As a measure of time all authorities are agreed that the *zim* is equivalent to three hours, as a division of the circle Reinoud says ("Geographic dictionnaire," t. i, pp. cxxix-xxx) that it corresponds to 12 3' while as a measure of length it is variously stated to be three and five leagues on Van der Luth's own showing (*op cit*, pp. 197-8). Put strange to say, our Arabists have hitherto failed to see that in point of time the *zim* is the same as the Sanskrit *yama* and the *yam* or *jam* of Indian and Indo-Chinese vernaculars (rendered as *genre*, *ga*, etc., by European travellers) which denotes a watch of three hours. Reinoud (p. cxxix) came very near finding this out when he compared the *zim* to the Indu *paḥar* or *paḥr*, yet he missed its etymological connection with—I should perhaps say derivation from—the term *yama* or *yam*. Similarly in point of distance the same Arabists have failed to discern its probable connection with the Indu *yojana* a term which becomes *yo an*, *yu an*, *yo n*, etc. in the dialects of Further India. Nicolas Doronton, cited by Van der Luth (*loc cit*), values the *qem*, as he calls it, at ten *cosas* (*liotes*), but ten here is probably a mistake for either eight or sixteen which is the number of *kosas* (usual or smaller) assigned to the *yojana* in Indu classical treatises. Such being the case, we must take the *jam* or *yojana* as equal to a distance of from seven to ten miles. It is also possible that the *zim* denoted the distance travelled or sailed over during a *yam* or watch of three hours, but a calculation of this would lead to about the same result say ten miles on the average.

By applying this value of the *zim* to the data contained in the itinerary referred to above, we obtain, roughly, 150 to 200 miles for the distance *Kakola-Armanan* and 500 to 700 miles for the next one, *Armanan-Befürkalah*. Neither of these results agrees, it will be seen, with the distances *Aagkole-Andamans* (over 600 miles) and *Andamans-Perlak* (about 100 miles) while the disproportion between these, as compared with those of the narrative is too evident to need commenting upon. Against the identification of *Armanan* with the Andamans, there is besides the reference to binans being found in the former, which do not seem to have been produced of yore in the latter named group of islands. They occur, it is true, in the Nikobars, which makes no great difference, after all, but it is difficult to see—given the position of *Katola* on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula where it undoubtedly stood—how *Armanan* can be identified with any of the Nikobars or even with the island of *Malhan* described by Sulaiman as lying between *Sorandib* (Ceylon) and *Kalah*. Had the author of the *Ajib* supplied some information as to the distance between *Befürkalah* and *Kalah* (*Takola*) it would have been possible to arrive at a better understanding of the itinerary followed but as regards *Armanan* I think it is quite plain even from the little he says that it cannot be part of the Andaman-Nikobar archipelago.

countries. Chao Ju-kua, who wrote about the first half of the thirteenth century, is perhaps the earliest author who not only makes allusion to it, but who gives of it a far more detailed version than the Arabs, although being silent as to the legend of the stolen robes, which had not then probably reached the seaports of Fuh-kien, where he appears to have held office as *Shih-po*, or inspector of foreign trade and shipping, between A.D. 1234 and 1237. This is what he says on the subject, as translated by Dr. Hirth:—<sup>1</sup>

“When sailing from *Lan-tu-li* [i.e. the *Lambri* or *Rambri* district in the north-west of Sumatra, as we shall show in due course] to *Hsi-lan* [Ceylon], if the wind is not fair, ships may be driven to a place called *Yen-t'o-mān* [晏陀曼 = *An-dā-mān*]. This is a group of two islands in the middle of the sea, one of them being large [the compact cluster of the Main *Andāmāns*?], the other small [Little *Andāmān*?]; the last is uninhabited,<sup>2</sup> whereas the large one, measuring seventy *li* in circuit,<sup>3</sup> is The natives are of a colour resembling black lacquer, and eat men alive, so that sailors dare not anchor on this coast.<sup>4</sup> This island does not contain as much as an inch of iron, for which reason the natives use clam-shells with ground edges in lieu

<sup>1</sup> In the *Journal China R. Arch. R. A. S.* vol. xvi (1857), pp. 107-8.

<sup>2</sup> Little Andaman—locally known as *Fu-belong*, and called *Pu ang* by the South Andamanese—is on the contrary, and seems to have been for a long while, inhabited, it being supposed to be the centre whence the *Jarawa* tribes of the Andamanese have emanated.

<sup>3</sup> Seventy *li* here is very probably, a clerical mistake for seven thousand *li*, which is the reading adopted in the abridged version of the same account given in the *Sin-t'ou-t'ou-t'ou* (published A.D. 1607), and quoted therefrom in the *Pien-t'ou-t'ou*, ch. 107, i, fol. 28 (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 188).

<sup>4</sup> The *Pien-t'ou-t'ou* account translated by Professor Schlegel (*T'oung-Pao*, loc. cit.) adds that the natives “are called Mountain-barbarians” (山蠻, *Shān-man*). It strikes me that this term *Shān-man*, *Shan-man*, or *Sau-ben*, as it is severally pronounced, may have something to do with the name of the *Shombeng* or *Shom-ben* tribe inhabiting the Great Nikobār, now relegated to the interior of the island, but formerly in occupation, perhaps, of portions of the littoral. The only objection against this suggested etymological connection would be that the *Shom-ben* are somewhat pure Indonesians by race, whereas the description given of the *Shān-man* in the text, as being of a colour resembling black lacquer, argues the latter to be Negritos, and would therefore suit best the Andamanese *Mintopi*. But from the accounts of the ancient travellers it clearly appears that there were Negritos in the Nikobars as well, and the *Shom-ben* may well be the result of the intermixture between these aborigines and the early *Moh* colonizers of the islands.

of knives. The island contains as a sacred relic the so-called 'Dead Man received in the Bed of Rolling Gold'; this body has been there for generations without decaying,<sup>1</sup> and there is always a huge snake guarding it, on whose body hair has grown to the length of two Chinese feet; nobody dares to come near it. In the vicinity there is a spring, the water of which will overflow twice a year and flow into the sea; the gravel over which it passes, after it has been covered by this water, turns into gold, and all the natives offer sacrifice to that spring. If copper, lead, iron, or tin

<sup>1</sup> "In their country is a sacred footprint," says the account referred to above (p. 389, n. 4), "and they have made a gilded couch whereupon a dead man lies, who has not decayed through ages." There can be no doubt that the objects of worship here alluded to are, respectively, a Buddhist *Śrī pāda* and a gilt statue representing Buddha when about to pass away from this world. Both are things characteristic of Buddhist temples and their surroundings, and I hardly think that anything of the sort could ever have existed on either the Andamans or Nikobars. It is to some shrine in Ceylon that the description applies, which has come to be wrongly ascribed to the Andaman-Nikobar archipelago through the original compiler of the account having inadvertently mixed up travellers' narratives concerning the two places. Much later on Ma Huan speaks of the footprint at the base of the Beligama cliff and of the temples to be found in that neighbourhood in the following terms (see Phillips, loc. cit.)—"There is a little water in the hollow of the imprint of this foot which never evaporates. People dip their hands in it, and wash their faces, and rub their eyes with it, saying, 'This is Buddha's water, which will make us pure and clean.' Buddhist temples abound there. In one of them there is to be seen a full length recumbent figure of Śākyamuni still in a very good state of preservation. The dais on which the figure reposes is inlaid with all kinds of precious stones. It is made of sandalwood and is very handsome. The temple contains a Buddha's tooth and other relics. This must be the place where Śākyamuni entered Nirvāṇa. Four or five *li* distant from here, in a northerly direction is the capital of the Kingdom." The capital was at *Jaṇardhana* not far from Colombo between A.D. 1301-1541 (see Mahāvamsa, ch. xci, 7 et seq.). The five *li* of the text must therefore be an error for fifty *li* or more. The above description of the temples, statues, etc., must not nevertheless be taken literally. It is a hodge-podge *à la Chinoise* of Ceylonese topography, in which things extant at Adam's Peak, at Kandy, and elsewhere have all been brought up together higgledy-piggledy and treated of as if they were to be found at a single place. This has always been the line followed by Chinese writers in their accounts of Ceylon's 'hous'. "It is supposed by the Chinese," says Sir J. I. Davis ('The Chinese', 1836) "that at its [Adam's Peak] base is a temple in which the real body of Buddha reposes on its side and that near it are his teeth and other relics." At all events Ma Huan's account is interesting as exhibiting all that was left in his time of the wonderful old story of the 'Body in the Bed of Rolling Gold' and of the stream transmuting everything into the noble metal, for it is evidently to the fabled marvels of Adam's Peak that the origin of both narratives must be traced.

is soaked with this water while in a state of red-heat, it will also be changed into gold . . . on this island live the 'Strangers of the Golden Bed,'<sup>1</sup> which is silently guarded by a spirit so that man may not come near the place."

The translator here adds by way of comment: "It is very probable that our author, who lived at Chinchew as Superintendent of Foreign Trade, got in the possession of this piece of island-lore through the Arab merchants trading to Zaitun, and that the account, as handed down by him, represents what was then currently reported among the travellers of the Indian Ocean. According to Conti ('India in the Fifteenth Century,' quoted by Yule and Burnell, *loc cit*), the name Andaman means 'the Island of Gold,'<sup>2</sup> and the tale of the 'Body in the Bed of Rolling Gold' . . . may be connected therewith" Conti's words do, indeed, show that he must have had some inkling of the above story. Although neither he, nor Chao Ju-kua and the author of the "Ajāib" appear to have heard of the legend of the stolen robes, it seems pretty well certain that the latter was current in their age, and had been so for a long while before, judging from its very probable connection with the terms Bazakata and Aginnatai. There would be, indeed, nothing strange in the fact of its having been in existence since Ptolemy's days, whence it was repeated for centuries, along with many others, by the navigators of the Indian Ocean, until it came to the Chinese notice. Observes Colonel Yule, of the early western travellers in those parts<sup>3</sup> "Had these ancient worthies, then, a Murray, from whom they pilfered experiences as

<sup>1</sup> It is sincerely to be hoped that Sinologists will some day come to realize the fact that literal translations like this unaccompanied by the original characters are absolutely worthless for the purpose of scientific investigation. Who knows that a tribal name may not be implied here which translation makes undetectable, whereas transcription of the original characters, or even a transliteration of them, might lead to the discovery of its identity?

<sup>2</sup> The form that the name assumes in Conti's account, as printed in Ramusio's collection (ed. Giunti, 1563, vol. 1, f. 339 verso), is 'Andromania,' the reference running "isola nominata Andromania, che vuol dire 'isola dell' oro,' che ha di circuito 800 miglia." "India in the Fifteenth Century" has, part II, p. 8, *Andamania*.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in the *Journal R. A. S.* for 1895, p. 521.



modern travellers do? I think they had, but their Murray lay in the traditional yarns of the Arab sailors with whom they voyaged, some of which seem to have been handed down steadily from the time of Ptolemy—peradventure Herodotus—almost to our own day.” The same might be said of the Chinese travellers. The wonderful stories they have recorded were not certainly invented by themselves, but gathered, in all likelihood, from the mouths of the Arab merchants with whom they were in constant touch, who in their turn had picked them up from the highly imaginative inhabitants of the various Indian seaports at which they traded.

The original names of the Andāmāns and their inhabitants, although perhaps not absolutely identical with, respectively, Bazakata and Aginnatai, must have been not very far different from these terms, which look more like adaptations of the former so as to make them harmonize with the sense expressed in the legend, than pure inventions concocted on the base of the legend itself. It may yet be possible, by an inquiry into the names that the natives give to the islands and to their own various tribes, to find some local *vestige of the Ptolemaic designations*. Of the four Main Andāmāns, only the apparently indigenous name of the smallest one, that is, *Bāratān* Island, is recorded in the charts. Though somewhat similar to Bazakata, it does not seem to be connected with it. What the local designations of the three others are, I am unable to find out from the meagre stock of maps and books lying at my disposal; I only meet with the alternative names *Āgu-delong* and *Palang* applied to the Little Andāmān. But those interested in the subject and possessing more favourable opportunities for inquiry would do well to ascertain what such local designations are, or what are those employed by the natives of the neighbouring isles to denote the Andāmāns and the tribes that inhabit them.

In the meantime I may observe that the name of the *Bojingi* or *Bojig-ngyida*, also known as the *Ala-Beda* tribe, living about Port Blair, bears some resemblance to

both Baza [*Bōyig*] and Aginnatai [*Ngūyida*],<sup>1</sup> while the generic term *Minkopi* applied to the Negrito inhabitants may somehow be etymologically connected with *Andamān* [*Man-kopi*?] I do not know whether *Minkopi* is an indigenous word or not. Strangely enough, it sounds like the corrupt form of an exotic nickname of which the Arab term *Kafir* was part, for the *Andāmāns* are vulgarly known among the Burmese as *Kappali-gyun* (ကပ္ပလီ ဂျွန်),<sup>2</sup> a designation meaning literally 'Islands [*gyun*] of the Caffres [*Kappali*],' or 'Negros.' Or, are we to understand that, *vice versâ*, the word *Kappali* here stands for [*Min-*]*Kopi*, the correct interpretation of the whole compositum thus being 'Islands of the *Minkopi*'?

Should the term *Andāmān* turn out to be connected with the Sanskrit *anda*, 'egg,' it must be, as I have already observed, on account of the original inhabitants being reputed to have been *Nāgas* by race, and therefore, in the popular belief, oviparous. In regard to the Chinese mention (if correct) of an egg-village, I may remark that in Arabic *bazah*, like the Indū *anda*, means an egg, as well as, owing to the shape, the testis. This may have been the interpretation put by the early Arab navigators, and after them by the Chinese, upon either the name of the *Bōyig*[-*ngūyida*] or that of the island, *Bazakata*. The original correct form of the latter may have been, by the way, *Baza-kofa*, the '*Bōyig* Stronghold,'<sup>3</sup> which some Oriental wag of the good old

<sup>1</sup> The epithet of *Aryawata* or *Aryawta*, 'long shore men,' applied to the coast dwellers might also bear some distant relation to the second name *Aginnatai*.

<sup>2</sup> Or ကပ္ပလီ ဂျွန်, the 'Kafir Archipelago.' See Judson's Burmese English Dict., 1883, p. 711.

<sup>3</sup> This recalls to mind the classical *Bhagakata*, a city near the Narmada river, founded by Rukmin, the brother-in law of Kṛṣṇa and king of the Vidarbhas (see Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Vishnu Purana," vol. II, p. 159, and vol. V, pp. 71, 84), and suggests, moreover, an etymological connection between the name of the *Bōyis* and those of the *Bhōyas* and *Bhōyālas* of Western India. It is possible that the former term is merely a modification, or adaptation of the last two. Shall we thus, after all, have to read *Bhagakata* for Ptolemy's *Bazakata*? If so,

days perverted into *Baizah-kofa*, thus making it mean 'Egg Stronghold.' This is, in fact, the literal sense of the Chinese *Ch'ih-lan-icu*, *Ch'ih-lan-icu*, or *Ch'u-lan-icu*, where 坵, *icu*, does not properly signify a 'village,' but a 'bank,' a 'wall,' and an 'entrenchment.' But it is more probable that the Chinese expression just referred to is merely the phonetic transcript of some local toponymic, such as, e.g., *Sulambu*, *Scrombu*,<sup>1</sup> *Suklambu*, etc., in which the character 坵, *lan*, may have been purposely chosen so as to express the idea of 'egg' in its double sense, on the Arab lines of *Baizah* and perhaps also on the Indū lines of *Anda*.<sup>2</sup> If the term *baizah* be also part of the old Persian, Parthian, or Syrian languages (as it is of modern Urdū), there would then be some probability of its having been employed as a substitute for *anda* to designate the Andāmāns since Ptolemy's time, and even before that.

An etymological connection with *Andha* or *Andhra*, the name of the populations in early occupation of the head of the Bay of Bengal, seems to be entirely out of the

the legends of the stolen clothes, etc., would be, as seems quite probable, mere accretions representing the efforts of a later age to explain a toponymic whose original derivation had by the time become forgotten. It must in any case be admitted that the similarity between the above toponymics and tribal names is very striking.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot omit calling attention in this case also to the close likeness between *Ch'ih-lan-icu*, *Scrombu*, or *Serumbu*, and *Serima*, the ancient name of *Nigadipa* or *Nūga* Island according to the *Sussondi Jataka* referred to above. It is possible that this term *Seruma* was still surviving locally down to comparatively recent times in some modified form, like, e.g., *Serumbu*, *Selumbu*, or *Seluma*, *Selunan*, etc. If so, *So-tu-man* could, perhaps, be referred to it as well, as a variant of *Sudhaman*, *Silaman* (whence its connection with *Sulaiman* occurred to the mind of the Arab navigators) etc. I shall revert to this question when dealing with the Ptolemaic nomenclature of the *Nikobars* proper.

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese transcripts *Ch'ih-lan-icu* or *Ch'ih-lan-icu*, 'Ped-egg bank' or 'entrenchment' and *Ch'u-lan-icu* or *Ch'u-lan-icu*, 'Egg producing bank' etc., convey too odd literal meanings to look like genuine versions of native toponymics. *Ch'ih* it may here be observed does not only mean 'red,' but also 'bare,' 'naked,' which would not, however much improve the sense. Evidently the character 坵 was purposely adopted with a view to punning, just as its synonymous (in both its senses) and probably etymologically connected 蛋, *tan* (or *dan*), was hit upon to render the name of the *Tanka* (Tan-Ka, Tan Chio) people, or boat population of Canton, wherefore they came to be called by some Western wisacres 'Egg people,' as their boats became known as 'Egg boats.' Cf. also the name of the 蛋民, *Tan Man*, of *Kwei chow*

question,<sup>1</sup> notwithstanding the fact that the term *Angaman*, recorded for the islands by Marco Polo, seems to argue some relationship with *Anga*, or Northern Bengal, and that the *Vāyu Purāṇa*<sup>2</sup> mentions an *Anga Isle* (*Anga-dīpa*), probably named from that same region, which may be identical with Marco Polo's *Angaman*. For, as I have already pointed out, *Anga* in the term *Angaman* is very likely a mere derivative of either *Nagga*, *Nagua*, or *Nāga*, through the forms *Nanga*, *Nangū*, *Nānga*, that these words assume in the various Indian vernaculars<sup>3</sup> The spelling *Angaman* employed by Marco Polo for *Andāmān* is, no doubt, an argument telling in favour of *Anda* in the latter term, being a mere alternative or corrupted form of the word *Anga* occurring in the former. The solution of this intricate philological puzzle had, however, perhaps better be left to future research, and I gladly give the above conjectures for what they may be worth, merely adding, by way of conclusion, that for me the traditions as to the stolen robes, as to the *Nāga* descent of the natives or of the early settlers, and their proverbial nakedness, weigh decidedly in favour of the view I have adopted, namely, that all the early names borne by the islands in question have invariably been based on either of these traditions or modified so as to suit them, and that therefore they are all more or less correlated in meaning when not actually etymologically connected.

To the bringing about of such homogenetic nomenclature must have, no doubt contributed the fact, which clearly issues from an examination of the Chinese and Arab accounts quoted above, that the Andāmins and Nīkobārs have ever been considered by ancient navigators as one collective archipelago and not as two distinct insular groups, so that any name they found current in one particular cluster or island was apt to be taken by them as a generic designation for the whole archipelago or at all events to be employed in that sense amongst them. It is thus that we find in the records of most of those navigators either of the popular names above referred to used collectively for both the Andāmins and Nīkobārs. Instances in which the native name of a particular island was made to do duty for the whole archipelago are not, however wanting and in such cases the designations recorded have naturally, nothing in common with those based upon the traditions referred to.

Thus e.g. the term *Ts'wei lan Shan* occurring in Ma Huan's account—meaning literally 'Kingfisher blue (or Turquoise blue) Islands'—is not to be taken, as the fashion goes among Sinologists as a genuine Chinese designation or as a metaphor of some local name for the archipelago,<sup>1</sup> but as the phonetic transcript of the name of *Tilan chong* Island, the north easternmost of the Nīkobārs. The Chinese having probably become familiar with that island from its forming a landmark in the navigation of the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal and learnt its name they used the latter to denote the entire archipelago which thus passed into history under the appellation of *Ts'wei lan Shan* i.e. the 'Tilan chong Islands'.

<sup>1</sup> Phillips (*Journal of the China Branch of the R. S.* vol. xv, p. 11 note †) avows his inability to explain the rose-coloured illegible transcript of (*Tou g'iao* vol. ix p. 18<sup>o</sup>) as the Green Islands ( ) thereby making of that archipelago an Oriental Erin.

<sup>2</sup> The largest and richest of these (which being the middle island according to the *Ming shi* 44) bears the system of the native name of *So t' man t' wh* ( ) we have already adverted above. But the group of the Main Andāmins may be meant and the name *sei* 4 to be a Sanskrit derived from trace the *Sudhān* (anounta n n me Visnu Purāṇa 14) *Sādharmā*, *Saddharmā* (a reference to the Buddhist lesson) etc. It can hardly be etymologically connected with the term *Idmā* even if made to read *Idmā* as dte

The alternative Chinese designations *Lo-ko*, *Lo-jên*[-Kwo], and *Lo-hsing*[-Kwo] for the same insular region, I have already shown to be, in their turn, mere travesties of either the Indū terms *Nagna*, *Nāga*, *Nanga*, etc., or of their derivatives *Laja*, *Lenje*, *Lanje*, *Laha*, *Liankia*, etc., of the Arab geographers and travellers. Although acquainted with the term *Andāmān* as the name of a sea, the Arab navigators of the ninth century and their predecessors undoubtedly included both the *Andāmāns* and *Nikobārs* under the names *Laja-bālūs*, *Lanje-bālūs*, etc., and the Chinese followed suit with their own transcripts *Lo-ko*, *Lo-hsing*, etc., of the latter or their Indū prototypes. Analogous appears to have been the case with Friar Odoric, who variously calls the archipelago *Hicunera*, *Bacumeian*,

*Nichomeian*, etc. Marco Polo is almost unique among the early Western travellers in distinguishing between *Nocueran*, *Necaran*, or *Necuteram*, and *Angaman*, etc. But, as we have shown, no such distinction appears to have been made by Oriental navigators, both sets of names being indifferently applied to each of the two groups of islands.

Nicolò Conti's *Andamania* seems to have been likewise meant for the entire archipelago, and the explanation he gives of the term 'Island of Gold' sounds like a distant echo of the Sino Arabic legend as to the gold transmuting river. To the same tradition are probably traceable Pedro Teixeira's mysterious 'Ilhas do Ouro,' the 'Gold Islands,' vaguely located by him in the Indian Ocean somewhere off the west coast of Sumatra.<sup>1</sup> In A.D. 1586 Balbi refers<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See De l'île's map at the end of vol. 1 of Sonnerat's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales* 1780. I have since found further proofs of the inferences drawn above as to the continuity of the cycle of tradition concerning the Andaman-Nikobar archipelago in the following passages from Anderson's *English Inter-course with Sumatra* p. 30 and note 4.

Faria y Sousa relates ( *The Portuguese Asia* 1695 vol. ii p. 29) that when Don Stefano da Gama son of Vasco da Gama was governor of Goa [A.D. 1540-42] a fleet of three Portuguese ships manned by eighty men went in search of an island of gold supposed to exist on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, a fable which so far as European nations were concerned may have arisen from Nicolò di Conti's statement that *Andania* (the Andaman Islands) meant the Island of Gold. This myth expired very slowly and existed down to the end of the seventeenth century. Dr. Careri's ( *Giro del Mondo* t. iii p. 290) notice of it is among the last but he gives the English the credit of having originated it but when he does not say. The story related by him was that an English ship having been driven to take shelter from a storm not in the Andamans but in the Nicobars to the south of them a native who had taken some fresh water on board the ship spilt some on the anchor the iron of which was turned into gold wherever the water had touched it. The crew after they had learned from the native that the water came from a well in the island killed him. This report of the gold producing quality of the water Gemelli Careri says he had been told on high authority had led the Dutch to appropriate the Nicobars towards the end of the seventeenth century. So said as early as the first half of the thirteenth century Chao Ju kua (see loc. cit.) of the king of Lan-pu (Malabar) adding that the fleet sent by this potentate for the purpose of gaining possession of the insular El Dorado above referred to met with a severe whirlstorm and was wrecked on the island all the men being eaten up by the islanders. The story is therefore it will now be seen pretty old. It is also interesting to note that Gemelli Careri locates the famous gold transmuting spring in what appears to be the Great Nikobar whereas both Chao Ju kua and the Arab navigators designate the Andamans and Great Andaman respectively as the homeland of the precious metal. This discrepancy is however of little account since as we have observed the Nicobars were most likely also included under the general denomination of Andaman Islands.

<sup>2</sup> *Viaggio delle Indie Orientali* (Venetia 1590) p. 131 verso and 131 recto.

to the island of *Carnalubar* (evidently *Kar-Nikobār*), under which designation he seems to include also the neighbouring isles.

It will thus be seen that the *Andāmān-Nikobār* archipelago has, in many an instance, been named after one of its islands, the particular local designation borne by such being extended to the whole group. On the other hand, *Nāga-dīpa*, *Nagga-dīpa*; and *Nagga-rāṇa*, *Nunga-rāṇa*, or *Nanga-rāṇa* (whence *Langa-rāṇa*, etc.)—severally meaning 'Islands (or Country) of the Naked (or Nūgas),'—were, as we have pointed out, generic designations which evidently still survive in the terms *Nikobār* for the southern group, *Kar-Nikobār* for the north-westernmost isle of the latter; and perhaps also in *Chauri*, *Nankauri*, and even *Nankondam*, the straggling volcanic islet off the east coast of the North *Andāmān*.<sup>1</sup> The *Insula Nudorum* of the Catalan Atlas of 1375 was probably intended to represent the same archipelago, in which case the term would prove to be but a reflection of the old traditional nickname 'Islands of the Naked.' To the same insular region may, perhaps, have to be referred the island of *Nalīkera* (Skt. *Nārīkera*, *Nālīkela*, *Nārīkela*), or *Nalīkera-dīpa*, the 'Island of Cocoanut Trees,' mentioned in both the commentary to the *Jātaka* and *Hwēn-tsang's* travels. Its origin is, in Buddhist tradition, ascribed to a cataclysm, as a result of which a country, spoken of as the *Bharu* kingdom in the *Bharu-Jātaka* (No 213), was invaded by the sea and became detached from the continent, forming a thousand islands which, according to the scholiast, "are yet to be seen to-day about the island of *Nālīkera*." The reason for my connecting these islands with the *Andāmān-Nikobār* archipelago is, that this—or, at any rate, its southern division formed by the *Nikobārs*—is called *Oung-gyun* (အုန်းဂွှ်း ဝှ်းဂွှ်း),<sup>2</sup> i.e. 'Cocoanut Islands,' by

<sup>1</sup> The transition from *Naga* or *Nagga* to *Nega*, *Niga*, etc., is easily explained by reference to *Negapattam*, the common designation of *Naga pattana*. Hence, *Necatan*, *Negueran*, *Necuveran*, *Nichomeran*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Judson's *Burmese English Dict.*, 1833, p. 709, column to the right. The cocoanuts are exported chiefly from *Kar-Nikobār*.



the Burmese, on account of cocoanuts being there procured by them. Although this commodity appears to be lacking entirely in the *Andāmāns*,<sup>1</sup> it is *per contra* superabundant in the group of isles known as Cocos Islands, which lie but a short way off to the north of them. Hence, it is very probable that the whole of that insular region is included by the Burmese under the denomination referred to.<sup>2</sup>

Another island which may be connected with the same archipelago is *Mathan*, described by Sulaimān as being situated between Ceylon and *Kalah*, in the eastern part

Java (Sumatra), who inhabited a separate quarter "Les hommes de ce pays"—he proceeds to say—"nous ressemblent au physiquo, si ce n'est que leurs bouches sont pareilles à des gueules de chien. Mais il n'en est pas de même de leurs femmes, qui sont d'une exquise beauté. Les hommes sont nus et ne revêtent pas d'habit, seulement, quelques-uns placent leur membre viril et leurs testicules dans un étui de roseau peint [in red ?] et suspendu à leur ventre. Les femmes se couvrent de feuilles d'arbres." This description, it will be seen, agrees very closely with those of the natives of the Nikobars left us by other travellers, especially by Friar Odoric and Marco Polo. The former depicts the inhabitants of *Bacumeran* or *Nichomeran* as naked, with canine faces, while the latter ascribes these characteristics to the people of *Angaman*, whom, he remarks, have heads, eyes, and teeth similar to those of dogs. Again, the statement as to the men's primitive toilet, with an "étui de roseau peint et suspendu à leur ventre," would seem to confirm, given that the colour of the paint was red, the Chinese expression *Ch'ia lan ren*, or 'Red Egg Stronghold,' commented upon above, although not too much stress should, perhaps, be laid on such an apparent coincidence, even if *ch'ia* be taken in its other sense of 'bare,' 'naked,' or 'exposed,' and assumed to allude to those among the natives who found it convenient to dispense even with the primitive *etui*.

There are, however, several points which seem to tell heavily against the identification of *Barahnagār* with the islands in question. The first is that Ibn Batuta says nothing about *Barahnagar* being an island or archipelago, but merely calls it a country. Another is that he is silent as to the natives being cannibals and dark-complexioned, as other travellers have, almost without exception, stated of the inhabitants of the Andaman-Nikobar isles. The third, and this is by far the most serious objection, is that Ibn Batūta speaks of elephants being plentiful in the country. The natives, he tells us, "ne trafiquent avec les étrangers que sur le rivage, et leur portent de l'eau à l'aide des éléphants, vu qu'elle est éloignée de la côte. Les éléphants sont nombreux chez eux, mais personne, si ce n'est leur sultan, ne peut en disposer." Now, it may be quite possible that elephants were to be found of yore, and down to Ibn Batūta's time, in the Andaman-Nikobar Archipelago, having since disappeared, as they did in other islands known to have been once connected with the Indo-Chinese mainland. If proofs of the presence at one time of these pachyderms in the archipelago in question be extant, we should then have no hesitation in concluding that it is at some seaport of this insular region that Ibn Batūta called, finding it designated by the term *Barahnagar*. It would, then, be interesting to compare this name with that of *Baratan* Island, with Ptolemy's *Barakata*, and with other *disjecta membra*, scattered about mid-ocean, of the *Dhārū* kingdom of *Jataka* fame. (The buffalo, it may be noticed, exists in *Kamorta*, and a species of deer in the Great *Nikobār*, while the wild boar roams over most of the islands of the Andaman-Nikobar archipelago.) A fourth, though not very weighty, argument telling against our proposed identification is that of the sailing distance recorded by Ibn Batūta of fifteen days from *Sonargāon* to *Barahnagār*, as compared with the forty days occupied in the entire journey from *Sonargāon* to the northern coast of Sumatra, on the basis of which the position of *Barahnagār* would become fixed on the east shore of the Bay of Bengal slightly above Cape *Negrais*, just about half-way between that headland and *Gwa*, the approximate site of Ptolemy's *Bērabonna*. By placing blind reliance on the above sailing data we might identify Ibn Batūta's *Barahnagār* with either *Bērabonna* or Cape *Negrais* (*Pera Negera*), extending, if necessary, the range of location even as far as *Barago Point* in the Gulf of *Martaban*, and, in fact, to all that we conjecture to have remained of the ancient kingdom of *Dhārū*, *P'ārū*, or

of the Indian Ocean, and inhabited by a black, naked, and anthropophagous population, living chiefly on fish, plantains, and cocoanuts. This may correspond to either *Batti Male*,

*Priau*. As to Barakura, it would seem to be too far away from Ibn Batuta's seaport, although it was no doubt, at some remote period, part and parcel of the same realm.

But it seems impossible that Ibn Batuta could have spoken of the people of that coast as being so savage and living in such a primitive Adamitic fashion as set forth in the extract quoted above. This could not evidently be, even in his time. The most logical course is, therefore, to assume that his memory betrayed him on the subject of the sailing distance, causing him to assign fifteen days to the section Sonargaon-Barahnagar, and twenty-five days to the passage from the latter place to the north coast of Sumatra, whereas the actual case was the reverse of this, that is to say, he should have ascribed twenty-five days to the first part of the voyage, and fifteen to the second. The mention of elephants in connection with Barahnagar is perhaps due also to a *lapsus memorias*, it was very likely to Sumatra that the statement was meant to apply. If so, the site of Barahnagar would become fixed at twenty-five days' distance from Sonargaon and fifteen from the north coast of Sumatra, falling thus slightly above the 12th degree of latitude, namely, abreast of Middle Strait between the Andamans, hence, either the South Andaman or Baratan Island itself, on the north side of that passage, would become eligible for identification with Ibn Batuta's Barahnagar. From a broader point of view, however, any port on the east coast of the Andamans would suit the case well enough, it being now pretty well certain that the Andamans were, down to quite recent times, believed to be one single island, so that any designation applied to a part of the group was understood to cover

off the north west coast of Little Nikobar, *Menchal* close by the north east coast of the same, or the Isle of Man (Laouk) just below Tilan chong, forming at the same time part of the group called by Ptolemy the *Maniolai*

By way of conclusion to this retrospective sketch I shall give in the following synoptical tables arranged in chronological order the names recorded by the principal travellers and geographers of old for the *Andāmīn Nikobār* archipelago so as to show at a glance the probable birth date of each denomination as far as it can be now ascertained. No doubt the list might be considerably added to by those having access to the full literature relating to those islands, but considering the scanty information supplied in modern geographical works about them, the following tables may even in their present skeleton form, prove of some interest —

### CHRONOLOGICAL NOMENCLATURE OF THE ANDAMAN NIKOBAR ARCHIPELAGO

#### I TERMS MORE PARTICULARLY TRACEABLE TO THE NAME OF GROUP OF THE ANDAMANS PROPER

	DATE	
	A.D. 100-150	<i>Bazakata</i> ( <i>Bloj kat</i> ) Aginnatar its people (Ptolemy)
e	650	? <i>A ga dr pa</i> (Yayu Purana) (Prof Hall's ed of Wilson's V. snu P. vol. ii p. 129 note)
	801	<i>And ma</i> Ser (Sulaiman) (Abu za d s Sals latu t Tawar <sup>kl</sup> Renaud op cit t i p 8)
e	955	? <i>Ar a d</i> (Captain Bozorg's <i>Aja b</i> ) (Van der Luthant M. De rcs Merve lles de l Inde pl 69 '10 264)
e		? <i>Great And ma</i> probably Ceylon (b d) (Ib l pp 134 209)
e	943	<i>Abra a A d un</i> (Mas Gds) (Renaud, op cit t i p 11 Les Princes d Or tra l Barber de Meynard Paris 1861 t i p 339)
e	1240	<i>Yen to s n An to man An da man</i> (Chao Ju ku.) ( <i>Journal Ch a Branch R i S</i> vol. xii p 103)
	129	<i>Angamanam A ga nan Agaman Agha na Ghama ric</i> (Mar o Polo)
e	1300	<i>Andaman Islands</i> 00 in number (D ma <sup>kl</sup> ) (Mel rcs Manu i d la Cosmographie et Copenhagen 1874 p 214)
e	1400	<i>An tē mā Shan</i> (Chinese map published by Philipps) ( <i>Journal Ch a Branch P. A S</i> vol. xi p 22*)

DATE		
A D	955	<i>Lajab-lus</i> (Captain Borzorg's "Ajāib") <sup>1</sup> (Van der Lath and M. Devic, op cit, pp 127, 222)
"	?	† <i>Hathān</i> = Malhan ("Mukhtasār-al-Ajāib") (Ibid, p 259)
"	913	<i>Alenymālis</i> , <i>Almymālus</i> (Mas'udī). (Reinaud, op cit, t ii, p 11, "Primates d'Or," t i, p. 338, text)
"	1186	<i>Lankialius</i> , or <i>Ienkh-yalus</i> = Nauga[ba]lus (Ladriat) (Van der Lath and M. Devic, p 256, Reinaud, t ii, p 10)
"	1292	<i>Nocueran</i> , <i>Aegueran</i> , <i>Aecuceran</i> , <i>Accaran</i> , <i>Necusam</i> , etc (Marco Polo)
"	1300	<i>Lenjabālus</i> , <i>Lankāūs</i> (Dimashki) (Mehren, op cit, pp 15, 207-8)
"	1310	<i>Akh'irām</i> , or <i>Lakairām</i> (Rashīd-d-Dīn) (Yule's "Cathay," p 96)
"	1320	<i>Hiennera</i> , <i>Hiennerran</i> , <i>Nichomeran</i> , <i>Aicouerra</i> = Nagga- [or Nāga-]varam (Friar Odoric) (De Backer's "L'Extrême Orient au Moyen-Âge," p 109, Ramusio, op cit, vol ii, ff 248, 254)
"	1345	† <i>Barahnaqār</i> = Nagar-barah, Nagga-vara, Nagga-balus? (Ibn Batūta) ("Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah," transl by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1858, t iv, p 224)
"	1375	† <i>Insula Aulionum</i> (Catalan Atlas) <sup>2</sup> (Cordier's "L'Extrême Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan," pp 10 11, and pl 1)
"	1416	<i>Ts'icci-lan Shan</i> = Tilan chong (Ma-Huan) ( <i>Journal China Branch R A S</i> , vol xv, pp 211, 222, and <i>Journal R A S</i> , 1825, p 529)
"	1436	<i>Ts'icci-lan Hsu</i> = do (Fei hsin) ( <i>T'oung-Pao</i> , vol ix, p 181, Chinese text in note)
"	1459	<i>Lo-hsing Kuo</i> = Laggān, Naggam[-bar] <sup>3</sup> ("Ming wai shih") ( <i>Journal P A S</i> , 1890, p 529, n 3, and <i>T'oung-Pao</i> , vol ix, p 186 Chinese text in note)
"	1519	<i>Nuacai</i> [by metathesis from <i>Vacavar</i> ] (Barbosa) (Ramusio, op cit, vol i, f 318 verso)
"	1566	<i>Nicubar</i> ( <i>Cesure dei I ederci</i> ) (Zurlo op. cit, vol ii p 254)
"	1586	<i>Carnalcnbar</i> = Kar-Nikobar (Bulbi) ("Viaggio delle Indie Orientali" Venetia, 1590, pp 133 verso and 134 recto)
"	1590	<i>Nicubar</i> (Carletti) ("Ragionamenti" etc, Firenze, 1701, t ii, p 230)

### Khalinē or Salinē (No 157)

Yule, having adopted the alternative reading Salinē, identifies this island with *C'halang* or *Thalāng*, the Siamese names for Junkceylon (*Ūjong-Salāng*). Our experience of

<sup>1</sup> Ajāib No 127 states *Lajabal-lus* to be a numerous insular group extending over a length of eighty parasangs say about 300 miles

<sup>2</sup> The explanatory inscription on the island on the map says "Insula nadorum, in qua homines et mulieres portant naum solum ante et retro alium"

of *Nāhiker* or *Nāhikera*, although it may not be altogether impossible. In connection, however, with the name of *Kār Nikobār*, I have no doubt that its ancient form must have been *Kāra-Nāga* or, simply, *Kāra*, since I think that this island must be the same as the one alluded to under the name of *Kāra dipa* in the *Akitta-Jātaka* (No 180), and therein said to have been at a still remoter period called *Ahi dipa*, the 'Isle of Snakes.' *Ahi*, it will be seen, is a mere synonym of *Nāga*, and either from a desire to retain its old name under this form bound up with the new one, or to mark the fact that the island was, as the *Jātaka* says, "over against the island of *Nāga* (*Nāga dipa*)," its name passed into tradition under the complex form *Kāra Nāga* being corrupted into *Kārī Nēga*, *Kar neg*, or *Kār-nig*, as exemplified in the form we have it at present of *Kar Nikotār*. There can be no difference of opinion, I venture to hope, on the identity I have suggested of *Kār-Nikobār* with the *Kāra dipa* of the *Jātaka* for it is made evident enough by the location ascribed to the island over against *Nāga dipa*, or the *Andīmān-Nikobār* archipelago, as well as from the context informing us that from *Katirapattana*, in the kingdom of *Damila* (= *Kāveripattam*, a little to the north of Tranquebar), the hero of the story passing through the air descended at the island of *Kāra*, so named apparently from a conspicuous *Kāra* tree (= *Canthium parviflorum*) under whose hospitable shade he took up his abode. The recent translator of that *Jātaka*, Dr Rouse,<sup>1</sup> at once jumps, *more solito*, to the conclusion that part of Ceylon, or some islet near it, is the place intended, but we have already pointed out in the preceding article that the term *Nāga dipa*, when designating an island, almost certainly applies to one of the *Nikobārs* if not to the whole group itself of those islands.

There still remains, however, the variant reading *Saline*,

<sup>1</sup> See the *Jātaka* translated from the Pali by various hands under the editorship of Professor Cowell vol iv p 160 n 2. The Malabar coast suggested as the location for the kingdom of *Damila* in n 1 is likewise wrong it should be the Koromandel coast.

occurring in several editions of Ptolemy's text,<sup>1</sup> to be dealt with. The task is easy enough, albeit at first sight this reading bids fair to upset the identification just suggested. It requires, in fact, but little discrimination to see that the *Salnē* of Ptolemy's days is nothing else but the very toponymic which, after the lapse of thirteen centuries, was found still surviving in a more or less modified form by the Chinese travellers, when it was fixed down by them as *Ts'wei-lan*. Sinologists of note, blinded in the endeavour to discover in this term the meaning of 'Kingfisher-blue Islands,' 'Green Islands,' and the like, have, as we have seen, egregiously failed to perceive that it is a mere transcript, and not a metaphrase, of a local place-name still occurring, under the corrupt form *Ti-lan*, in *Ti-lan-chong* Island, the present-day representative of the Chinese *Ts'wei-lan-Shan*.<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered, in fact, that the characters employed in the transcription 翠藍山 sound as *Ts'ou-lam-Shan*, *Ts'ui-lam-Shan*, *Ch'ou-lan-Sang* in various Southern Chinese dialects and *Thui-lam-Son* in Annamese; while those occurring in the alternative rendering 翠藍嶼, *Ts'wei-lan-Hsu*, are pronounced *Ts'ui-lam-i* in Hakka, a form remarkably well approaching to the Ptolemaic *Salnē* (*Salan-i*, *Su lin-i*, *Salanyi*). There seems to be no doubt that all these designations are traceable to an original term *Seluma*, *Seluman*, or *Sulaman*, which, under the form *Seruma*, occurs, as we have seen, in the *Sussondī-Jātaka*, as the whilom name borne by *Nāga-dīpa* Island. Although it is possible that at so remote a period this term was

employed to designate solely the Great Nikobār or, at best, the pair formed by it with the minor sister island now known as Little Nikobār, it is evident that, like its later day successors *Nāga dīpa*, *Nāga rāṭa* (Nikobār), etc., it must have been extended in the course of time to the whole group of the islands, and indeed to the entire Andāmān Nikobār archipelago as exemplified by the fact already noticed in the preceding article that the Chinese included all that insular region under the denomination of *Ts'icai lan* Islands. Such being the case, there seems nothing extraordinary in the assumption that the term *Seruma* or *Seluma* came to be coupled with the name of the island of *Kāra*, in the same manner that later on it occurred with its substitute *Nāga* or *Nāga rāṭa* so that by the period at which Ptolemy collected his information the island in question was already known both as *Kāra Seluma* and *Kāra Nāga* Island, whence the probability of his having noted it down either as *Saline* or *Khaline*. It goes without saying that it would be of great importance for historical geography to find out which of these two readings was the one adopted in the original Ptolemaic MS. But this is now impossible as that work has no doubt become either lost or destroyed long ago. At all events I hope that I have conclusively shown how both readings may be justified as applying to Kār Nikobār, and from the position assigned to *Khaline* or *Saline* by our geographer in respect of his Bazakata there seems to be no doubt that Kār Nikobār was the island he had in mind. Could it be possible on the other hand, to ascertain that *Saline* is the spelling he really used we should then have probably, in spite of the reasons militating in favour of Kār Nikobar to give the preference to Tīlan chong as being the only island of the group that looks like having preserved as part of its name down to this day the over twenty centuries old term *Seruma* in one of its many modified forms. I need not further dilate upon this subject. I should think in order to prove the practical identity of these two apparently so widely dissimilar toponyms. Suffice it to call attention merely to the fact that not only



initial but also medial *s* is, as we have seen during the course of the present inquiry, lisped in many an instance in Further Indian dialects, wherefore *Tilan*—or perhaps more correctly *Thilan* or *Thsilan*—may well be but the modern pronunciation of *Silan*. But even this is not probably the old correct form, which both the Chinese and Ptolemaic readings argue to have been something like *Sulan* *Sulam*, *Sa lan* or *Sahn*, none of which is very far different from *Seruma*, *Saluma*, *Sulama*, etc. What the most probable original form of this toponymic was we shall try to find out in the next article.

#### Agathodaimonos (No 159)

Ptolemy places this island on his equator, hence its real position becomes fixed in the middle of the Bay of Bengal between 5° 38 and 6° 30 N lat. In De Donis' map it is represented almost equal in size to *Bazakata* and *Iabadiu* being thus made to rank as third in conspicuousness amongst the islands of the Indian Archipelago. This circumstance argues that an island of very considerable size is implied under that denomination. I have often thought that the northern part of Sumatra might be the island in question, but I have after further consideration rejected that view, reverting to the opinion I had formed from the outset that it as shown in the map I have since delineated can be no other than the Great Nikobar. The configuration assigned to it in De Donis' map very closely resembles it will be observed that of the Great Nikobar turned with its eastern side down towards the south. There are, however, far more substantial reasons in support of the identification we have suggested. Foremost amongst them comes that of identity in nomenclature. In dealing with this question we must however dismiss at the very outset the idea that the term *Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονος νῆσος* as applied to the isle in question signifies as it has hitherto literally been taken to mean *Isula Bonae Fortunae* or Good

Fortune Island' It is this mistaken notion that has always misled previous commentators into locating the island in the most impossible places The late Sir Henry Yule, although having proved by far the most sensible of them, was nevertheless inclined to take it to be the Little Andāman in a position it will now be seen, entirely incompatible with the latitude assigned to the island in the Ptolemaic text<sup>1</sup> Our experience of Ptolemaic geography, as gained in the course of the present inquiry, has long before this taught us that to hold any of the names he has recorded for places in Further India to be translations of native toponyms is simply absurd From the many cases we have come across in the preceding sections we are justified in inferring that the course followed by Ptolemy or by those from whom he drew his information, in taking down place names was not on the whole different from that adopted by the Chinese and Arab navigators, that is to say, he merely transcribed the native toponyms as accurately as he heard them pronounced or found them spelt in the records of his predecessors and contemporaries not neglecting at the same time to slightly modify them so as to elicit a meaning out of them in his own language, whenever they presented him a suitable opportunity for so doing without their having to suffer too radical a disfiguration In most cases he must have, of course found that the Greek navigators to the Far East had already done this for their own satisfaction and perhaps also with a view to easier retention of place names belonging to the most strange tongues There can be but little doubt that terms like *Argyra Lestai Khrysoana River, Satyron Islands*, etc, originated in such a manner, Agathodaimones being likewise of the number, while *Khryse* is perhaps the only one capable of laying some claim to exception, which nevertheless, as we shall see in due course, cannot be as yet entirely proved

This principle having been laid down as a preliminary, we may now proceed with our inquiry. We have already shown in the preceding pages how the Chinese travellers of the first quarter of the fifteenth century are agreed in stating that the largest, highest, and most central withal of the *Ts'wei-lan-Shan* or *Tilan-chong* Islands was then known by the native name of *So-tu-man*. We have likewise pointed out how this island, although sometimes mistaken for the 'Great Andāmān,' was instead more likely the Great Nikobār; and that, at all events, the term *So-tu-man* or *Sudhāman* did not seem to be at all etymologically connected with the name of the Andāmāns. Of course, owing to the fact that these islands, together with the Nikobārs, were considered to form an integral part of one archipelago, any term used for either of the two groups was liable, as we have seen, to be applied to the whole insular region; so that the designations *Ts'wei-lan* or *Tilan*, *So-tu-man*, *Nāga-dīpa*, etc., belonging more properly to the Nikobārs, were made to include also the Andāmāns, and vice versa the term *Andāman* may have been extended to the Nikobār group. Hence the confusion that was made in the accounts of travellers between the two clusters of islands and the legendary lore concerning either. I hope that I have, this notwithstanding, succeeded in accumulating sufficient evidence to demonstrate that the terms *Ts'wei-lan* or *Tilan*, *So-tu-man*, and *Nāga-dīpa* or *Nagga-dīpa* most likely originated in the Nikobār group, to which they were at first confined, and more precisely in the Great Nikobār itself, which thus seems to have been the original *Nāga dīpa*, prior to that called *Seruma*, or something to that effect. Although, as we have pointed out, the term *Nāga-dīpa* appears to have spread in the form of *Ahi-dīpa*, as far at least as Kār-Nikobār, by the time the Jātaka stories were compiled, it follows nevertheless, from the passage in the Akitta-Jātaka describing the position of the isle of Kura (the present day Kār-Nikobār) as being over against *Nāga-dīpa*, that this toponymic was then still applied in particular to a single island, which must have been the Great Nikobār itself, the *Nāga-dīpa par excellence*.

If so, it follows as a consequence that the same island must have been withal the original *Seruma*. For the very reasons stated above, the fact of this term surviving most probably to the present day, disguised in the name of Tilan chong Island, cannot in any way prejudice the conclusion we have just enunciated. This is so less likely to be the case since there is sufficient evidence as to the term *Seruma* having not only originated in the Great Nikobār, but having been embodied down to comparatively recent times in the names by which that island itself has been designated at various periods. We have, in fact, already pointed out the very probable connection between the term *Seruma* in the various forms *Seluma*, *Selama*, *Sulama*, *Sudama*, etc., it has no doubt assumed at different periods and in different tongues, and the names *Ts'ui lan*, *Sui lam*, *Sulam*, *Salan*, *Salin*, or *Saline* that we have found recorded for islands of the Nilobār group, suggesting at the same time a further relationship of all of them with the designation *So tu man*, *Sudhāman* or *Sulaman* applied in particular to the largest island of that cluster, the Great Nikobār. We did not omit, moreover, to notice the apparent analogy existing between the name of *Deoban* (*Deva vana*, *Devaman*) borne by the highest mountain in Little Nikobār and *So tu man* or *So tu ban*. This latter term may well be referred to, on the strength of that analogy, to some such original form as *Su deo man* or *Su deo ban* (*Sudeva vana*, *Sudevaman*, and, perhaps, *Vasudevaman*, *Vasudaman*, etc.) There may exist some mountain once having borne either of such denominations in the Great Nikobār, after which that island came to be styled the *So tu man* or *Sudhaman* Island. I prefer the second form, *Sudhaman*, because it occurs as a mountain name in the Puranas and because it is not far different from either *So tu man*, *Su da man*, *Sulaman*, etc., or *Su deo man*, *Su deo lan*, etc. If no mountain in the Great Nikobār can be proved to ever have rejoiced in any of these appellations, we would simply have to trace their origin to other causes, such as, e.g., the existence on the island of some settlement or tribe bearing the name of *Serombu* *Serumbu*, *Seruma* *Seluman*.

etc.,<sup>1</sup>—perhaps the equivalent of the Chinese *Ch i lin iu* or *Ch u lean iu*, and if not, of the *Stan min*, *Shan bin*, or *Shom ben*,—from which or whom the island acquired that designation. But in no case would we find ourselves under the necessity of having to give up the connection we have established between those names and the Great Nikobār for it rests upon the quasi-historical identity *Seruma* = *Nāga dipa* and it would be necessary in order to upset it to demonstrate that the Great Nikobār cannot lay claim towards having possessed either of these two denominations. This, it will now be seen, is no easy task, since both terms *Seruma* and *Nāga-dipa* appear to have been down to this day incessantly bound up, in some more or less modified form, with either the name of the island itself or those of its population and their settlements.

Having disposed of so intricate a question of terminology, it remains to draw attention once more to the very probable fact of the names *Seruma*, *Nāga dipa*, and their derivatives or modifications, having soon spread to the other islands of the group to which they were indiscriminately applied by navigators and foreign traders, so that it became in the course of time necessary to use some supplementary appellations in order to distinguish one island from the other. It is thus, presumably, that originated the complex terms *Kā Nikobār*, *Tilan chong*, etc., for two of those islands, and perhaps also that the name of 'Chief,' 'Principal,' or 'Highest' Nikobār had to be given to the largest and at the same time loftiest of them in a similar manner to what occurred in modern times, when the designations Great Nikobar and Little Nikobar had to be applied, for the sake of clearness to the greater island and the one next to it in size respectively. A brief consideration of this not altogether unessential detail will enable us to grapple with the true origin and import of the Ptolemaic term *Agathodaemonos*.

<sup>1</sup>In the Malay Archipelago we have *Selan* = *Serambu* and *Selu* = Islands *Selan* or Rock *Selumar* II. *Seromb* Bay etc. *Ch ru ne* an almost exact counterpart of *Seruma* occurs as the name for the southernmost of the Table Islands two islets lying to the north of the Cocos and Andamans.

and show us the reason why it was applied to the Great Nikobār.

It will now have, I venture to think, become perfectly clear that this term is nothing else but an ingenious travesty, in the *himation* of Hellenic classicism, of the local toponymic *So-tu-man*, *Sudhāman*, etc., prefixed with the word *Aga*, which may stand, as noticed before in connection with *Aganagara*, for either *Naga*, *Nagga*, or *Agra*, *Agga* (= 'chief,' 'principal,' and also 'high,' 'highest') Hence, *Aga-Thodaimonos*, or *Aga-Thūdaimōn*, would mean simply *Agga-Sudhaman*, that is, the 'Chief' ('Principal' or 'Highest') of the '*Sudhāman*' (or '*So-tu-man*') Island. It may be objected that it would have been perhaps more correct and conformable to well-established usage to call it instead the *Mahā-Sudhāman*; but I would point out that the interpretation I have here put upon the prefix *Aga* is merely the one suggested by the considerations made above as regards the island being the largest, and the highest withal, of the *So-tu-man* or Nikobār group. It might perhaps be more correct to adopt the other alternative set forth above, and view it as a contraction of *Nāga* or *Nagga*; but the settlement of this question is relatively a matter of secondary importance. The essential point is, that *Aga* is a mere connotative prefix, playing in the Ptolemaic designation of the island a similar rôle to those (*Nāga*, *Nagga*, *Nanga*, *Nega*, *Anga*, *Lāka*, *Likk*, *Laya*, etc.) occurring in the names recorded by the early Western travellers for the island, or group of islands, in question; and that therefore its presence at the head of the composite under discussion is perfectly justifiable. The second part, *Thodaimonos* or *Thūdaimōn*, of the compositum is what constitutes the real name of the island, and as such its correspondence to *So-tu-man* or *Sudhāman* is so perfect and striking as to readily dispose of any further doubt respecting the identity of the two sets of terms. The only disparity observable consists in the slightly different initial letters; but this, as we now well know, is only apparent, it being quite possible that the initial *s* in the local name was dropped by the natives, so as

to cause the Greek navigators and travellers to represent it by a  $\theta$ , or else this trifling modification was more likely introduced by them on purpose, so as to make the whole term convey the meaning of 'Good Fortune Island,' as suggested at the outset. There cannot accordingly, I should think, be any further doubt left as to the real purport and application of the Ptolemaic toponymic, especially when it is remembered that the Arab travellers were misled into connecting the island with *Sulaimān*, which shows that its name must have been at the period pronounced locally, or by the foreign navigators, something like *Thudaimon*, *Sudaimon*, or *Sulaimon*—all forms evidently derived from *Seruma*, *Sulama*, *Sudhaman*, or *Sulaman*. To hold that in the case in point *Agathodaimones* means 'Good Fortune' would be, therefore, no less a piece of absurdity than believing with the credulous old Arab navigators that *Sudhaman*, *Sulaman*, and similar terms were etymologically connected with the name of Solomon of Biblical memory.

While on this subject, it may be of some interest to recall the suggestion made by the late Colonel Yule to the effect that the name *Andaman* might have been adopted from a transcript in Greek of the term *Agathodaimones* in the contracted form *Αγ δαιμον*<sup>1</sup>. It will now be sufficiently clear that, however ingenious it may seem, such a conjecture cannot be endorsed—for although the name *Andaman* has been at times as we have noticed applied also to the *Nikobārs* it can hardly have anything to do with the traditional designation of the latter, which was, instead, *Sudhaman*, *Sudeoman*, *Sudaimon*, or something of that sort. And while it is true that, by further contracting the puzzling Greek compositum and restoring its first part to its probably correct original form *Agga*, we would obtain the reading *Αγγα μων*, practically identical with Marco Polo's *Angaman*—whereas by a simpler process we might elicit the variant *Agaman* of the latter from *Αγα μων*, and by bolder methods trace the Arab forms *Lajabalus*, *Lanjebalus*, *Likhbilus* (*Naga manus*, *Nagga manus*, *Nanga manus*), etc.,

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings Royal Geographical Soc. et c.* vol. iv. 1882 p. 654 quoted in McNeill's op. cit. p. 738.

to problematic Greek transcripts *Λαγά-μοιρος*, *Ναγά-μορος*, *Αγγά-μορος*, *Ναγγά μορος*,—there still remains the stern fact confronting us that in all known Ptolemaic texts we have the full, or practically full, forms *Ἀγαθοῦδαίμοιρος*, *Ἀγαθοδαίμορος*, and no sign whatever as to any curtailing such as conjectured above having taken place. Moreover, the significant particular that both the Arab and Chinese navigators of the old days have put on record each of the two toponymies *Andāman* and *Sudhāman* or *Sudeoman* (the island of *Sulaimān* or Solomon's tomb according to the former), proves that both names were known to them as distinct designations for the islands which could never have occurred had the term *Sudhāman*—or *Aggasulthaman*, *Nagasudhāman* etc., as represented in *Agathōdaimonos*—disappeared in naval tradition by effect of the latter's collapse into *Andūman*. Both toponymies can be traced back in the relations of Arab travellers to at least the ninth century, and if *Andāman* is not an Indū-imported term, nor originated locally, but was invented by the old western navigators, it must be the corruption, or adaptation, of some native name for the islands, such as, e.g., *Naga*, *Nagga*, *Nanga*, *Anga*, *Anda*, *Andha*, *Andhaka*, *Ānanda*, *Ananta*, *Nanda*, etc., then found current in the Bay of Bengal, but not evidently of *Sudlāman*, *Sulaman*, and kindred terms. Should the paternity of it have to be ascribed to the Arabs, it would not be difficult to conceive how, from the fact of their having heard the islands designated by some one of the above names, and noticed at the same time that the natives were living, as the Catalan Atlas puts it, with "*unum solum ante et retro alium*," suggesting the idea of Adamitic apparel they would be led to modify the name of the islands into *Andaman* or *Adāman*, so as to make it practically mean the country of the Adamites. A similar course, we have seen, was adopted by the Chinese, who transformed *Nagga* into *Lo hco* so that it might convey the sense of *Regio nudorum*, which again occurs in the *Insula nudorum* of our mediæval geographers. It is possible, on the other hand, that the etymological connection, if any, with the name of



Adam was suggested to the Arabs through Adam's peak and relative temple and footprint in Ceylon, with which island either the Great Nikobār or the Andāmān group was, as we have noticed, sometimes confused in the relations of the Arab travellers

I have also thought for some time, as already stated, that the term *Agathodaimonos*, if taken in its literal sense of 'Good Fortune,' might be the equivalent of some Sanskrit word like, e g., *Subhadra*, easily transformable into *Sumadra* in the Oriental vernaculars, in which case it could have meant the northern part of Sumatra, where the city of *Samudra* or *Samadra* and the homonymous district were situated, which, owing to imperfect knowledge of its geography, could have been supposed to form a separate island by the ancient navigators. The fact of the identical meaning 'Good Fortune' occurring in connection with a rather conspicuous island off the west coast of Sumatra, namely, Si-biru or Si berut, the largest of the Mentawi group, termed *Eyland Goede Fortuyn* by the Dutch,<sup>1</sup> seemed

<sup>1</sup> Now, more generally 'Great Fortune,' in order to distinguish it from 'Little Fortune' Island further down towards the entrance to Sunda Strait. I ignore the causes that led to such names being applied to the islands in question probably they are to be traced to some bit of luck met with by some navigator when sighting them but certainly do not appear to have been translations of local toponyms. This accounts for such designations being pretty well common in Far Eastern seas another 'Fortune Island' is to be found lying off the south west coast of Luzon in the Philippines. It has been observed (see *Tonkin Pro* vol ix p 178, note 6) that *Agathodaimonos Nesos* may be taken also in the sense of 'Island of the good Demons, the allusion here being to the natives who 'are very good devils'." On the same lines one might suggest that *Andaman* may be a corrupted form not of *Handunan* as Sir E. Maxwell put it, but of *Ha ti manis* or *Antu-manis*,\* which in Malay would mean 'good' or 'mild tempered demon' or spirit, and could thus pass muster for an equivalent of *Agathodaimon*. In connection with the final syllable, *man*, of the term *Andaman*, I may here observe that it occurs at the end of many a name of islands in the Malay Archipelago such as, e g., *Tio-man*, *Piri man*, *Mango man*, *Rinja man*, *Re man*, *Su man*, *Le man* etc. It is not, however, absent in other place-names, as *Charak man* (Creek), *Kuto man* (River), *Sels-man* (Rock), *Poa man* (Dry), *Kema man* (District) etc. In some of these names *man* seems to be part of the base stem while in others it seems to play the role of a suffix and in such cases it would be interesting to inquire into its purport or meaning.

\* N. B. that *A tu* and not *Hantu*, seems to be the older and more correct form obtaining in Borneo, Kedah, Penang and elsewhere, and becoming *Anito* in the Philippines (see De Morga's 'Philippine Islands' etc., translated by Stanley and published by the Haklart Society London 1803 p 300 note). No doubt it is the same word as *Manito* or *Manit*, occurring among certain of the American Indians with the identical signification.

to lend colour to that conjecture. But I have since come to the conclusion that no connection can ever have existed between such names, or the islands they designate, and the Ptolemaic Agathodaimonos, the real origin of which, I am now perfectly convinced, must be traced to the causes explained above. Further, as regards the name of Sumatra, I hope to demonstrate in a subsequent section that it owes its existence to other circumstances.

### Maniolal, ten islands (No. 158).

This insular group is but vaguely referred to by Ptolemy in the following terms:—"There are said to be also ten other islands forming a continuous group called Maniolal, from which ships fastened with iron nails are said to be unable to move away (perhaps on account of the magnetic iron in the islands), and hence they are built with wooden bolts. The inhabitants are called Maniolal, and are reputed to be cannibals."<sup>1</sup> Here we have the well-known legend of magnetic mountains attracting ships built with iron bolts, repeated by so many authors, both Western and Eastern, not excluding even the Chinese,<sup>2</sup> from the days of Aristotle to the very end of the Middle Ages. On De Donis' map these islands are located immediately to the south-west of Agathodaimonos between the Ptolemaic equator and 5° South latitude, which corresponds to a site between 6° and 1° 30' *circa* true North latitude. Ptolemy, however, does not assign to them any definite position, and merely mentions their existence on the strength of a vague *ipse dixit*. In my map I have doubtfully located them—prior to having had access to De Donis' work—abreast of the Nikobars, and identified them with the latter, thinking that the legend as to the attraction of ships fastened with iron nails might have originated from the fact of the well-known eagerness of the inhabitants of these islands to obtain pieces of iron,

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle, *op cit*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> According to Klaproth. On this legend see Santarem's "*Histoire de la Cosmographie*," etc., tome i, pp. 81, 82, 90, 91, 367, also McCrindle, *op cit*, pp. 242-243.

testified to by both Sulaimān's and I-tsing's accounts.<sup>1</sup> Since having, however, come to the conclusion that Ptolemy's *Khahnē* is most probably *Kār-Nikobār*, his *Salinē* either the same island or *Tilan-chong*, and *Agathodaimonos* the Great (with, may be, the Little) *Nikobār*, I am inclined to think that the *Maniolai* may more likely correspond to the smaller islands of that region, especially those of the *Kamorta* and *Teressa* groups, namely: (1) *Kamorta*, (2) *Naukauri*, (3) *Trinkut* (= *Trikhūta*?), (4) *Kachāl* (with *Mohēan* village on it), and (5) *Teressa*, (6) *Bompoka*, (7) *Chauri*, (8) *Batti-Maly*, to which might be added (9) *Meroe*, and (10) either *Milū* or *Menchāl*, on the southern side of *Sombrero Channel* near the Little *Nikobār*.

The islets located by Ptolemy to the east of Ceylon, i.e., *Gāmara* (= *Kumāra*, *Kumārīta*, *Kamorta*?), *Zaba* (*Jaba*, *Java*), *Zibala* (*Jibala*, *Ševāla*, *Šivāla*), *Nagadiba* (*Nāga*, or *Nagga*, *dipa*), *Sūsūara* (*Šisūmāra*, *Sumsumāra*?), probably belong also, as we have observed, to the same archipelago, and may thus have at the same time formed part of the legendary *Maniolai*.

I have thought also, from the very uncertain position assigned to the *Maniolai* in Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic geography, that they might on the other hand correspond to some of the northernmost isles facing the west coast of *Sumatra*,<sup>2</sup> especially those of the *Si-Malur* and *Bānyak* groups. The names of *Si-Malu* and of its deep bay,

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, op cit., p 120, and Reinand, id., pp 8-16

<sup>2</sup> "On the terrestrial globe of Martin Behem, Nuremberg, A.D. 1492"—says McCrindle, op cit., p 243—"they are called *Manillas*, and are placed immediately to the north of Java Major." If by Java Major, Borneo, as seems very probable, is here understood, it would follow that the *Maniolai* or *Manillas* were by the cartographer taken to be the Philippines, owing presumably to a resemblance in names between them and *Manilla*, the well known native designation of a town and bay on the island of Luzon, so called, it is said (see De Morga, op cit., p 238, note), from a plant termed *mans* by the islanders. But it is hardly possible that such a toponymic could have at so early a date reached European geographers. It is nevertheless a fact that after the name *Manilla* had been applied to Luzon, and the whole archipelago of the Philippines had been included under the generic designation of *Manillas* by the Portuguese, many travellers and writers, among whom Dampier and Gemelli-Careri, began to suggest that *Manillas* was doubtless the original name of the islands, known to Ptolemy and recorded by him as *Maniolai* or *Maniolas* (see Prévost's "Histoire Générale des Voyages," t. x, Paris, 1752, pp 376-377)

*Si-Malandin*, are not very dissimilar—provided it is borne in mind that *Si* is a mere prefix—to *Maniol*, *Malul*, *Mahul*, or *Malur*. The same may be said of the names of the *Bānyak* (*Māmak*, *Māma*) Islands, and of their inhabitants, the *Marnu*. The Catalan Atlas of A.D. 1375 informs us that the island of Taprobana (here meaning Sumatra) is called *Magno-Caulij*,<sup>1</sup> a term which, if not a corruption of *Menang-labau* or *Menang-keibau*, is capable of being referred to both *Bānyak* or *Mānyak*, and *Maniolai*, *Mānya*-[*ka*]-*lau*.<sup>2</sup>


Sulaimān, in Abū-zaid's relation, mentions an island called *Malhan*, lying between *Serendib* (Ceylon) and *Kalah*, in the Sea of India (Bay of Bengal), on the eastern side. Its inhabitants, he adds, are black and naked, with cannibal habits, although they normally live upon fish, plantains, coconuts, and sugar-cane; they dwell in thickets and have no king.<sup>3</sup> A very similar picture, we have remarked, has been drawn by Marco Polo of the natives of *Nocueran*. From both this circumstance and the location assigned to *Malhan* by Sulaimān, it seems very probable that this island belonged to the Nikobār group. I have accordingly suggested its possible identity with the *Armanān* of the *Ajūb*, and with either *Battu-Malv*, *Milū*, *Meroe*, *Menchāl*, etc., asking myself at the same time whether its name was at all to be connected with that of the *Maniolai*.<sup>4</sup> Be it

<sup>1</sup> See Cordier (op. cit., pp. 17 and 42), who merely contents himself with transcribing Tastu's doubtful explanation as "*Magna-Cavillatio* lieu où vous êtes trompés, ou sont de grands trompeurs, *Magni-Cavilli* F." There was an *Île Trompeuse* or *Îles des trompeurs* in those parts, namely, Engano, so marked in several French charts of the eighteenth century, but evidently this designation can hardly have anything to do with *Magno-Caulij*, which, in my opinion is almost certainly a clumsy transcript of *Menang-labau*. It will be observed in fact that this toponymic generally appears in the relations of travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as *Menancabo* (Barbosa), *Manuicabo* (Beau lieu), *Manu qabo* (Valentyn), etc., forms not very different from *Magno-Caulij*.

<sup>2</sup> There is also an islet bearing the name of *Maneh* (Pulo Maneh), north west of Pulo Raya in *Raya* Bay, west coast of Sumatra.

<sup>3</sup> See Reinand op. cit., p. 20. The island is termed *Malhan* in the *Mukhtasar al Ajūb* (note Van der Lath & M. Deric's "*Merveilles de l'Inde*," p. 203).

<sup>4</sup> *Malhan* looks rather like a Malay-derived word of the original form *Malan*, *Malhan*, etc. *Malan* or *Milang* is the Malay term for a rock a little above high water, and would thus well suit the loadstone rocks, or else the coral reefs fringing most of the Nikobars. A great resemblance does of course exist between *Malhan* and the names of *Si Malu* and its bay, *Si Malandan*, but the identification on would be geographically untenable as the position assigned to *Malhan* in the Arab account on the line Ceylon-*Kalah* (*Takola*) argues it to be one of the

as it may, there can be but little doubt, from Ptolemy's statement as to the inhabitants' reputation for cannibalism, that these legendary islands must correspond to either the central group of the Nikobars or the northernmost isles facing the west coast of Sumatra. And as regards the term *Maniolai*, there is some likelihood as to its having been derived from some Sanskrit name of the loadstone, *Ayaskanta mani*, *Ayomani*, or simply *Mani*, which served as a base for some compound like *Maniyali*, *Manijala*, or *Maniyalaya*<sup>1</sup>. Or else the same term may be traceable to a compositum built upon the *Mōn* word , *mnih* meaning a 'man,' corrupted into *Mniha*, *Maniha*, or *Mama*, which we find, e.g., in the contracted form *Nia* or *Niah* in *Pulo Nias*, to which it gave its name. Originally it must have been followed by some other word (perhaps *Ala* or *Hala*?) meaning negro, pygmy, savage, cannibal or something of that sort, conjointly with which it formed some compound (such as, e.g., *Mnih Ala*) suggestive of the transcript *Maniolai* adopted by Ptolemy to designate the inhabitants of the islands as well as the isles themselves. From the resemblance of such a compound

central Nikobars situated on either side of Sombrero Channel. *Malhan* with due modifications (*Mal la Ma ha! Ma a!*) can be made to resemble the terms *Manal Manyal* and *Maniolai*.

<sup>1</sup> A fabulous island by the name of *Mani dvipa* is mentioned in Sanskrit literature as existing in the ocean of nectar but its name is more likely to mean Isle of Jewels than Loadstone Island. A similar term *Ratna dvipa* was used chiefly by Far Eastern Buddhists to designate Ceylon. McCrindle (op. cit. p. 242, note) points out that Wilford (in *Asiatic Researches* vol. xiv pp. 429-30) gives the Hindu legend regarding the magnetite rocks fabled to exist in the Indian Ocean from the *Catvarga Catana* and identifies them with those near *Purnāra* [ ] or the Lion's place [ ] in the Lion's mouth or Straits of Singapore [ ]. Colonel Wilford's vagaries in connection with Indian classical geography are too well known to make it necessary to demonstrate that *Purnāra* or *Purnāra* as well as the Lion's place and mouth never existed in so far as the Straits are concerned except in the fertile imagination of that Orientalist and that they are accordingly far more mythical than the rocks with which he pretended to identify them. It may be noticed furthermore that *Sula pura* or Singapore the Lion City so named from a tradition that a lion was seen on the site where it rises was not founded until a date which I fix approximately at A.D. 1340 but which even in native legend is not really so far more ancient, and had McCrindle quoted from Wilford or from where the rocks are known in Hindu folklore instead of giving the above twaddle it might have been perhaps of some help in fixing the position of them.

to *Mani*, *Maniydla*, etc., coupled with the probable fondness for iron common to the natives of the Nikobārs and neighbouring islands, the legend of the loadstone rocks could easily originate, and grow supported by the fact that all the boats built in Southern India, Indo-China, the Malay Archipelago, and China up to quite recent times, have always been constructed exclusively of wood and kept together with wooden bolts and cords, without a single piece of iron in them.

Before closing these notes on the islands of the Bay of Bengal, I wish to draw attention to the fact that the Nikobārs and Andāmāns have generally been located by early geographers and navigators much further north from their true position; so much, in fact, that they came to occupy a site in close proximity to Cape Negrais and the Arakanese coast. In the relation of Abū-zaid it is stated that after the island of *Ramū* or *Ramī* (North Sumatra) there are the *Lenjebālūs* islands<sup>1</sup>; after these there come two other isles (Andāmāns) separated from the former by a sea called *Andāmān*; beyond there are mountains out of the sailing route, containing silver-mines (the Arakan coast, i.e. Ptolemy's *Argyra*)<sup>2</sup>. It is apparent from this description that the Andāmāns and Nikobārs were believed to be nearer to the Arakanese seaboard than is really the case. Such

<sup>1</sup> The *Lenjebālūs*, or *Lanjabalūs*, of Sulaiman and Abu-zaid are most likely the Nikobars. Besides comparing, as already suggested the Arab account with I-tsing, it is useful to refer to the description of the Nikobars left by Dampier, who visited them in 1688. The Arab relation mentions cocoanut-trees, ambergis, and palm wine among the productions of the islands, and so does Dampier. I-tsing says that the beach is very steep and craggy towards the east and Dampier repeats the same statement as regards the southern shore of the island he visited. The *Lenjebālūs* of the Arabs and the *Lo kuo* of I-tsing can scarcely be the Andamans, as, according to Symes (loc. cit.), there are absolutely no cocoanut trees growing there.

<sup>2</sup> They were out of the route of the Arab ships because this ran from Quilon, or Kollam, to the Nikobars, and thence to *Ālalah-bar*, or *Takūa pī* (Takōpa). The landmark of the Arab navigators to reach the land of silver mines (from the Andamans) was, according to Sulaiman (in Renaud, op. cit., p. 9), a mountain called *Ālūshnāmī* (*Jibāl Ālūshnāmī*, lit. the 'Auspicious Mountain'), the name of which, Colonel Yule suggested, might be but a translation of the Ptolemaic *Ἀγαθαδαλμονος ἄηρος*. This, it will now be seen, is impossible, and the greatest probability is that *Ālūshnāmī* was but an embellished transcript of *Kūsumī*, the name of Bassein, the landmark thus being the mountain of Bassein, i.e. Cape Negrais.

a mistaken notion was by no means peculiar to Western navigators; for we find that the Chinese, in their halcyon days of interoceanic navigation, held the same view. No better proof could be given of the position that the Chinese ascribed to the Andāmāns and Nikobārs than by referring to the Chinese chart of the sea-route from *Su-mén-ta-la* (Sumatra) to Ceylon, published by Phillips in the *Journal of the China Branch R.A.S.* (vol. xx, Nos 5-6, 1885). The chart, in the opinion of Phillips, is older than the commencement of the fifteenth century. I have made a new study of it, at least for the portion concerning the Bay of Bengal, and I was thereby able to add some new names left untranscribed by him to his list, to supply a few more identifications, and to rectify several of the identifications he suggests. I must briefly refer to these points, as on them depends the position of the Andāmāns and Nikobārs in respect of the coast of Arakan. Phillips' principal mistake arose from his reading the 落坑 of the chart as *Lo-k'ang* and identifying it with Rangūn, unaware perhaps that Rangūn was so named, or rather renamed, as late as A.D. 1763 by Alōng-Bhura, previous to that date being known as *Dagun* or *Takum* (*Takong* in Talaing). From this mistake the identifications suggested by Phillips of some places noted in the map between *Lo k'ang*, as he reads it, and Chittagōng, as well as of several others below *Lo-k'ang*, become wrong, and there still remain a few places impossible to identify, no matter how the names given in the chart are twisted. I could not account for this fact until I found out that *Lo-k'ang*, or rather *Lo-khêng*, as it is pronounced in at least one-half of the Chinese vernaculars, including Mandarin, really represents *Rakkhêng* or *Rakkhang*, i.e. Arakan. Once this point settled, most of the neighbouring places in the map become easy of identification, as will appear from the following list, in which the names of places correctly identified by Phillips are printed in ordinary type, and those either added or newly identified by me are italicized, all being arranged in the same order as they occur in the chart.

PLACES OPPOSITE THE EAST COAST OF THE BAY OF BENGAL	CHINESE NAME	IDENTIFICATION	CHINESE NAME	IDENTIFICATION	PLACES ON THE EAST COAST OF THE BAY OF BENGAL
	Lo k eng shan	Lat., Rakhleng Islands = Borong Island and Savage Island, at the mouth of the Andaman River	Ch'è ti chung Mu ko } -chung Bok ko }	Chittagong River	Diphalais or Malakal Pier behind Malakal Island, market Hongringchir or Hongringchir in the old maps
	An té men shan	Boi pola Island (Nikobars), marked Imitia in old maps	Ch ih t u shan		Tait or hills, i.e., hills behind Alyab, whose Burmese name is Tait-see (so pronounced, but written Tait-see = Chak-tu, Chak-tu)
	Pai p i g t on shan	Kai on ta (Nikolite)	Awet t ou-shan		Alyab
	Chin hui Kam sau	Tilan chon (Nikobars)	Lo k'eng Hsiao mie shan		Pakhung or Arakan city Poi a or Yoma Pange?
	Ta na sau li	Die pond Island (Nikobars)	Tai-t o shan		Son a hill about Combermere Bay The old maps mark in this neighbourhood a place by the name of Domasia or Doka i
	Ma ch nan ch au	Die pond Island (Nikobars)	Ma-ung-shan		The port at the mouth of the Arung River is noted in the old maps as Magari. Perhaps the Mace River or Man-aung (Chak ba) are meant
	Chu p ai ch au	Die pond Island (Nikobars)	K'o tie-mi		
	Ta wai shan	Die pond Island (Nikobars)	Pa tou-ma		Cot i, i.e. Krasumi, or Bassin as called by Portuguese travellers
	Ta wai hau	Die pond Island (Nikobars)	Ta wai . . .		Martaban (Muh tamah in the vernacular)
	Ta na sau li	Die pond Island (Nikobars)	Pai Hsiao (Sic i) Ta-na sau li		Tavoy, written Danda (Dard) in Siamese, but pronounced Tynad
					Northern Siem
					Ternasserim, the Ternassers of early Western travellers, written Tander in Siam

1 It was preferable, as stated in the 'British Burma Gazetteer' (vol. II, p. 4), "a good landmark for ships in former times."



It will appear from the above list that, in the opinion of Chinese navigators, the Nikobārs and Andāmāns lay abreast of the Arakanese coast, and precisely, between Cape Negrais and Borongo Island at the mouth of the Arakan River. A glance at the map referred to will further convince one of this, and were it not for the fact that there are no islands of importance between Cape Negrais and Chedūba, one might be tempted to identify the *Ts'wei-lan*, *Chun-hsu*, *Pei-p'ing-t'ou*, and *An-té-man* Islands of that map, with islets and reefs off the Arakanese coast, or with the insular groups of Chedūba and Borongo lying further northwards. This is what actually occurred with Wilford, who took Ptolemy's Bazakata Island to be Cheduba, and the mistake might be repeated by many in the case of the islands marked in the Chinese map in question, but for the name *An té man*, which very clearly warns us that such isles belong to the Andāmān Nikobār archipelago. In the face of these facts I think there should be no more hesitation in recognizing Bazakata Khaline, etc., as parts of the archipelago just mentioned.

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information anent these islands except that their inhabitants were cannibals. This is quite correct, as up to this day they form a favourite haunt for the rude *Batta* or *Battak*, undoubted anthropophagi of the so-called Indonesian descent, though semi-civilized. From the district of *Bārūs* these islands were evidently named *Barusai*. It is also very likely from this district that the famous *Fansūr* (or *Pansūr*) camphor so praised by the Arabs was exported.<sup>1</sup>

As a good deal of misapprehension has always existed among Western writers dabbling in Far Eastern geography anent the names applied by Oriental travellers to both this district and the camphor therein produced; and as in scarcely any instance have they been properly identified, and in none adequately explained, it should prove of some interest to go here into their history and show how far back into antiquity they can be traced, especially as this forms a point of first importance for the ancient geography of Sumatra to be dealt with under the next section.

Firstly, as to the district of *Bārūs* and the islands facing it. These seem to have been frequently confounded with one another, as probably was also the case with Ptolemy; for in both Chinese and Arab accounts we find the *Bārūs* district described at times as part of the coast of Sumatra, and at others as an island, and it is not until the thirteenth century that it becomes definitely recognized as part and parcel of Sumatran territory. This incongruity is, no doubt, due to the imperfect knowledge possessed by navigators, until a comparatively modern period, of Sumatra, which was believed to consist of several islands.

Proceeding in chronological order, we find I-tsing (A.D. 671-695) making mention of the island of *P'o-lu-shih*

(婆魯師州, *P'o lu shih Chou*), which he locates to the west of *Shih-li fo shih* (尸利佛逝國), i.e. the State of *Sri Bhoga*, now Palembang<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards the History of the T'ang Dynasty (ch 222, c) refers to a district called 郎婆露斯, *Lang p'o lu sz*, which, it states, was the western part of *Shih li fo shih* Chavannes,<sup>2</sup> with the facility peculiar to Sinologists, does not hesitate to identify both *P'o-lu shih* and *Lang p'o lu sz* with Marco Polo's *Ferlec*, that is, *Perlak*, *فِرْلَقْ*, on the north coast of Sumatra, a view which Takakusu readily endorses, quite overlooking the fact that *P'o-lu shih* does not sound like either *Ferlec* or *Perlak*,<sup>3</sup> but rather like *Barus* or *Ba lu sz* it being besides pronounced *Boa lu sai* in the Fu chou dialect, a surprising approach to the Ptolemaic *Barusai* or *Barusae*

the name of the camphor therein produced, which name, we hope to demonstrate, was properly *Pāmsu* or *Pāmsum*, but was corrupted by the authors of those accounts into *Pansur*, *Iansūr*, and the like.

The first traveller to mention the name was in reality Sulaimān, in *circa* A.D. 851, but he merely speaks of plantations called *Iansūr* (إنشور), producing camphor of first quality, in the island of *al-Ramnī* (northern part of Sumatra), and not of a district bearing that denomination.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, Mas'ūdī (A.D. 943) and the authors that followed him apply the term to the district of Bārūs, which they describe sometimes as an island. Captain Bozorg (955) is one of those who take either course. He tells us of the island of *Fansūr*,<sup>2</sup> and at the same time of a march along the coast from *Iansūr* to Lāmerī (Ramnī, Rambri, Lambri), passing by the bay of *Lūlū-bīlenk*.<sup>3</sup> *Dīmaslīkī*

(about A.D. 1300) speaks both of an island of *Fansur*, producing camphor of superior quality, and of a city of *Fansur* situated on the island of Kalah (west coast of Malay Peninsula) <sup>1</sup> Abu l Fedī on the other hand, confines himself (A.D. 1321) to a cursory mention of "the city of *Fansur*, whence the *Transur* camphor takes its name" which, however, he places in the southern part of the island of *Jarak*, <sup>2</sup> here meaning no doubt Sumatra. So also do Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1345) and Marco Polo the latter of whom (1292) locates his *Faisur* *Taisur*, or *Transur* kingdom in the last named island termed by him Java Minor or Little Java.

On the Chinese side, although Chao Ju kua speaks (about A.D. 1240) of the camphor of *Pai si* <sup>3</sup> we do not find the *Fansur* or *Pansu* district referred to until about 1399-1400, in the Chinese map published by Phillips <sup>4</sup> under the name of 班 卒 *Pai tsu* which seems to be a transcript of *Paisu*

rather than of *Pansu*, although there would be no very serious objection against the latter interpretation on account of the final *t* (often equivalent to *r* in transcripts of foreign toponymies) occurring in the Cantonese pronunciation, *Pan-tsut*, of the term. There is further mentioned in the history of the Ming dynasty under the date 1415 *circa*, a country of 班卒兒, *Pan-tsu erh* or *Pan-tsu 'ih*, which Groeneveldt<sup>1</sup> has taken to be probably Marco Polo's *Fansu* (i.e. Bīrūs) on the west coast of Sumatra, although it appears from both the form of the name and the context of the narrative that some place called *Panchur* in the Straits is more likely intended.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the same Ming history contains a brief allusion to a country 占里班卒, *Ku li-Pan-tsu*, hitherto unidentified, which seems likewise to have nothing to do with Bīrūs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Essays relating to Indo China, ser. II, vol. 1, p. 164.

The passage bearing on the point at issue reads as follows in Groeneveldt's translation. About that time some followers of the imperial envoys [to Java] had been driven by a storm to the country *Pantsu* and a Javanese bearing this name paid a ransom for them and brought them to the place where the king lived. As it will readily be seen the context makes it extremely improbable that *Barus* on the west coast of Sumatra is the place where the junk carrying the envoys bound to Java from China was driven to. I cannot therefore, agree with Groeneveldt's surmise turned later on into a positive assertion by Parker (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1900, pp. 138-139) that the *Pan-tsu erh* here alluded to is Marco Polo's *Fansu*. I feel almost certain that it is on the contrary the island of *Panchur* (Pulo Panchur) otherwise known as Medang and Rangsang lying off the east coast of Sumatra and if not some place lower down the same coast or on the western shore of Borneo bearing the name of *Panchur Banyu* or something similar. It is one of these terms that is meant to be represented by *Pan-tsu erh* while *Pan-tsu* or *Pan-tsut* seems invariably to refer to *Barus* in Chinese geographical literature.

<sup>2</sup> See *Chia in Review*, vol. IV, p. 389, where all the information given from the Ming histories is that there are heavy rains in summer in this country. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January 1900, p. 139, Parker wrote 'A state called *Anli* (the word *Anli* elsewhere meaning Calicut) is stated to have sent tribute between 1403 and 1414 but there is nothing further said by which this state can be identified and further on I notice on a modern English map a large island called *Panchur* off the east coast [of Sumatra] opposite Malacca and Singapore but whether the Chinese Calicut *Pansu* and plain *Pansu* of the records are both or either of them the same place with *Panchur* or with the *Pansu* marked on the Chinese map (published by Phillips) I cannot say. Professor Schlegel in his turn confidently asserted in the *Toung Pao* (vol. X, 1893, p. 290, note) that the Arabic *Pansu* is the transcript of *Panchur* and is therefore to be identified with *Pulo Panchur* off the east coast of Sumatra. This from what we have said above seems unlikely to be the case. As regards *Anli* I am however inclined to opine that it is almost certainly the rendering of *Kul panchur* *Kudla Panchur* *Kul panchur* (cf. *Banyar kulam* = 'Little Banjar' the name given to Sulu) or some similar term. A village called *Kudla Panchur* is to be found at the junction of a small affluent with the Malacca River, Central Malacca district (see D. N. V. Descriptive Dictionary of

In Malay literature Bārūs is referred to in the Chronicle of Pāsai<sup>1</sup> some time before the foundation of Sumatra city (say about A.D. 1270, or slightly earlier), while it appears under the form *Fasuri* (فَسُورِي), a modification of *Fansur*, in the account, evidently compiled from records originally written in Arabic, of the introduction of Islām into Sumatra (in about 1280-90) given in the "Şejarah Mal'iyu"<sup>2</sup> That *Fasuri* here means the Bārūs district is evidenced by the route described as having been followed by the ship carrying the Muslimic mission from Southern India to *Fasuri* (Bārūs), *Lambri*, *Lameri*, or *Pulol Lamuri* (قُولُو لَمُورِي), and *Aru* or *Haru*, هَارُو (east coast of Sumatra)

Turning now to the origin and history of the term *Fansur* or *Pansur* as a designation for camphor, and especially for that of the quality produced at Bārūs, I have no doubt that this term has originated from the Sanskrit पाशु or पाशु. (*Pamsuh*, *Pamśuh*), denoting a kind of camphor which word, brought over to Indo China by the stream of Indū emigration and trans-oceanic trade, underwent several curious transformations which it will be of interest to study I do not know how far back into Sanskrit literature that word may be traced, but it must be very ancient, and it is not unlikely that we have it in *Pamśuwastra*, the name of a people—and obviously also of a country—referred to

in the Mahābhārata,<sup>1</sup> probably lying in the south of India. As the word in question means also 'dust,' 'dirt,' and 'crumbling soil,' it must have originally designated either crude or powdered camphor. How it came to be applied to the best quality of and to refined, camphor is a mystery to me. In Pegu we find the term first under the form *Phummasin* (ဝုံမိန့် = *Bhummasin*), denoting, according to Stevens,<sup>2</sup> *crude* camphor. But in reality, it is to the camphor extracted from the *Blumea balsamifera*—a large half shrubby weed, common in waste grounds and abandoned hill gardens in Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, and several parts of Siam and Malaya—that it specifically applies. From the Mon or Talaing language the term drifted into Burmese under the form *Phong matheing* or *Phummathien* (written မုံမိန့် = *Phummasin* *Phummasein*) where it designates the *Blumea* and also according to Judson *purified* camphor.<sup>3</sup> From the Mon as well, it is probable that the word was adopted into Siamese in which it appears as *Phimsen* and *Phumsen* (*Bimsen* *Bumsen*). It is here however, applied to the *Betonica officinalis* and to refined camphor especially Borneo or Birūis camphor common and Chinese camphor being called *Karabin* (from the Sanskrit *karpura*), and the *Blumea balsamifera* being known instead as *Nit* (*Toi Nit*)



and utilized in some parts of the country for the extraction of camphor.<sup>1</sup>

Now, it is most surprising that, while in Malay the camphor obtained from the *Dryobalanops* is designated *lāpur*, and that produced by the same kind of tree in Bārūs is termed *Kapūr Bārūs* (كافور باروس), a name wrongly applied also to Borneo camphor, it came to be alluded to as *Pansur* or *Pansur* (*Pānśura*) by the early foreign traders.<sup>2</sup> This fact cannot be accounted for otherwise than by admitting that the latter term must have been originally imported into the Bārūs district by the pioneer Indū merchants, and that it was subsequently adopted there for the camphor-trees of the place (*Dryobalanops aromatica*, Gaertn., *Dipterocarpaceæ*). It is scarcely as yet understood, even to this day, that this lofty tree grows only in North Borneo, Iābuan, North-West Sumatra, and in the Indau district of Johor, although there is evidence of its being formerly spread nearly all over the southern part of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>3</sup> It yields two

distinct products, viz, (1) Bārūs camphor, (2) camphor-oil (*Minyak Iapū*). The *Blumea balsamifera* is, on the

near the mouth of the Johor River, whether a good deal of the camphor collected in the Indau district was presumably conveyed overland across the watershed. Denny, in his 'Dictionary of British Malaya,' p 181, reports that camphor is produced in the Kemaman district (between Pahang and Tringany) and at p 29 has the following passage "The camphor-tree is also said still to grow in some parts of Perak. Formerly it was abundant, but it has been almost exterminated by the collectors in the more accessible parts of the country." On p 67 he alludes to its existence in the basin of the Bernam River, further down the western side of the peninsula, where, however, he says, it is not collected by the local tribes. It is therefore, perfectly clear that at no very remote date camphor-trees identical with those at Barus were plentiful all over the hill tracts of the southern part of the Peninsula, from at least the 4th or 5th parallels of Northern latitude downwards, and that at the time of the Arab traders (ninth to fourteenth century) the collection of the drug must have been in full swing, not only in the south but also in the north, where it was obtained from the *Blumea* shrubs. The subsequent decline of the trade and present scantiness of *Dryobalanops* trees have been brought about by the extermination of the trees themselves for the extraction of the valuable product.

Analogous must have been the case with Sumatra. Here, we have seen in the preceding note, Garcin mentions camphor as being produced in Pasai in his time (1593). Marco Polo records its existence in *Lambri*, *Dumashki* (circa 1300), in *Arakir* (probably Achah or Achin) and *Ribah* (perhaps Krung Rabai Bay), all these being places in the extreme north of the island where it does not appear that any camphor-trees are left at present. Further, *Dumashki* states that some of the best camphor comes from *derirah* (Mehren, op cit, pp 199 and 204), which we shall demonstrate in due course, is the *Sarawak* country in Palembang, East Sumatra, whence no such product is now heard of. In more recent times Beauhieu (1821) speaks of camphor being found, besides at Barus at Sinkel (north-west of Barus), and at *Batakam* (Batang district, south-east of Barus and below Tapanuli) which is not however, surprising, as the range of its present production still extends as far south as Natal, only a little above the equator. The native name of the *Dryobalanops* tree in Sumatra is, according to

contrary, far more widely distributed, its area including, besides Āsām, Arakan, Pegu, the Malay Peninsula, Western Siam, the north-eastern part of Luang Phrah Bāng, and Western Tonkin, also Java, the Moluccas, and part of Southern India, especially Konkan<sup>1</sup> From the significant

fact of the plant in question being indigenous to the Indian Peninsula,<sup>1</sup> it is but legitimate to infer that the term

but these, I have ascertained, were derived at that period from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Borneo. At the earlier dates referred to above, however, there is ample reason to suppose that the camphor spoken of as being produced in Siam was, for the most part, obtained locally from the *Blumea balsamifera*.

<sup>1</sup> That camphor was at one time produced in India, no doubt from the *Blumea*, appears undisputable from the following evidence I have collected from reliable sources — (1) Ma Tuan-lin (op cit, p 524) speaks of it having been sent as tribute to China between A.D. 627 and 649, by the Kingdom of 烏苻, *U-tu*, *U-tuk*, or 烏仗那, *U-chang-pang*, "in the south of Central India" — evidently either *Odita*, *Odra*, *Uḍu*, *Utkala* (Orissa), or *Aulumba* (Kacch), mayhap *Ucchangi* in Gujarat — but not, I should think, *Hidumba* or *Hiramba* = Kachar.

(2) The state of 秣羅矩吒, *Mo-lo-chū-ta* ( $\approx$  *Mulāluṭa*, *Malāya*, or Malabar), says the "P'en-wen Yun-fu" (see *China Review*, vol. xiii, p 384), is the southernmost of the 嶺, *Shan*, tribe on the sea-coast. It produces the 龍腦香, *Lung-nao Huang* (lit 'Naga-brain perfume,' or camphor, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Karpura*, according to Estel's "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism," 2nd ed., p 72, s v and of Camphor-Biros according to

CANTY OR	SERATION n nth to tent : cent	HIST SING DYNASTY u der late 9 7	ARIFANA 1019	DINASHK c r u 1300	LEN BAYTA 1743
1st quality	— رياحي 110 d col at Ya str	— 梅花 110 c n j hor in three p e s	Fa s Pyah s —	Fans i Rboh s exported from Fansur	Haralol —
2nd	Fr l and of a lusk colour	Camphor of the second sort	Atod —	A sh i = Ach el f Mashar white and glittering	—
3rd	Kash brown in colour	蒼龍腦, Tsang l g so — blue camphor	Blue tef i —	Marya s coarse grain d lusk colour	—
4th	Zak s Bila s in ved w th fragrance of the wood from the tree	朱龍腦, W l g so small grain ed camphor	—	B l so reddish colour Mashader red outside but white inside Ao dary black n d	—

• Other readings given by Dulaure (loc cit) are *Karsab* and كركسى, *Karkasi* which latter, in my opinion, comes strikingly near to *Girgasi* or *Gargasi* the Malay term for a Ralsea. Iblak ibn Amran, according to Mullies, writes كركسى, *Karkasi*, which this author suggests may be derived from *Gargis* the Batta (Batak) name for camphor (Mullies op cit, p 66)

+ Dulaure suggests that the Malay word باكوس, *Bakus* meaning 'fine,' 'good' may be implied here but this seems unlikely, since the drug here alluded to is of the most inferior quality

‡ Groeneveldt in his translation (op cit p 230) most deily as is often his wont slips over the difficulty entailed in the interpretation of this uncommon term by merely rendering it by camphor of the third sort. The whole passage, as translated by him, runs as follows — "In the year 977 their [the people of P'co] = Brunei West Borneo] king Hang ta sent three envoys to bring as tribute one cati camphor in large pieces eight caties camphor of the second sort eleven caties of the third sort twenty caties small grained camphor and twenty caties of the last sort. Hervey de Saint Denis however in his version of the same passage from Ma Tsin in a work (op cit, p 569), manfully takes the bull by the horns (although omitting various other details) and translates the term in question 'camphre bleu'. It seems, therefore, pretty well certain that Avicenna's blue *Asferich*, camphor is here implied. It is very regrettable that the original characters for the five kinds of camphor mentioned in the above passage—which is undoubtedly one of the oldest and minutest as regards particulars, occurring in Chinese literature—have not been given in error in tance, thus precluding further possible identifications. We must, therefore, leave this task to those having access to the original work.

§ Serapuan says it is called *Ry*, because of its having been first discovered by a king whose name was *P'yih*, رياس. Dimaliki repeats the statement, changing however the name into *Ribak* (see Mehren's transl, p 128). A district *P'ak* is marked on some of the old maps on the north east coast of Sumatra a little inland from the present Pasa district. This may be the source of production for the kind of camphor in question if not *Ribak* may stand for the territory on the Raba river (Kruing Raba, debouching into Raba Bay) just below Aceh, on the north west coast of Sumatra.

Ibn Batūta, strangely enough, although speaking (May, 1345) of camphor in Sumatra and Mula-Jāwah, makes no mention whatever of Fansūr. All he does is to describe the method of collecting the drug, and the properties of the latter from what he learned at *Kakulah* (some port on the East coast of the Malay Peninsula), and says that the plants producing it are reeds, which gives rise to the suspicion that the drug was there obtained from *Blumea* shrubs rather than from stately *Dryobalanops* trees<sup>1</sup> He may, however, be quite right after all, as some of the purest *P'hiu-sēn* or *P'ing-pien* camphor obtainable in Indo-China is, I am assured, found in the joints of a particular kind of bamboo.<sup>2</sup>

The above considerations will it is hoped, have made it perfectly evident that the Indū imported term *Pāmsuh* and its Indo-Chinese derivatives (*P'hummau*, *P'hum-sen*, *Bing thien*, etc.), while originally designating more especially the produce of the *Blumea Libanifer*, which they still do to a large extent in Further India, came to be adopted in the sequel among Western (chiefly Arab) traders under the form *Iansur*, as a specific name for the camphor from the *Dryolalanops* trees exported at first, apparently exclusively, from Bārūs, and blossomed forth later on into a toponymic applied to the Bārūs district itself, on account of its most characteristic and valuable product.

The appearance of the word *Iansur* in this new role does not, however seem to date further back than the tenth century for as late as A.D. 811 Sulumūn still speaks, as we have seen, of camphor yielding plantations called *Iansur* in the island of *Rimni* (North West Sumatra), and it is not until A.D. 943 that we hear, in Mas ūdī's 'Meadows of Gold,'<sup>1</sup> of the country of *كيسور*, *Kinsur*—evidently as we have shown a clerical slip for *كيسور* *Iansur* (= *Pāmsuh*, *Pāmsur*). Whereas as a botanical term and a name for camphor, the word in question is undoubtedly of far higher antiquity, and may possibly enter into the composition of the ancient Indian place name *Pāmsurāsha*, its topographical application to a portion of Further India (*Bārūs* district) is apparently not traceable further back into history than the date above referred to. It follows, therefore, that it cannot have any etymological connection whatever, as has been before this conjectured by some inquirers, with the toponymic *Barus* which possesses a far older record, and can be traced into the mists of ages through the *Balus* (Island) of the Mukhtasar the *Lang P'o lu sz* (Lam Bārūs) of the Tang chronicles, the *P'o-lu shih* of I-tsing's memoirs (A.D. 671-695), the *P'o lu* (*Balut* camphor or camphor oil district) of earliest Chinese Archipelagan navigation and the *Barusai* (Islands) of Ptolemaic fame, to a still older

<sup>1</sup> See *Les Princes* I Or text and transl. by Barbier de Meynard t. 1 p. 338



more often than not known by various distinct names. The quasi-certainty of Si-Berūt having been in the past better known as *Seibi* or *Saibi* is quite sufficient, I think, to account for the term Sabadeibai used by Ptolemy in connection with the group formed by this with the Bātu Islands. Sabadeibai simply means, in fact, *Saba-dipa* or *Saba-dēpa*, i.e. 'Islands of *Saba*,' or, as we take it, of *Seibi* or *Saibi*. The name *Si-Berūt* itself is, it will be seen, not very different from either *Seibi*, *Saibi*, or *Saba*. There may, of course, have existed some place similarly named on the opposite coast of Sumatra, as there are even now several further southward,<sup>1</sup> after which the islands in question may have come to be designated; but in the absence of indications as regards the former, and in view of the fact of the other places just alluded to being too far away south to answer our purpose, we shall rest content with merely tracing the origin of the Ptolemaic toponymic under discussion to *Seibi* or *Saibi*, thus locating it no further than Si-Berūt and adjacent islands.<sup>2</sup>

Ptolemy describes the inhabitants of the Sabadeibai group also as cannibals. In connection with his description it is interesting to notice that Captain Bozorg tells us in his narrative that beyond *al-Neyân* (Nias) there lie three islands called *Baātā* or *Berāta* (بروتا), inhabited, like the former, by a head-hunting and anthropophagous population.<sup>3</sup> These

data so surprisingly tally with those recorded by Ptolemy anent his Sabadeibai, as to suggest at first sight that one and the same insular group is here implied. I do not think, however, that such is the case, despite such seductive coincidences, coupled with the fact of the striking similarity between the terms *Berāwa* and *Sī-Berūt* (in which *Sī* is either an ornamental prefix or represents the definite article).

Van der Lith is inclined<sup>1</sup> to identify the *Berāwa* islands with those of the *Bātū* group rather than with *Sī-Berūt* and the neighbouring islands settled by a Mentawi population, because, he says, the inhabitants of the *Bātūs* came originally from the southern part of Nias, and follow, in common with those of the latter, the barbarous practice of killing their enemies for the sake of their skulls. It seems to me, nevertheless, that the term *Berāwa* is possibly a mere modification of *Maruwa* or *Marawa*, the name given to the natives, and once borne by one of the islands of the *Bānyak* group,<sup>2</sup> which is likewise situated beyond *al-Neyan* (Nias), in which case the three *Berāwa* islands of Captain Bozorg would correspond to the three larger *Bānyaks*. Or else *Berāwa* may be meant for *Varāha*, Hog Island, a designation applied to the two *Tūpak* Islands, and, incorrectly, also to the neighbouring *Sī-Malur*. At all events the probability seems to be more in favour of the *Berāwas* belonging to the Ptolemaic group of the *Barusai* than to that of the *Sabadeibai*.

Although the Mentawi or Mantawi presently inhabiting *Sī-Berūt*, *Sī-Porah*, and the *Pageh* Islands are, comparatively, a mild-mannered people,<sup>3</sup> there seems to be little doubt that

the islands fronting its seaboard. *Sindang* is, to this day, the name of a village and of an upper tributary of the Indrapura River. Villages called respectively *Sindar* and *Sintu*, and a district and river known as *Sindur*, exist in the Bengkŭlen district further down the coast. The most luminous proof as regards the presence at one time in that neighbourhood of a district or township bearing the name of *Sindhu* is, however, furnished to us by Chao Ju-kua, who, in his *Chu-fan-chih* ("Descriptions of the Barbarians," written in circa A.D. 1240), mentions a country called 新 撣, *Hsin-t'o* (= *Sinda*, *Sindhu*), among the fifteen States dependent on *San-fo-ch'i*, 三 佛 齊 (= *Sambhuyaya*, the *Sarbozah* or *Sarlazah* of the Arabs), situated, therefore, in Sumatra<sup>1</sup>. In this country, he goes on to say, there is a port accessible to vessels of deep draught, and in the hills there grows pepper which is small-grained, but heavy, and superior to that of *Ta-pan*. This may be the Tapan district situated on the homonymous river (Sungei Tapan) to the south-east of Indrapura. Dr Hirth takes it, no doubt wrongfully, to be Tuban in N.E. Java,<sup>2</sup> as he assumes *Hsin-t'o* to be Sunda

<sup>1</sup> See Dr Hirth's article in *Journal R A S* for July, 1896, pp 478, 504, and 505 n., and Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion" p. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> Tuban is correctly spelt 杜板 or 賭班, both reading *Tu pan*, *Tu ban*, in Ma Huan's relation, as may be seen in Groeneveldt op cit., p. 172 whereas *Ta pan* is represented in the form 打板, *Ta pan* which may be read also Taban or Daban, but never Tuban. It is therefore certain that the last term is intended as a transcript of *Tapan*. Dr Hirth must have seen the inconsistency, but, anxious as he was to identify all the places in *Shih-p'o* mentioned by Chao Ju kua as producing pepper with localities in Java holding as a matter of course that *Shih-p'o* must certainly be Java and no other place on the face of the earth, he skipped over the matter. Upon close investigation I now find however, that the places in question are almost undoubtedly all situated in Sumatra, as the following brief remarks will show. Subjoined is Chao Ju kua's statement, with Dr Hirth's identifications as they appear in the *Journal R A S* for 1896, p. 504, followed by my own new ones —

without any further explanation as to where the place so named is to be looked for. If by this he means the western part of Java, inhabited by the Sunda nation and where Sundanese is spoken, known to the Malays as *Tānah-Sunda*, the 'Sunda Country' or 'Land of the Sundas,' he cannot be right, for the name *Sunda* of the district in question is, by the Chinese, transcribed 順達 *Shun-ta*, and not *Hsin-t'o*.<sup>1</sup> We are therefore left to ourselves to find out the location of the mysterious and so far puzzling *Hsin-t'o*. That it must have been situated on Sumatra we have pointed out above, and that it must have included the portion of the west coast

"Pepper comes from the following places in *Shē-p'o*, viz —

	DR HIRTH'S IDENTIFICATION	MY IDENTIFICATION
<i>Su-chi-tan</i>	Sukitan, East Java	Sukadana district in South-East Sumatra (residence of Lampung) May be the <i>Sukitan</i> of the "Tung-hsi yang-k'au" in East Java, although Groeneveldt says, op cit, p 179 note, that no name like this has been handed down in Javanese tradition
<i>Ta-pan</i>	Tuban	Tapan district, south-east of Indrapura, West Sumatra
<i>Pai-hua-yuan</i>	Pajajaran?	Pagar-ruyung district, Padang Highlands, West Sumatra, but more probably the village of the same name on the coast some twenty-five miles to the north-west of Bengkulu. It may be, though doubtfully, Pagarawan, on the East coast of Sumatra, in about 3° 30' N lat
<i>Ma-tung</i>	Madang?	Batang district, south of Tapanuli (Tapien na-uh), West Sumatra
<i>Jung-ya-lu</i>	Jangola	Singkel district?, West Sumatra, or Sungal Island, Lampung Bay, South Sumatra

But the pepper coming from

<i>Hsin-t'o</i>	Sunda	<i>Sindhu</i> , and very likely also Barbosa's <i>Zunda</i> kingdom
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is the best, the *Ta-pan* variety takes the second place "

<sup>1</sup> See Hist. of the Ming Dynasty cited by Groeneveldt, op cit, p 166, where it is said of *Chao-ia* (Java) that it is sometimes called *P'u-chia-lung* (Pekalongan) and also *Hua-chiong* (*Ha-lang* said by the translator to be Bantam) and *Shun ta* (Sunda). Also p 181, where he identifies the *Shun ta* country with the district where *Ha-lang* (Bantam) is situated

of that island occupied by the present district of Indrapura and residency of Bengkūlen, in front of which Ptolemy placed his group of the Sindai, is the next point to be demonstrated. This task is made comparatively easy from the fact that Barbosa, writing A.D. 1516, mentions "a kingdom called *Zunda* after a city bearing such a name, which lies in degrees four and three thirds [ $\frac{2}{3}$  or  $\frac{3}{4}$ ?] on the southern side [i.e. West coast] of Sumatra." "In this kingdom," he proceeds to say, "there is likewise to be found very small grained pepper."<sup>1</sup> That the "southern

side of Sumatra here means its West coast seems beyond doubt because the kingdom of 'Menancabo' (Menangkabau) is also stated to lie dalla banda di merzodi Porcacchi, speaking of the ten kingdoms of Iaprobana (= Sumatra which he confuses at times with Ceylon) says evidently after Barbosa On the same southern side is the sixth kingdom called *Zula* from a city of that name lying in degrees four and three thirds <sup>1</sup> His cartographer Porro marks *Finda* for Sunda on the map on p 189 abreast of two islets lying at the entrance to Sunda Strait One of them is no doubt meant to represent Barbosa's island of Sunda which from the description given of its position evidently corresponds to some island in Sunda Strait and cannot therefore have anything to do with the Zunda kingdom The latitude assigned by Barbosa to the capital of the latter 4° 40 or 4° 45 S closely corresponds to that of Sambat Bay in the Kawur district of the residency of Bengkulen This

measurement should not, however, be taken too literally, as it is, no doubt, meant to be merely approximate. We may therefore assume, without fear of being too much on the erring side, that the Zunda capital city, if not the actual Indrapura (S lat  $2^{\circ} 1'$  circd), must have lain not far lower down the coast, perhaps no further than the modern Bengkŭlen settlement and the neighbouring well sheltered Pulau Bay, into which the Salebar (or Salibar) River discharges. As regards the kingdom of Zunda itself, it must have comprised the whole of the intervening tract of sea coast, extending perhaps even so far down as Sunda Strait. It is difficult to judge, in the state of our present knowledge, whether the name *Zunda* came to the kingdom in question from its being settled by tribes of the Sunda nation, or whether on the other hand that name is a mere misspelling for *Sunda Sindhu*, or similar term, due to some mishap of Barbosa or of his informers. If, however, so slight a discrepancy in form prevents us from positively asserting the identity of Barbosa's kingdom of *Zunda* with Chao Ju kua's *Hsin t'o* State on linguistical grounds, there is fortunately such a perfect coincidence between the statements of the two authors as regards the quality of the pepper produced in either of the two countries named, as to convince us that, if they were not one and the same topographically, they must have been at least close neighbours, one being perhaps politically part (township district, or province) of the other. We have seen, in fact that both Barbosa and Chao Ju kua speak of very small grained pepper being found in, respectively, *Zunda* and *Hsin t'o* the latter authority adding besides that the pepper coming from *Hsin t'o* is the best.<sup>1</sup> Now this little bit of apparently trifling information is of the greatest value in the present case because of its being quite sufficient by itself to establish the position of *Hsin t'o* on the west coast of Sumatra where most later travellers are agreed that the best pepper coming from that island was produced.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bernheui (A.D. 1621) says the kingdom of Indrapura produces pepper of the same quality as Jamb (which is better than Indragiri's) at Idaman however the pepper grows to perfection and it is here that the pepper gardens

There is further the circumstance that while in Barbosa's list of the Sumatran kingdoms the first one of them mentioned as coming immediately after Menangkabau on the south is *Zunda*, in the enumeration made a century later by Beaulieu Indrapura is inserted instead, thus taking the place of Barbosa's *Zunda*.<sup>1</sup> There does not seem to have ever existed any other kingdom on the west coast of Sumatra and to the south of the Menangkabau State except this one of Indrapura, which is, at any rate, the only one in that position to which reference is made in the accounts of the early European travellers. We may therefore conclude with sufficient reason that Indrapura is the realm Barbosa meant by his term *Zunda* and Chao Ju-kua by his designation *Hsin-t'o*. No doubt the ancient name of this State or of its capital was something like *Sinda* or *Sindhu*, terms which probably still

commence. Tiku produces still more, but at Priaman it is less plentiful, and at Padang and Menangkabau scarce (see Prevost's "Hist. Gén. des Voyages," vol. ix, 1751, pp. 340 and 341). Mandelslo tells us ("Voyage aux Indes Orientales," Amsterdam, 1727, t. i, p. 351) "*Le poivre de Sumatra est sans doute le meilleur de toutes les Indes, après celui de Cochim*." And Crawford still more explicitly remarks ("History of the Indian Archipelago," Edinburgh, 1820, vol. i, p. 482) "Those countries of the Archipelago in which pepper comes to the greatest perfection [are] the south-west coast of Sumatra, the north coast of Borneo, and the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula. Java, so famous for the fertility of its soil, produces the worst pepper of the Archipelago." This makes it perfectly clear that *Hsin-t'o*—which, we have demonstrated, was undoubtedly part of Sumatra—could not have been situated elsewhere on that island but its south-west coast. Strange to say, Jean Parmentier in his Journal, refers to Indrapura under the name of *Andripourre*, probably in allusion to the quantity of pepper therein produced (see Milnes' "Monnaies des Indigènes," etc., p. 68, note 1).

<sup>1</sup> In Barbosa's list the kingdoms are referred to in the following order — (1) *Pedir*, on the north side towards Malacca, (2) *Pucun* (Pasai), (3) *Achem* (Achéh), (4) *Campar*, opposite Malacca (E coast), (5) *Menancabo* (Menangkabau), on the south side (W coast), (6) *Zunda*, on the south side (W coast), (7) *Andragide* (Indragiri), (8) *Auru* (Aru or Haru). Beaulieu, after pointing out that Padang and Deli bound on either side the kingdom of Achéh, proceeds to say "Au Levant, pres de la ligne, est le petit Royaume d'*Andragide* [Indragiri], plus loin, celui de *Jambi* [Jambi], les plus riches apres *Achem*, ensuite, celui de *Palimbang* [Palembang]. A l'ouest, apres Padang, suit le Royaume de *Menancabo* [Menangkabau], puis celui d'*Andripoura* [Indrapura]. Le reste de la côte, jusqu'au detroit de la Sonde, est desert & couvert de bois" (Prevost, op cit., vol. ix, p. 339).

In the letter from the Sultan of Achéh to King James I of England, dated A H 1024 — A D 1612 (published in the *Journal Straits Branch R A S*, No. 31, July, 1898, p. 123), the last districts or places of any importance mentioned on the west coast of Sumatra are *Bengkulu* (now known as Bengkulu) and *Salibar* (= Seiebar, a little further south), the preceding ones being Indrapura, Salida, Priaman, Tiku, Pasaman, Barus, Daya, and Chalang.



survive in the *Sindang* River and village near Indrapura, in the *Sindang* district on the hill-tracts to the north-east of Bengkŭlen, and in the settlements, river, and district of *Sindar*, *Sintu*, and *Sindur* in the same neighbourhood, to which reference has already been made. The islands fronting the tract of sea-coast in question came naturally to be styled by the early navigators 'Islands of *Sinda*,' and they most assuredly are, by reason of both name and geographical position, those that Ptolemy has recorded under the term *Sindai*, which his Latin translators have transcribed as *Sindae Insulae*. This insular group thus proves, as we have pointed out, to be identical with the one of which the two islands now called Pageh, Pagai, or Pagi, lying so close to each other as to be easily mistaken for a single one, form the centre. Here, again, the old term *Sinda* seems to survive in slight disguise in the islet of Sandion, otherwise known as *Pulo Sanding*, lying fourteen miles south-eastward of South Pageh. Although the present inhabitants of these islands are described as simple and inoffensive, we have seen there are good reasons for presuming that the epithet of cannibals applied by Ptolemy to their remote predecessors was not altogether undeserved. From the fact that some modern ethnologists affiliate the natives of Nias on the one side and of Engano on the other to the Batta stock while others consider them to be cross breeds between Battas and Negritos, it would seem that the early population of the intervening Pageh islands cannot have been of a far different nature, and that if not actual anthropophagy, at any rate head-hunting must have been in full swing at the period when Ptolemy compiled his treatise.

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In the course of the foregoing notes on the insular groups located by Ptolemy off the west coast of Sumatra I have assumed throughout that they actually were what he represents them to be, namely, clusters of islands corresponding to those known to us to exist opposite the west coast of that

island. But from the fact of the insular groups in question being recorded in the Ptolemaic list under names belonging to places on the Sumatran seaboard, it might be argued that the portions of the littoral of the main island after which they were named may also have been believed to form as many separate islands, and may, for this reason, have been respectively included in the groups aforesaid. If so, it would appear that the west coast of Sumatra was, in Ptolemy's time, known to navigators only at the points opposite the islands he names, and that such points were not well understood to be part and parcel of one and the same large island until many centuries later, when the Sumatran coastline stood thoroughly revealed. This was undoubtedly the case with I-tsing and the Arab travellers and geographers, who describe districts situated on the Sumatran seaboard as if each were an island in itself. In so far as Ptolemy is concerned he seems, indeed, from what we shall see in the sequel, not to have had a definite idea of the size of Sumatra. He had apparently some substantial knowledge only of the portion of the island corresponding to the actual district of Palembang, and had heard of Acheh, the capital of the island, as being situated in the western extreme of the latter; but he was evidently far from suspecting that Acheh was so far away, hence he assigned to the island only two degrees dimension in longitude. He had, of course, learned of several groups of islands lying off its west coast and bearing names corresponding to places on the seaboard opposite them, but he, as well as his informants, was probably quite unaware that these places formed part of one and the same island, just like the travellers and geographers who followed after him for many centuries, hence there is nothing improbable that he thought those places to be as many separate islets, and that he included them among the insular groups he mentions. I am therefore inclined to conclude that the clusters of islands he locates in this quarter presumably represent not only islands fronting the west coast of Sumatra, but also the corresponding portions of the Sumatran seaboard opposite those islands, after which the latter have, in the

majority of instances, been named. These considerations apply especially to the two groups of the Barusai and Sindai, in which it is very probable that the districts respectively of Bārus (like *Fangar* with most Arab geographers) and *Sinda* or Indrapura are included as if each were an island belonging to those groups. Be it as it may, I hope at any rate to have conclusively demonstrated what is the actual location that should be assigned to the groups of islands in question in our maps, a task that has hitherto been looked upon as hopeless by all our modern commentators and dissertationists on the Ptolemaic geography of the Eastern Archipelago.

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### C *Sumatra.*

Iabadiū or Sabadiū, an island (No 126).

Ptolemy's information as regards this island is to the effect that its name means the 'Island of Barley.' "It is said to be of extraordinary fertility, and to produce very much gold, and to have its capital, called *Argyrē* [No 127], in the extreme west of it"<sup>1</sup>

On account of a similarity in names, most of Ptolemy's elucidators have identified this island with Java. But Ptolemy's explanations show it beyond any possible doubt to be Sumatra. No gold whatever appears to have ever been found in Java, while it is notoriously plentiful in Sumatra. No city by a name approaching that of *Argyre* is known to exist in the west of Java<sup>2</sup>, whereas we shall show it does in the "extreme west" of Sumatra, and corresponds to the present Acheh or Achin. It remains to account for the name

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle's translation p 239, § 29

<sup>2</sup> A place called *Argapura* (i.e. 'High City'), where relics of antiquity have been found, exists at an elevation of 9 000 feet above sea level on a mountain towards the eastern end of the island. But this cannot have anything to do with *Argyre*, both from its location in a diametrically opposite direction and from its name which in Ptolemaic transcription, would have assumed a form similar to that of *Aganagara* (*in pra*, p 332)

*Jaba-diū* = *Yava-dīpa*, 'Island of Barley'—better, perhaps, to say of millet<sup>1</sup>—which is taken to apply solely to Java. This is most certainly a mistake, as it is probably also to hold that the name means barley or millet. The name of the island is, it is true, spelled *Yava* (*Yava-dīpa*) in the Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in its very territory;<sup>2</sup> but in the speech and literature of the whole archipelago it does not appear otherwise than as *Java* or *Jāva*, while *Java* or *Jara* are the forms that obtain in all the neighbouring countries, among which I may mention Campā, Kamboja, and Sīam.<sup>3</sup> It should besides be pointed out at the very outset of this inquiry that, although the expression *Nusa Jāva* (the 'Island of Java,' or, still better, of the Java race) occurs in the legendary tales of the Javanese, the term *Jāva* does not by any means seem to have ever been locally applied to the island itself as a whole, but merely, as Crawford declares, to its "central and eastern provinces, those portions occupied by the Javanese race, strictly so called,"<sup>4</sup> whereas its western part appears to have never been designated otherwise than as *Tānah Sunda*, i.e. the 'Sunda country.'<sup>5</sup>

The appellation *Java* for the entire island is not, perhaps, so much a poetical fiction of native bards as an invention of foreign merchants and travellers who came to adopt it owing to the fact of their having, naturally, been brought in touch mainly with the eastern part of the island, the very district that exclusively bore that designation, because of its being then the centre of culture and trade, so that in the course of time the term *Java* became to them suggestive of the island itself. I have, nevertheless remarked how some of our old travellers, such as, for instance, Barbosa as well as the early Portuguese historians of the East Indies, used to distinguish between *Java* (the eastern part of the island) and *Sunda* (the western part), thus believing them to form two different islands.

The next important point on which I feel compelled to lay considerable stress is, that all over the Archipelago and Indo Chinese mainland the term *Java* is not viewed in the light of a toponymic proper, but is on the contrary, distinctly understood to be a racial name and even when used singly in a topographical sense it invariably means 'country of the *Java* (in Malay جاوا, *Java* or *Jawa*) race'.<sup>1</sup> In such an acceptation, we have seen, the range of this term is far from being confined to the sole eastern part of Java, which would indeed, seem to have been, in point of time about the latest place and, geographically, the furthest limit to which it extended. Already I have in a former section (pp 131 and 150) dwelt upon the connection between *Java* and *Yavana* and shown that this was the name of the Moñ Annam race, that race which overspread the whole

of Indo-China and most of the Malay Archipelago before the advent of populations of a more decided Mongolic type. I have also pointed out that the territory originally occupied by the innumerable tribes of this complex race was Southern China or *Yüeh*; and that *Yuan*, meaning 'a plateau' or 'high level,' and also a people of mountaineers on the southern Chinese borders, was either one of its names or that of one of its branches. Whether *Yueh* and *Yuan* are derivations of the Sanskrit *Jata*, *Jatana*, and *Yavana*, or they were original terms modified afterwards by Indū settlers into the latter mentioned classical forms, it is for the present impossible to determine. The same may be said of the term *Māla*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese *Yuan* which we find embodied in the name of the Malay people. I have suggested (pp. 130-131 *ante*) that it was, most probably, introduced from Malaya-vāra, i.e. Malabār, whence a stream of Dravidian emigrants is known for certain to have flowed into the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula. But there is the fact that the same term *Māla* was applied to the region originally occupied by the *C'hieng* or *Yüan*, corresponding to the present territory of Lāos; and that it was there probably coexistent with the term *Jarā* which we have traced at Lūang P'hrah Bāng as well as in southern Cochin-China. It may be therefore that the term *Māla* travelled down from north Indo-China to the Archipelago hand in hand with its cognate vocable *Jarā*. This conjecture would seem to receive support from the fact that we find the term *Jara* in the Archipelago under both the identical forms, *Jara* or *Jaba* and *Sara* or *Saba*, that we have met with at Lūang P'hrah Bāng and Saigon (v. p. 218). And we have it, very likely under both forms also in Burmā, brought thither, no doubt, by the same branches of the *Yuan* or *C'hieng* race that spread it through Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is a most egregious mistake

to localize the term *Java* or *Jaba*, with its variant *Sara* or *Saba*, to the present island of Java alone, since it was the common designation for the whole archipelago, or, at any rate, for those portions of it that had been settled by the *Javana* or *Yavana* race, besides being the name of several

regions on the Indo Chinese mainland It is only by keeping this fact well in mind that we can understand how, up to the periods of Marco Polo's Ibn Batūta's and Nicolò Conti's travels not so much the present island of Java itself but more particularly those of Sumatra and Borneo and parts of the Malay Peninsula, were known by the common name *Java*

The most ancient Chinese forms of this term are to be met with (1) in Fa Hsien who visited the Archipelago on his return voyage from Ceylon to China A.D. 414 as 耶婆提, *Ya po ti*; (in Annamese *Ja ba de* = *Yavadi*, *Yabadi*, *Jabaj*), (2) in the history of the First Sung dynasty (bk. 97), under the date A.D. 435 as 閩婆達, *Shē po ta* or *Tu po ta*<sup>1</sup> (which is however almost certainly a clerical slip for *Shē po* and *Po ta* two distinct though neighbouring States of which *S'ē po* or *Tu po* Ann *Cha ba* = *Jaba Saba Dara*

<sup>1</sup> The history of the Later Sung dynasty as well as Ma Tuan lin (op. cit. p. 499) ascribes the embassy of A.D. 435 to a State called simply *Shē po* (閩婆). So does the *Pei t'ien* which mentions apparently incorrectly a still earlier embassy in 433 while the history of the First Sung dynasty says the mission of 435 came from a kingdom named 閩婆婆達 *Shē po po ta*. It is the *han shi* according to Professor Schlegel (*T'oung Pao* vol. x p. 252) which solely employs the contracted (?) form *S'ē po ta* adopted by Groeneveldt in his translation (op. cit. p. 135) and rendered by him as *Javada*. I have not the slightest doubt that two States are here implied one of which is *Shē po* and the other *Po ta*. A kingdom of this name is in fact referred to by Ma Tuan lin (op. cit. p. 508) as having sent missions with presents to China in A.D. 449 and 451. Like *Shē po Po ta* was almost certainly situated on the Malay Peninsula and very likely corresponds to Tavernier's *Bata* of which more anon. Neuboff writing in A.D. 1662 mentions a pretty large island called *Sapta* lying at two leagues from Malacca (see Denny's *Description of Brit. Malaya* p. 209) which seems to be the one now called *Pulo Besar* the largest of the *Aguadas* or *Water Islands* situated at seven miles south eastward of Malacca town. I should not think however that either this island *Sapta* or any similarly named place on that coast (such as e.g. *Sapang* otherwise known as *Port Weld*) have anything to do with the old *Shē po ta* or *S'ē po po ta* the resemblance in names being purely accidental. *Shē po ta* is undoubtedly a faulty reading for *Shē po Po ta* and this notwithstanding the amusing vagaries of our S. nologists to restore the name to its supposed original form is a binary compound of the names of two States and not the exclusive designation of a single one.



is the only one falling within the scope of this list)<sup>1</sup>, and (3) in the travels of Yuan-chuang or Hwên tsang (A.D. 629-645) as 閼摩那洲國, *Yen mo na* (*Yamana*, *Ramana* or *Yabana Yarana*)<sup>2</sup>. Subsequent forms are (4) during the Tang (A.D. 618-907), 閼婆, 社婆, or 杜婆, *Sit-po* (*Saba Siva Jaba Daba* etc.) this name being applied to a country otherwise called 訶陵 *Ho lung* (*Halong Halan J, Klalang*) (5) 閼婆, *Shé jo* (*Jala* etc.) under the Sung (A.D. 960-1280) and (6) later on in the Yuan period (A.D. 1280-1368) 爪哇 *Clai wa* sometimes misspelt 瓜哇 *Kia wa* which remained thenceforward in use<sup>3</sup>.

Of all these forms only the last given, *Chau-ua* or *Chua-ua*, applies to the island of Java, while the others designate, as I shall show, parts of the east coasts of Sumatra and of the Malay Peninsula. It will be seen that the first two are remarkably similar to Ptolemy's renderings Iabadiū and Sabadiū. They may be abbreviations of the term *Yava-dvīpa* or *Java-dvīpa*; but then, as Groeneveldt properly remarks,<sup>1</sup> such shortened forms must have been generally used at that time, for if the Indū colonists had called the island by its full name, Fa-Hsien for one, who knew Sanskrit, would have transcribed it according to that form. So would have Ptolemy, who elsewhere writes Nagadiba, Nagadiboi, Sabadeibai, Trikadiba;<sup>2</sup> and the Arabs, who have *Serendīb*, *Dība-jāt*, etc.<sup>3</sup> And yet in this particular instance Sulaimān, Mas'ūdī, and other Arab writers, following the example of Ptolemy and Fa-Hsien, write *Zābej*, and not *Zabedīb*. The natural inference to be derived from a comparison of the three forms Iabadiū, *Ya-p'o-t'i* (*Yabadi*), and *Zābej*, belonging respectively to the second, fifth, and ninth centuries, is, that they are identical or at least of a common origin, and designate one and the same country. It follows, then, that if we succeed in locating any one of these three names, the identification will hold good for the other two as well. The information left us in this respect by Ptolemy (apart from his geographical determination) and Fa-Hsien is too vague to be of much avail; while that supplied by later Chinese writers and the Arab navigators, though confused to a degree, is more rich in details and useful.

We shall try to find out our way through the maze of Chinese and Arabic geographical riddles, and evolve some order out of that chaos instead of remaining content with

taking it for granted—as has been slovenly done by the writers who have preceded us—that one and all of the terms in question apply solely to the Island of Java, no matter how illogical such a course may be, and though by it the progress of historical geography be impeded. It is time that the absurdity of such *a priori* methods should be exposed, and researches instituted in a rational manner as behoves an age like the present one, when empiricism and theorism may well be said to have had their day.

It is beyond doubt, as I shall demonstrate, that in the good old mediæval days the Chinese and Arabs alike used to distinguish very clearly between at least two, if not three, regions all bearing the name *Java*, *Yava*, or *Data*, one of which was situated in the present Northern Burmā, the second in the Malay Peninsula, and the third (if any) in Sumatra.

### I *The Chinese Evidence.*

In commenting upon the attack made upon Tonkin (*Kiau-chau*) by the populations of *Java* (in either the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra) and *K'un-lun* (Malay Peninsula), in A.D. 767, the Annamese annalists quote from the T'ang Shu and other contemporary Chinese works the following explanations:—

A —“One kingdom of *Dà bà* or *C'hà-rà* [in Chinese, 閩婆, *Shê-p'ò*] was *Java* of the mountains [Highland *Java*] or *Chau-lang*, commonly called *Dōt-lū*<sup>1</sup>. It bordered on the east on Upland *Chén-la* [Upper or ‘Fire’ Kamboja]; on the west on Eastern India<sup>2</sup>; on the south it belonged to the maritime region [Gulf of Martaban]; and on the north it

<sup>1</sup> For *Dōt lū-chu*, the Chinese 突羅朱閩婆, *T'u-lo-shu Shê p'ò*, for which see note on next page

<sup>2</sup> 天竺, *T'ien-chu*, here no doubt meant for Bengal, although this province is said to lie in the east of *T'ien-chu* by Chao Ju-kua (See *Journal R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 496)

was conterminous with [the territory of *Hsie-lo*<sup>1</sup> of] the *Nam-chieu* [Nan Chao, 南詔] country. It had under its rule eighteen lesser kingdoms."<sup>2</sup>

The boundaries here described are, it will be seen, exactly those assigned in other accounts to the kingdom of *P'iau*, 驛<sup>3</sup>; and, indeed, the name *T'u-lo-shu* or *T'u-lo-chu*, otherwise spelt *T'u-li chuo*, 徒里拙, is stated to be one by which the natives called the country termed *P'iau* in Chinese history.<sup>4</sup> The eighteen lesser kingdoms are the eighteen tributary States of *P'iau* enumerated in the "*T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*" (in circa A.D. 1700), among which there was one likewise called 閩婆, *Shê-p'o* or *T'u-p'o*, situated at eight days' march from the kingdom of *P'o-huei-ha-lu*, 婆賄伽盧, i.e. *Pharungara*<sup>5</sup>. It is, accordingly, evident that in the mind of the Chinese historians of the period *Shê-p'o* corresponded at some time or other to *P'iau* (Lower Burmā), and to a portion of *P'iau* (in Upper Burmā). The name or title of the *P'iau* king was apparently, at the time of the embassy sent by this potentate to China in A.D. 802, 摩羅惹, *Mo-lo-je*,<sup>6</sup> a contraction of either *Mara-rama*, *Mura-rama*, or *Mahā-rāya* (possibly *Mayūra-rama*). This kingdom of Highland Java or Dava we have identified with *Datāla* (*Data* country) = Upper Burmā.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 些樂. This toponymic, which has hitherto baffled the wits of our Sinologists, I have identified with the *Cheila* of Ney Elias ("History of the Shans," p. 16), the ancient capital of the *Thai Mau* or *Thai Luang*, superseded in the eleventh or twelfth century by the more modern *Sē-Lān* or *Sē-Rin*. It stood like the latter, on the left bank of the Nam-Mān (Shwē h River), in lat 23° 57', long 97° 53'.

<sup>2</sup> Dea Mischels op cit., p. 163, and Aymonier's "History of Tchamps," p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ma Tuan lin, op cit., p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Ma Tuan lin, op cit., p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 231, note, and *supra*, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15 ante. Mr F. H. Parker says in his "Burma" (Rangoon, 1893), p. 41: "The Javanese [i.e. the people of *Shê-p'o*] (i.e. the emissaries of Hindu kingdoms in Java) who visited China said that the *Piao* or *Pya* called themselves *Dulcha* (or some such word), and that their territory was bounded by Cambodia, Laos in the north, Yunnan, and the sea." Here, evidently, what is gibberly rendered as *Javanese* and *Java* is simply *Shê-p'o*, that is, the State of that name on the Malay Peninsula. The same writer once more tells us, in the *China Review*, vol. xxi, p. 43: "The king of the Pyu also sent a mission [A.D. 802]. The eunuchs of Java [*Shê-p'o*] then in China gave

B—"There was another kingdom of *Ha-lah* [?]<sup>1</sup> called *Chà-rà* (Java), afterwards *Chà-rà Kirok* [in Chinese, *Shè-p'o* or *Shè-p'o Kiro*], far off in the southern sea"<sup>2</sup> This is the *Shè-p'o* of Sung history, mentioned since A.D. 992 with a king 穆羅茶, *Mu-lo-ch'a*<sup>3</sup> "*Jau-chi* [Tonkin], say the Annamese annalists, attacked this kingdom with 30,000 troops and subdued it"<sup>4</sup> An earlier embassy is stated in Sung history to have been despatched by this country to

the Chinese an account of the Pyu, and indeed some passages in Chinese history distinctly say that '*Java* is another name for Pyu Doubtless the mistake arose through the civilizations being largely identical, both being Hindoo' [1]

No comments are needed on the reckless manner of treatment of historical geography followed in the above extracts, which is unfortunately but too typical of modern Sinology Fancy Javanese envoys giving and that too at the dawn of the ninth century A.D., an account of the country and people of Burma! Far more reasonably one might have expected Cyrrates or Cretas supplying the Andalusians, at about the same period, with a report on the customs and institutions of, say Heligoland or the Chudes

The term *T'u lo shu* (= *Tri-lila*, rule p. 31 ante) I have since identified—as I shall more fully explain in one of the addenda at the end of the present volume—with the *Dusse* mentioned in one of Andrea Corsali's letters dated A.D. 1511 and printed in "*Ramusio*," vol. 1, p. 180 Strange to say, the term is forcibly suggestive of *Tulaksetra* a name of district occurring in the Sanskrit MSS. from Nepal commented upon by A. Foucher in his '*Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris 1900) pp. 178, 191, 210 However those MSS. tell us that *Variddhamāsa* is in the country of *Tulaksetra* Now, if *Variddhamāsa* be really meant for Bardwan as Foucher assumes (p. 58) which lies at some sixty miles north west of Calcutta *Tulaksetra* would prove to be a district of Bengal and have nothing to do with *T'u lo shu* or *T'u li chuo* But may not *Variddhamāsa* be meant in the case in point for either Bhamo (*Varma-pura* see p. 42 above) or some district in Lower Burma e.g. *Jaya variddhamāsa*, i.e. Tongu? The resemblance between *T'u lo shu* or *T'u li chuo* (Ann. *Do li chuo*) and *Tulaksetra* is too striking to justify the identification of the latter with the former well known to us from Chinese sources rather than with a hypothetical *Tulaksetra* in Western Bengal which has never been heard of elsewhere in Indian literature

<sup>1</sup> As no native characters are supplied for this term it is difficult to guess what is meant Should the spelling be 哈, 刺, *Ha la Ka la* the reference might be to the *Hala* tribe a tattooing branch of the Sakai people still to be found in the Perak district on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula (See Newbold's '*British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* London 1839 vol. 1, p. 491 and vol. 2, p. 333) Or is the connection with the state of *Ha la ta* or *Ha la ti* referred to hereafter or with the *Kalah* 'island' of the Arabs?

<sup>2</sup> Aymonier, op. cit. p. 9

<sup>3</sup> Ma Tuan lin, op. cit. pp. 424, 425 and Groeneveldt op. cit., p. 143 where the last character in the king's name is misprinted 茶

<sup>4</sup> Aymonier loc. cit.

that near its capital there were "hills of sand and a barren waste which also borders on 波斯, *Po-sz*, and *P'o-lo-mén*, and is twenty days from the city of *Si-shé-h* (the *Si-shé-h* of the Buddhist classics is Central India)."<sup>1</sup> Here *Po-sz* and *P'o-lo-mén* are almost certainly not meant for Persia and *Brahmana-rastia* (India), but for some other similarly named countries in Further India. The second very probably corresponds to *Brahma-desa*, the country about Tagaung in Upper Burma.<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing evidence it plainly follows that the situation of *Shé-p'o* must have been somewhere between

B.—“There was another kingdom of *Ha-lal* [?] <sup>1</sup> called *C'hà-rà* (Java), afterwards *C'hà-rà Kico* [in Chinese, *Shé-p'o* or *Shí-p'o Kico*], far off in the southern sea.” <sup>2</sup> This is the *Shé-p'o* of Sung history, mentioned since A.D. 992 with a king 穆羅茶, *Mu-lo-ch'a*. <sup>3</sup> “*Jáu-chí* [Tonkin], say the Annamese annalists, attacked this kingdom with 30,000 troops and subdued it.” <sup>4</sup> An earlier embassy is stated in Sung history to have been despatched by this country to

the Chinese an account of the Pyu, and indeed some passages in Chinese history distinctly say that ‘*Jara* is another name for Pyu’. Doubtless the mistake arose through the civilizations being largely identical, both being Hindoo” [“]

No comments are needed on the reckless manner of treatment of historical geography followed in the above extracts, which is unfortunately but too typical of modern Sinology. Fancy Javanese envoys giving, and that too at the dawn of the ninth century A.D., an account of the country and people of Burma! Far more reasonably one might have expected Cypriotes or Cretans supplying the Andalusians, at about the same period, with a report on the customs and institutions of, say, Helsingland or the Chudes.

The term *Tu-lo shu* (= *Trisulā*?, vide p. 31 ante), I have since identified—as I shall more fully explain in one of the addenda at the end of the present volume—with the *Dinnic* mentioned in one of Andrea Corsali's letters dated A.D. 1515, and printed in “*Ramusio*,” vol. 1, p. 180. Strange to say, the term is forcibly suggestive of *Tulaksetra*, a name of district occurring in the Sanskrit MSS. from Nepal, commented upon by A. Foucher in his “*Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*” (Paris, 1900), pp. 58, 178, 191, 210. However those MSS. tell us that *Variddhamana* is in the country of *Tulaksetra*. Now, if *Variddhamana* be really meant for Bardwan as Foucher assumes (p. 58), which lies at some sixty miles north west of Calcutta, *Tulaksetra* would prove to be a district of Bengal, and have nothing to do with *Tu-lo shu* or *Tu-lo shuo*. But may not *Variddhamana* be meant, in the case in point for either Bhamo (*Tarma pura*, see p. 42 above) or some district in Lower Burma, e.g. *Jaya variddhana*, i.e. Tongu? The resemblance between *Tu-lo shu* or *Tu-lo shuo* (Ann *Dō-lu-chiuei*) and *Tulaksetra* is too striking to justify the identification of the latter with the former, well-known to us from Chinese sources, rather than with a hypothetical *Tulaksetra* in Western Bengal, which has never been heard of elsewhere in Indian literature.

<sup>1</sup> As no native characters are supplied for this term it is difficult to guess what is meant. Should the spelling be 哈刺, *Ha la*, *Ka la*, the reference might be to the *Hala* tribe, a tattooing branch of the Sakai people still to be found in the Pêrak district on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. (See Newbold's “*British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*,” London, 1839, vol. 1, p. 421, and vol. II p. 383.) Or is the connection with the state of *Ha la tan* or *Ka la tan* referred to hereafter, or with the *Kala* ‘island’ of the Arabs?

<sup>2</sup> Aymonier, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ma Tuan lin, op. cit., pp. 494, 499, and Groeneveldt op. cit., p. 143, where the last character in the king's name is misprinted 茶.

<sup>4</sup> Aymonier, loc. cit.

China in A D 821, under the reign of Mu Tsung<sup>1</sup> Another mission of A D. 135 is, in Later Sung history, recorded as having been the first one sent by *She-p'o*, where in the annals of the First Sung it is ascribed to *Shé-p'o-P'o-ta*<sup>2</sup> Gunavarman, we have seen (p 463), visited this State of *Shé-p'o* in A D 424 on his way from Ceylon to China

On the island of *Shé-p'o* a State named *Ho-lo tan*, 阿 羅 旦, is mentioned as having sent several missions to China between A D 430 and 452<sup>3</sup> It is therefore almost certain that the *Shé p'o* of A D 821-992 was identical with the *Shé-p'o*, 'island,' of A D 430-452, the *Shé-p'o* spoken of in a breath with *P'o-ta* (*Shé-p'o-P'o-ta*) in A D 435, and the *Shé-p'o* visited by Gunavarman, A D 424 The name of the king who despatched the mission to China in A D 435 is recorded as 師 黎 婆 達 陀 阿

<sup>1</sup> *T'oung Pao*, vol x, p 253 where the date is given as 820 But Mu Tsung reigned A D 821-825

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* See also p 463 *ante*

<sup>3</sup> See Ma Tuan lin *op cit*, pp 505-506 Parker thus translates, in the *China Review*, vol xvi, p 301 a passage from the 'P'ei-wen Yun fu' relative to the State in question The State of *Ho lo tan* has its capital at *Shé p'o Chou* The characters 閩 婆, he adds, "are pronounced as 蛇 婆 [*Shé p'o*] the modern Japanese pronunciation being *Jaba*, i.e. *Java*, and not *Ara* as stated by Dr Williams" Next he proceeds with his translation as follows 'Java State is in the South Sea it is flat and suited for crops, in the year 1129 an officer was sent to confer a marshal's baton on the Lord of Java' In the *China Review* vol xiii p 384, the same Sinologist translates from the identical source "The capital of *Ho lo tan* State is on Java island" Professor Schlegel in *T'oung Pao* vol x p 249 renders the above passage as "*Kalantan* in A D 430 ruled over the island of *Shé p'o*" Hervey de Saint Denys in his translation of Ma Tuan lin (*op cit*, p 505) has 'le royaume [of *Ho lo tan*] est situé dans l'île de *Che po* ou *Tou po* [*Shé p'o*, *Tu-p'o*]' It will thus be seen, owing to the discrepancies just quoted that it is impossible to make out whether *Shé p'o* was merely the name of the capital city of *Ho lo tan* State or that of the 'island' on which it was situated The latter was more likely the case The term *Ho lo tan* may stand for either *Haradai*, *Kalantan*, *Kaladan*, *Karafa*, and the like It may be compared with the *Kalah* and *Kadany* of Sulaiman the *Harany* of Serapion and Edrisi, and perhaps also with Ibn Batûta's *Hardul h* (quality of camphor, possibly so named from the district where it was produced, *vide ante*, pp 437, 441) It may, on the other hand designate the same country as 阿 羅 旦, *Kou lo tan* (= *Kul-ta*?), a State mentioned early in the seventh century as lying to the south of *Ch'ia t'u* (Sukhothai Siam see p 179 above) Either, or both of them may be now represented by the *Krit* district on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam (lat 11° 24' N. *circd*) by *Gurot* (Kurata?) in the Ghoru district on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (*vide supra*, pp 87, 97) and possibly, view inclines in favour of *Gurot* for *Ho lo tan* on the east coast of the latter My simply a transcript of the Malay word *Kraton* meaning a 'fort' or 'citadel'



𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬 Shih-li P'o-ta T'o-a-lo-pa-mo = Śrī-Bhaṭṭa (Bata, Vaṭa, Varta, or Variddha)-dava (or dhara?) padma (or rarma, carman), where P'o-ta is spelt with the same characters as occur in the name of the State of P'o-ta itself.

The situation of Shē-p'o was past San-fo-ch'i (Palembang) in coming from China, for in A.D. 904-5 San-fo-ch'i is described as lying between Chén-la (Kamboja) and Shē-p'o.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, in A.D. 992, Shē-p'o is stated to have had as neighbour a country called 𑖦𑖩𑖪𑖫 P'o-lo-mén, where the natives "had the secret of looking into people's minds; whenever anybody wanted to do them mischief they knew it beforehand."<sup>3</sup> In this connection it should be observed that under the date A.D. 802 we are told of P'iau (Lower Burma)

<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan-lin, op cit, p 499, and Groeneveldt, op cit, p 135. In Ma Tuan-lin the fifth and sixth characters are transposed, this portion of the name thus reading A-t'o-lo instead of T'o-a-lo. It is most unlikely that the State of P'o-ta is implied in the preceding words Śhā-li-P'o-ta, which may mean simply Śrī-bhadra (bhaṭṭa, vaṭa, varta, etc.). As regards the State of P'o-ta, I have already pointed out (supra, p 463) its very probable identity with Tavernier's Bata. This famed traveller says, in fact, in V. Ball's translation ("Travels in India, by J B Tavernier," London, 1889, vol ii, p 162) "Some years ago [i.e. prior to 1615 *circa*] very rich mines of tin were discovered at Delegere, Sangore, Bordelon, and Bata," of which places the translator gives us the magnificent equivalents of "Delli (i), Salangor, Bulliton, and Banka (?)" [N.B.—The Bangka mines were only discovered, as Marsden informs us, in 1710 by the burning of a house!] We shall restore this barbarously mangled piece of historical geography by pointing out that the localities named are all to be found on the Malay Peninsula, and correspond respectively to Lagor, Singora, Pattalung, and mayhap Bardia (C'hump'hon, so named from the islet Bardia marked on the old maps, which seems to be the one now called Koh Mattra). Patlin, some twenty-seven miles above C'hump'hon, may also be meant, or even Ban-Dun, below C'hanya, in about 9° 5' N lat., in any case we may feel absolutely certain that Bata cannot be far away from the three places before named by Tavernier and identified by us as above. We may even take it for granted that it stood, like those, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. This Bata is, then, in all likelihood, the P'o-ta State of Chinese history, and Shē-p'o cannot have been very distant from it. I may add for completeness' sake that in connection with the Ceylonese punitive expedition of *circa* 1175-1180 against Pegu, a Ceylonese chronicle appears to mention a seaport Sapattota on that coast "over which Kurthipurasam was governor" (Journal As Soc Bengal, vol xli, pt 1, p 198). This toponymic Sapattota if correct, is suggestive of the more fictitious than real Shē-p'o-ta. So is Zir bād (i.e. 'below the wind'), the term applied by Persian and Arab medieval writers to the countries of Further India and the Archipelago (see Abdur-Razzak in "India in the Fifteenth Century," pt 1, p 6). But such resemblances in names are, of course, merely accidental, and should not be made the basis for serious rapprochements.

<sup>2</sup> Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 559

<sup>3</sup> Groeneveldt, op cit, p 145, and Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 502

that near its capital there were "hills of sand and a barren waste which also borders on 波斯, *Po-sz*, and *P'o-lo-mên*, and is twenty days from the city of *Si-shê-li* (the *Si-shê-li* of the Buddhist classics is Central India)."<sup>1</sup> Here *Po-sz* and *P'o-lo-mên* are almost certainly not meant for Persia and *Brāhmaṇa-rāṣṭra* (India), but for some other similarly named countries in Further India. The second very probably corresponds to *Brahma-deśa*, the country about Tagaung in Upper Burma.<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing evidence it plainly follows that the situation of *Shê-p'o* must have been somewhere between

<sup>1</sup> Parker's "Burma," p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit inscription discovered at Tagaung and dated Gupta Samvat 108 = A.D. 426, states that *Hastinapura* (Tagaung) is situated in *Brahma-deśa*, which latter thus seems to be the region about Tagaung (see Dr. Fuhrer's archaeological report for the year 1894). The *P'o-lo-mên* neighbour of *Shê-p'o* may, however, not have been the region just referred to, but some district largely settled by Brahmans, of which there were several on the Malay Peninsula. Two well-known ones were Lagor and P'hattalung on its eastern coast, and as regards its west coast, Kazwini, writing *circa* A.D. 1330, says that in *Kalah* there is a large city with plenty of gardens (which particular would suit well, among others, the Tenasserim and P'hang-ngā, or Takūa-thūng, districts), which is a meeting-place for Brahmans (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 257). Doudart de Lagrée ("Explorations et Missions," 1883, p. 10) mentions *C'hēa-Praam*—i.e. *Java-Brahmans*, or Brahmans from *Java* or *C'hēa*, *C'hēa*—as having settled at some unknown period in Kamboja, where descendants of them still exist. Tradition, he says, makes them hail originally from Benares, but there can be no doubt in my mind that they must have come from some Brahmanic settlement founded by their forefathers on the Malay Peninsula, as their very designation, *C'hēa* or *C'hēaū*, clearly implies.

As regards *Po-s*, it might just as well refer to the *Basis* (or *Basink*, سيسق) tribe in the more southern parts of that coast. In *circa* 1240 Chao Ju-kua mentions a place identically called *Po-sz* or *Po-sū*, of which Dr. Hirth remarks "here probably not Persia, but some other country, which I have not been able to identify" (see *Journal R. A. S.*, 1896, p. 479). On p. 429 *ante* we have seen the same name applied, according to Dr. Bretschneider, to part of the west coast of North Sumatra, from the fact of the Persians carrying on a large trade with that country and probably having colonies there. I shall revert to this point later on and show that the term *Po-s* in the region in question has no connection whatever with Persians, although I fully admit the possibility of their having settled there in a certain number, as they did at many other trading centres in Further India. I tsing in the seventh century tells us of their frequent navigations between East Sumatra and Canton (*vide supra*, p. 428), Kan-shun three-quarters of a century later (A.D. 748-749) finds an extensive Persian settlement in South Hainan (see Takakusu in the Proceedings of the "Premier Congrès des Etudes d'Extrême-Orient," Hanoi, 1903, pp. 58-59), Muhallabī (*circa* A.D. 1000), quoted by Abū-l-Feda, mentions Persians living in the city of the island of *Kalah*, and so forth. According to Dr. Bretschneider's theory, then, all these places should have become known to the Chinese as *Po-sz*, which was by no means the case, hence the untenability of the theory itself and its self-condemnation on its own showing.

*San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) and *P'iau* (Lower Burma); that is, either in North Sumatra or on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. The latter alternative seems to be the most probable, and in that case *Shé-p'o* State is very likely one and the same with the next.

C.—Finally, there existed a kingdom of 何 陵, *Ho-ling*, which was likewise known by the name of *Shé-p'o* (A.D. 627-649), but which I-tsing (A.D. 661-665) calls also 波 陵, *Po-ling*.<sup>1</sup> It is described as an 'island,' but doubtless a peninsula is implied. Its capital city seems to have been *Shé-p'o*, possibly in A.D. 627-649, but probably not till later on (A.D. 774 to 873). Prior to that, during the reign of a king by the name of 古 延, *Chi-yen*,<sup>2</sup> the capital had stood more to the east, at the town of 婆 羅 伽 斯, *P'o-lu-chia-sz*.<sup>3</sup>

It is very probable that this *Shé-p'o* is the same country as B, especially arguing from the fact that no intercourse whatever is mentioned after A.D. 860-873 with *Ho-ling*, whereas it is recorded from 992 onwards for *Shé-p'o*. The embassy stated to have been sent by the last-named kingdom in A.D. 821 was probably despatched by *Ho-ling-Shé-p'o*. Similarly, the mission from *Shé-p'o* that reached China in or about A.D. 802, giving an account of *P'iau*, must have come from the same State of *Ho-ling-Shé-p'o*.

Chinese texts—or rather, perhaps, the translations given of them by our Sinologists—are far from agreeing as to the location of *Ho-ling* or *Po-ling*, alias *Shé-p'o*, in relation to

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, op cit, p. 60. In Annamese *Bi-lang*, and *Há-lang* or *Kha-lang* for *Ho-ling*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kit-yen*, *K'iet-tien*, *K'it-yōn*, in the old dialects which pronunciations suggest the words *Khyān*, *Kirjan*, *Kerian*, or *Krian*, and *Krtin*, *Krtā-jayna*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> A name strikingly similar to *Bharu kaceha* or *Baryga* a. It may, however, be Malay derived, e.g., from *Buluh gajah* (= Pali *Velu gaja*), meaning 'Elephant-bamboo', or else it may be connected with either *Prakāsa* (vide supra, p. 95) or *Bruas* (*Baruvas* *Beruvas* etc.), said to be the original seat of government in *Pérak*. *Berkuaa*, a very similar term, has in Malay the sense of 'strong,' 'powerful.'

Professor Schlegel gives, in *T'oung Pao*, vol. ix, p. 275, an almost totally different translation of the last passage as follows:—"The king lives in the city of *Shay po*, but his ancestor *Ki yen* had removed to the east from the city of *Polukias* (Amoy, *Polokam*). " In Groeneveldt's translation (op cit, p. 139) the sentence here italicised is rendered " . . . but his ancestor, *Ki-yen*, had lived more to the east, at the town *Pa lu ka* . . . "

the neighbouring States. From Groeneveldt's translations from both the *Ch'iu T'ang-shu*, the Old History of the T'ang Dynasty, bk. 197, and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* or New History of the T'ang Dynasty (bk. 222, p. 2),<sup>1</sup> that location may be deduced as follows:—

1. East of *P'o-li*, 婆利, or *Ma-li*, 馬禮, which he takes to be Sumatra
2. West of *P'o-têng*, 婆登, or *To-p'o-têng*, 隨婆登, which he most absurdly identifies with the island of Bāli (!).
3. South of *Chên-la* (Kamboja).
4. North of the sea and of an insular State called 多摩長, *To-mo-ch'ang*.

In a further passage from the same book of the old T'ang history *To-p'o-têng* is, in agreement with the above, placed to the east of *Ho-lung* and to the west of 迷黎車, *Mi-li-ch'é*.<sup>2</sup> However, in the amplified new history of the same dynasty *Ho-lung* is said to be east of *To-p'o-têng*, in open contradiction to the preceding statements.<sup>3</sup>

The "San-ts'ai T'u-hwei" (published A.D. 1607) tells us that *P'o-têng* lies eastward (for westward?) of *Lin-i* (Campā), borders in the west upon *Mi-li*, 迷離 (same as 迷黎車, *Mi-li-ch'é*?), and in the south upon *Ho-lung*.<sup>4</sup>

From the fact of all Chinese texts being agreed in making the country of 羅刹, *Lo-ch'a* (see above, pp 260, 261), and not *Ho-lung*, coterminous with *P'o-li* on the east,<sup>5</sup> it follows

<sup>1</sup> See op cit., p 138, and Ma Tuan lin, op cit., pp 522, 526, 534

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p 183

<sup>3</sup> See Ma Tuan lin, op cit., p 531, and *T'oung-Pao*, vol ix, p 284. *Mi-li-ch'é* is, in the same contradictory manner, therein located to the west of *To-p'o-têng*. Professor Schlegel, while saying, following the Old T'ang history (*T'oung-Pao*, vol iv, p 372), that *Ho-lung* "lay east of *P'o-li*," goes on to state in a note to the next page (374), apparently following the New T'ang history, that the texts have "Kai ng borders to the east upon *P'oh*, to the west upon *Topoting*, to the north upon Cambodia, and to the south upon the sea." This is also the interpretation put by Hervey de Saint-Denys upon a corresponding passage of Ma Tuan lin (op cit., pp 525-6), and under the chapter devoted to *P'o-têng* in the same work (p 523), where it is stated that *P'o-têng* borders on the east upon *Ho-lung* and on the west upon *Mi-li-ch'é*.

<sup>4</sup> *T'oung-Pao*, vol ix, p 285

<sup>5</sup> See Ma Tuan-lin, op cit., pp 460 and 480

that *Ho lung* could scarcely be looked for in the same quarter. Whether it be due to divergences of opinion on the part of the translators in interpreting the texts, or to clerical slips on the part of the Chinese writers who compiled or copied them from older sources, it is perfectly evident, from the contradictions pointed out, that there is an error, whether of misapprehension or misconstruction, somewhere, which it is of the greatest importance to correct before proceeding with our inquiry. After a careful examination of the subject I have come to the conclusion that Ma Tuan lin's account as translated by Hervey de Saint Denys is the most logical inasmuch as it smooths over all contradictions, and the most consistent with topographical and historical evidence, as will become apparent in the sequel. I accordingly adopt the data as supplied in this version on the basis of which the position of *Ho lung* becomes fixed as follows —

- 1 Eastward of *P o t e n g* or *T o p o t e n g* to the west of which lies *M i l i c h' é* <sup>1</sup>
- 2 Westward of *P o l i* to the east of which lies *L o c h a* <sup>2</sup>
- 3 Southward of *C l é n l a* (Kamboja) <sup>3</sup>
- 4 Northward of the sea and of an insular kingdom called *T o m o c h a n g*. This State has (1) *T o l u n g*, 多隆, on the west, (2) *P o f e n g*, 婆風, on the east, and (3) *P a n c h i p a*, 半支跋, sometimes also spelled *C h i e n c h i p f u*, 千支弗, on the south <sup>4</sup>

It is further stated in the *T i l i c h' é* of the *T a n g s h u* ch 436 quoted by Chavannes <sup>5</sup> that *Ho lung* lies four to five days' sailing to the east of 佛逝, *I b s h i h* (here meaning the whole eastern coast of Sumatra from Pasai to Palembang), and that it is the largest island (read 'peninsula' or 'district') in the south. This makes it evident that *Ho lung* must have

<sup>1</sup> Pp 53 526 531

<sup>2</sup> Pl 469 499 575-26

<sup>3</sup> Pp 5 6

<sup>4</sup> P 534

<sup>5</sup> Les Religions Étrangères etc p 4<sup>e</sup> note

stood on the Malay Peninsula, and not on any of the islands fronting the east coast of Sumatra to the south of it as far as Palembang, for the only two of them, viz Būlang and Galang, bearing names closely related respectively to *Po-lung* (Bā lang) and *Ho lung* (Khā lang, Ka lang) are far from being the largest islands in the south, or, for that matter, even in the Rhio Linga Archipelago<sup>1</sup>

I tsing mentions once only the fact of one Buddhist devotee having sailed from China, first to *Ho lung*, then to 末羅瑜, *Mo lo yu* (Mallayo or Malāyu), and thence to Central India. From this Chavannes (loc cit) rightly argues that *Ho lung* was to be found before *Mo lo yu* on the sea route from China to India, although, as shown by the itineraries of I tsing and Wu hing<sup>2</sup> it was not necessarily touched at when making that journey. There is, however, nothing in the above statement which tells against our assumed position of *Ho lung* on the Malay Peninsula, nay, even on the west coast of it. For, in the first place, the Buddhist devotee who undertook that journey may after having reached *Ho lung* and in vain looked for a ship there to convey him across to India, have found it more convenient, in order to obtain the desired passage to sail back some distance to *Mo lo yu* which, as may be seen from all itineraries described by I tsing, was invariably called at and must have accordingly stood on the regular sea route from China to India, and *vice versa*. Secondly, *Ho lung* although mainly situated on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula may well have stretched partly across to its eastern seaboard on the Gulf of Siām in which case in sailing outward from China it would naturally have been met with, as Chavannes puts it, before *Mo lo yu*. Thirdly, I tsing's allusion may be to

a quite distinct place, bearing the same or a similar name to *Ho-lung*, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. We have here, in fact, a Tanjong or Cape *Puling*,<sup>1</sup> also known by the name of *Gelang*, the names of which closely correspond respectively to *Po-lung* and *Ho-lung*. Whichever of the three surmises here put forward be the correct one, it will be seen that there is not the slightest evidence to show that *Ho-lung* stood elsewhere than on the Malay Peninsula. As regards *Mo-lo-yu* (Mallayo or Malaya), I cannot see my way to agree with Chavannes and his followers in making it the same as Palembang, on the strength of I-tsing's statement that *Mo-lo-yu* had shortly before his time or during his stay there become part and parcel of the *Shih-li-Fo-shih* dominions, and of Alboquerque's assertion that Palembang was called *Malayo* by the Javanese.<sup>2</sup> I shall demonstrate further on that I-tsing's *Mo-lo-yu* must be sought for on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. It is very strange, and therefore worthy of note, that I-tsing seems to know nothing about *Shé-p'o*, but only speaks of *Ho-lung* or *Po-lung*.

The country of *Ho-lung* is said in the "Hsin T'ang-shu" (or New History of the T'ang Dynasty, compiled during the eleventh century, bk. 222) to produce "tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros horns, and ivory."<sup>3</sup> "There is a cayern from which salt water bubbles up spontaneously."<sup>4</sup> The same things, it should be pointed out, are related of *Shé-p'o* State in the Sung annals: "The country produces gold, silver, rhinoceros horns, ivory, lignum aloes . . .

<sup>1</sup> Already noticed above, p. 104, as the South Cape. In the latest map of the Malay Peninsula published by the Straits Branch of the R. A. S., 1898, the term Tanjong Puling disappears, and is replaced by the designation *Tanjong Gelang*, no doubt derived from the hill (*Bukit Gelang*) which forms the extremity of this headland. Its position is fixed in 4° N lat. Likewise disappears the term Tanjong Kwantan, substituted by *Tanjong Tembeling*. This is mapped lower down. There is, therefore, every probability that Bukit Gelang or Gelang Hill is, after all, Ptolemy's *Malen Kolon* (Malaya Gelang = Bukit Gelang), in preference to Tanjong Kwantan lower down, or Tanjong Oubga further up the coast.

<sup>2</sup> See Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 37, note, and Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx, note, xl and xlv.

<sup>3</sup> Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 139. Professor Schlegel, in *Toung Pao*, vol. ix, p. 274, translates "tortoise-shell, gold and silver, rhinoceroses and elephants."

<sup>4</sup> Groeneveldt, *loc. cit.*

the north of Sumatra or on the Malay Peninsula, and exclude Java, making it thus probable that *Ho-ling* is identical with the *Shé-p'o* of section B above.

The true geographical position of *Ho-ling* may be further determined from gnomonical data handed down to us in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty in the following terms:—"When at the summer-solstice a gnomon is erected of eight feet high, the shadow (at noon) falls on the south side, and is two feet four inches [Chinese *ch'ih* of ten *ts'un* or inches each, i.e.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 4 'feet'] long."

The importance of such a statement can never too much be insisted upon, since it enables us to arrive at a correct

Malays possess no tradition on the subject . . . . . Whatever the race may have been, it is evident that it must have attained to a considerable degree of mechanical skill, and presumably to a fairly high state of civilization; and yet, from an examination of the excavations, one is led to believe that the race which mined them must have been of a somewhat more diminutive stature than either the modern Malay or Siamese. From the appearance of many portions of these workings, it would seem probable that the work of mining was suspended suddenly and never resumed, possibly on account of war, an epidemic, or some other public calamity" (H. C. DeLfield's "Handbook of the Federated Malay States," London, 1902, pp. 127-128.) As for myself, I can add that traces of similar old workings have been noticed, not only in connection with gold, but also tin mines in various parts of the Peninsula. Neolithic implements, such as celts, axe-heads, etc., being found in the ancient timbered drives or tunnels. This has been the case, for instance, in Perak. Since A.D. 1516 Barbosa speaks of a gold mine lying abandoned in Pahang (Ramusio, vol. 1, fol. 318 verso). What, therefore, was the race that opened these mines? Evidently the same that built those wonderful monuments in Kamboja—the race of *Fu nan* now still represented in the Malay Peninsula by the Sikas and allied tribes. However, this race, as in Kamboja, no doubt did only the manual labour. But the intelligent mind that planned, directed, and superintended must have been, as there, Hindu. Or shall we have to assume that, in the case of the most ancient of those mines, where Neolithic implements occur associated with the workings, the directive mind was Phœnician? This is by no means improbable, as we shall see in the following pages that Phœnician influence once undoubtedly extended as far as Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, where, especially on the latter, it must have been very considerable, the Biblical Ophir hitherto unidentified and vainly sought for lying very probably within its compass, or, at any rate, very close upon its northern borders.

Lignum aloes or Gharu wood (*Agularia Malaccensis*) is plentiful on the Malay Peninsula, where it occurs in dense forests in Johor, Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, etc. (See *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, No. 35, January, 1901, p. 74.) It is also exported along with ivory, etc., from Selangor ("China Sea Directory," vol. 1, 4th edition, 1896, p. 169). In Sumatra it appears to occur only in its southern portion (near Kebang, Turabangi River, Lampongs).

Sapan wood "grows in abundance on the northern borders of Malacca and elsewhere in the Peninsula" (Dennys, op. cit. p. 333). It is peculiarly plentiful in the central and northern portions of the latter. Its occurrence on the north coast of Sumatra (*Lambra* or *Ramni*) is mentioned by Sulaiman, Marco Polo, and most later travellers.



estimate of the real location of *Ho lung* better than any attempt based simply on circumstantial evidence of not unfrequently too vague a character, such as, for instance, toponymic resemblances, etc. It is plain that if some gnomonic datum of this kind accompanied each foreign place-name mentioned by Chinese authors, hardly any difficulty would be experienced in deciphering their geographical charms. And yet, to our utter surprise, we see no attempt made in the pages of Groeneveldt's monograph to test that statement, while nearly two pages are wasted in conjectures as to the location of *Ho lung*, which a simple calculation of three lines would have settled. Accustomed as we are to rank gnomonic and astronomic observations, however imperfect, high above mere verbiage and philological disquisitions in an enquiry of this kind, we shall at once proceed to find out what result can be drawn from the data contained in the passage quoted above.

Mindful, then, of the fact, too frequently overlooked, that the shadow cast by a vertical gnomon does not correspond to the altitude of the sun's centre, but to that of its upper limb, so that the observation of it is tantamount to an observation of the sun's upper limb, and calling  $\alpha$  the angle of incidence at which a ray from the said upper limb grazing the top of the gnomon will meet the plane of the dial at noon, we have—

$$\text{tang } \alpha = \frac{8}{24} = 3.3333333, \text{ whence } \alpha = 73^{\circ} 18' 27''$$

$$\text{Apparent altitude of sun's upper limb} \quad \alpha = 73^{\circ} 18' 27''$$

$$\text{Parallax for altitude} \quad \alpha = + 24''$$

$$\text{Refraction (approximately estimated)} = -17'' 5$$

$$\text{True meridian altitude of sun's upper limb} = 73^{\circ} 17' 47'' 6$$

$$\text{Less semi diameter (approximately estimated)} = 15' 45'' 6$$

$$\text{True meridian altitude of sun's centre} = 73^{\circ} 2' 2''$$

$$\text{Say, } 73^{\circ} 2'$$

$$\text{Zenith distance} = 90^{\circ} - 73^{\circ} 2' = 16^{\circ} 58'$$

estimate of high time for the sake of scientific progress that attempt be so<sup>1</sup>

unfrequently seen that *Ho-ling* is located by the Chinese toponymic themselves at four or five days' sailing to the east of *Shih-li*. This appears to be one and the same with the name also called *Shih-li Fo-shih*, and I-tsing in his works uses both terms indiscriminately,<sup>2</sup> although Takakusu is inclined to draw a line of distinction between them and take *Fo-shih* as the old name of the capital, while assuming *Shih-li Fo-shih* to be a later appellation for both the capital and its now far more extensive dominions. I think, however, there is no reason or foundation whatever for such a subtle distinction, and consider that *Fo-shih* is a mere shortened form of *Shih-li Fo-shih*, an abbreviation of a character quite common in Chinese literature. According to a common custom in Oriental countries, the State would be often designated by the name of its capital, and *vice versa*, so that in such a case there could be no difference between the appellations of either. This point settled, it is gratifying to notice that I tsing, as well as his contemporaries, furnish us reliable gnomonical data by which the geographical position and limits of the country in question can be determined accurately enough. As this is of great importance for our enquiry we shall avail ourselves of such an opportunity at once.

Starting first with I-tsing, he tells us<sup>3</sup> that in the country of *Shih-li Fo-shih*, at about the time of both equinoxes, at noon, there is no shadow cast on the dial-plate from the

gnomon, or on the ground from a man who stands erect on those days. This argues that the land in question was crossed by the equator, and may have stretched for some distance on both sides of it.

On the other hand, the *Nan-Man Chuan*, or History of the Southern Barbarians, gives us the following interesting details.<sup>1</sup> "*Shih-li Fo-shih* lies 2,000 *li* (about 400 miles) beyond *Chün-t'u-lung Shan*, 軍徒弄山 (i.e. very likely *Kundur* Island in Darian Strait).<sup>2</sup> The country stretches for 1,000 *li* (or 200 miles) from east to west, and 4,000 *li* or more (about 800 miles) from north to south. It counts fourteen cities, and is divided into two States. Its whole western part is called *Lang-P'o-lu-sz*, 郎波露斯 (i.e. *Lam-Bārūs*, see pp 429-430 above). It produces much gold, cinnabar, and camphor (*Lung-nao*, for which *vide ante*, pp 439 and 441). A gnomon eight feet high, erected on the day of the summer solstice, casts its shadow [at noon] 2 feet and 5 inches (or  $2\frac{5}{12}$ ) towards the south."

It will readily be seen that the dimensions here given correspond wonderfully closely with those of the island of Sumatra (the actual length of which is 960 miles and the greatest breadth 220 miles). The two States into which the country of *Shih-li Fo-shih* was divided were evidently: (1) *Shih-li Fo-shih* proper, comprising the whole eastern portion of the island, and (2) *Lam-Bārūs*, embracing its western half. The gnomonical data referred to, when worked out after the same method we have followed above for the determination of the latitude of *Ho-lung*, yield  $5^{\circ} 50'$  N. latitude. The position thus determined corresponds to that of Pulo Way or Web, the island lying off the north-western

<sup>1</sup> See *Young-Pao* for 1901, pp 178 for translation, and 179, note 101, for the Chinese text with which I have collated it, inserting above the original terms with my own equivalents and identifications.

<sup>2</sup> The translator, Professor Schlegel, interprets this as meaning the *Kundurung* or *Gunturung* mountains which is nonsense. An island is evidently intended and this is almost certainly the island of *Kundur*, lying opposite the mouth of the *Kampar* River. Although the distance from this island to Palembang, the capital, is only some 250 miles, it is fully 400 miles, as stated in the text, from Pulo Kunder to the north coast of Sumatra, the point to which as we shall see directly, the gnomonical observation recorded in the above passage applies.

extremity of Sumatra, but may well be taken—after due allowance has been made for the usual imperfections inherent in the gnomonical measurement in question—to apply to the northernmost limit of Sumatra, i.e. Pedro Point (lat  $5^{\circ} 39' N$ ). This gives us withal the northernmost limit of the land of *Shih-li Fo shih*. There seems therefore no reason to doubt that the whole of the island of Sumatra, and more specifically its eastern portion from Achin in the north down to Palembang and even the Lampungs in the south, was included by the Chinese under that general denomination of *Shih-li Fo shih*, and the list of the fifteen States dependent on it, under its later designation of *San Fo ch'i*, given about A.D. 1240 by Chao Ju kua, to which we shall have to revert in the sequel,<sup>1</sup> confirms that view.

Such being the facts it will be evident that the location assigned to *Ho-lung* in the books of the T'ang dynasty, at four or five days' sailing to the east of *Fo shih*, perfectly agrees with the above deductions and more especially with the results we have drawn from the gnomonical data handed down to us by the Chinese historians, which are  $5^{\circ} 50' N$  lat for the northern limit of *Fo shih* or *Shih-li Fo shih*, i.e. the northern end of Sumatra, and  $6^{\circ} 29' N$  lat for *Ho lung*, i.e. the west coast of the Malay Peninsula at about that latitude. These two points lie about 250 miles apart a distance which it would take just about four or five days' sailing in the olden times to cover. The bearing is also correct, the latitudes of the two places being about equal so that an easterly course would have to be steered in order to proceed from the former place to the latter.

Having thus made it certain, from calculations based upon data sufficiently reliable that the position of *Ho lung* or *Po lung* must be fixed on the Malay Peninsula in about  $6^{\circ} 29' N$  lat, it remains to be seen how far this result agrees with local

<sup>1</sup> Among the fifteen States here referred to there are those of *Pailin* = Palembang and *Hsiao* which latter we have already shown to be Indrapura on the south-west coast of Sumatra (*cf. ante* p. 455).

features, as well as with the location assigned to *Ho lung* in respect of the conterminous States named in the Chinese texts

A glance at a map of the Malay Peninsula will show that the 6° 29' parallel of latitude skirts the southern limit of the Pulo Butong group of islands, passing afterwards just half-way between Pulo Langkawi and Pulo Terutao or Trotto, and cutting next the west coast of the Malay Peninsula a little above the mouth of the Perlis or Polit River, and the chef lieu of the district of the same name which, like its neighbour Satūn or Satūl adjoining it on the north, was abstracted from the dominion of Kedah and placed under the direct dependence of the Siamese Government in 1841. Continuing across the Malay Peninsula the same parallel reaches the eastern coast in the Sū district, a little above Kwāla Menara, the mouth of the Tanjung Mās River. This was formerly part of Kelantan territory, the main stream of which debouches in the Gulf of Sīm only some thirty miles to the south east.

Returning, however, to the west coast of the Peninsula at the point where we left it, we do not here find in modern maps any toponymic suggestive of *Ho lung* or *Po lung*, except the very name *Perlis*, *Polit*, or *Paht*, which may indeed be somehow connected with the second form of the Chinese term<sup>1</sup>. In order to arrive at something approaching to the

<sup>1</sup> Of this district and its river thus wrote Michael Topp at the beginning of last century (see Dalrymple's 'Oriental Repertory' London 1808 vol. 1 p. 399 and the reproduction of the account in 'Essays relating to Indo China' 1st series vol. 1 p. 1 et seq.) Perlis has a deep narrow river at the entrance of which is a small sandy island. The bar of the river is very long with only ten feet of water upon it at spring tides. The town is situated four or five miles from this entrance [this must be the village of Kalasah or that of Kanar mentioned in the 'China Sea Directory' vol. 1 p. 140 as the capital. Pal t or Perl s proper being situated some six miles further up] in a valley of a mile and a half in circumference encompassed with steep hills. The old king in his latter days chose this place for his residence which occasioned many vexels and people to resort here. Since his death it has sunk into its former obscurity etc.

Perlis under the form *Perl s* is mentioned several times by Mendez Pinto in his Travels since A.D. 1539 and 1545 (see English transl. London 1697 pp. 22, 24 and 189) also by Bocarro in his Decadas (p. 18) in 1612. It seemed then a well frequented resort of trade.

Further to the north of Perlis and Satul there is of course the little State of

first form of the same we have to look a little lower down the coast towards the mouth of the Kedah River, where we are at once stopped by a familiar place-name, that of *Gunong Geriang* or *GeriYang*, better known to seafaring men, by whom it is reckoned an excellent landmark, as the 'Elephant Hill,' and greatly famed for its magnificent stalactite caves. A streamlet flowing from its neighbourhood takes, nowadays, its name from the hill; but the more important watercourse a little to the south of it—known as Kedah River only since the establishment on its banks of the new seat of government for Kedah in A.D. 1720, or somewhat earlier—was no doubt, like the surrounding territory, also named *Geriang* after the famous hill referred to above.<sup>1</sup> Here, then, we very probably have a real relic of the ancient *Ho-ling*, as this term in its old Chinese pronunciation was perfectly capable of representing sounds like *Garang*, *Kharang*, *Garing*, etc. The caves mentioned by the Chinese annalists as existing in *Ho-ling* may well be the very ones on *Geriang Hill*.<sup>2</sup> Similar caves occur, however, on several of the neighbouring islands of the Langkāwī group, as well as on the rocky islets fronting the mouth of the Trang river further up the coast.<sup>3</sup> Particularly worthy of mention is the famous cave known as the *Gūa Cherita* (from Skr. *Guha Carita*,

ie 'Legend Cave'),<sup>1</sup> on the north coast of Langkāwī Island, so called from an inscription in Arabic character high up on the limestone cliff at the entrance. This epigraphic document seems to be very old, and shows, at all events, that the island was frequented at one time by Arab navigators and traders.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, from the testimony of our own travellers some two centuries ago, it is legitimate to infer that the insular group of which it forms the principal part must have enjoyed in the past far greater notoriety and a busier life than nowadays.<sup>3</sup> Its position within a few miles of

several once flourishing seaports on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and in the track of sailing vessels proceeding thither from the southern coast of India and from Ceylon and the Nikobars, or travelling to and fro along the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, between the Gangetic Delta, Arakan, Pegu, and the Straits, coupled with the fact of its possessing good anchorages, cannot but have helped in making it, if not a large emporium, at least a well-known place of call for ships and an *entrepôt* for transoceanic trade. Even at present some considerable amount of commerce is carried on with Penang and the adjacent coasts by junks,

the island. The term *Pulo Lida*, or 'Pepper Island,' is actually, strange to say, applied to Pulo Butun, the south-western island of the group which is hilly and covered with thick jungle. But formerly the islands were collectively known as the *Lidas* or pepper islands. The view expressed by Denys ("Descriptive Dict. of British Malaya," p. 318) that they were "so called more probably from their number than their produce" will now be seen, after the evidence from Beaulieu, to be absolutely unfounded. On Dayang Bunting, the largest southern island, separated from the adjacent Pulo Tabu by a narrow winding channel (Selat Tabu), there is a fresh-water lake about 500 yards long. Thermal springs exist near Tanjung Dandang or Dendang (or Gamarau), the north-east extreme of Langkawi Island. According to a Malay tradition the body of Tun Jana Khateb, a noted champion from Paser, lies at Langkawi (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 83). A far more important legend about the island is given by Maxwell, *op cit*, pp. 31-32. According to it Langkawi is the old *Langkapuri* (Lankapura, i.e. Ceylon), where the celebrated war between Rama and Ravana took place. After this war the island was little frequented, and in later ages became the home of the bird Garuda. [See above, pp. 80-81, where, from other indications, I was before this led to locate the abode of Garuda—the *Kufas-Salmah* peak—on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. The *Vayu Purāṇa* places the said abode on *Vailanka*, a mountain range running eastward from Mount Meru, see Hall's ed. of Wilson's V.P., vol. i p. 118. In Chinese literature the *Ta p'ang nian*, 大鵬鳥, or Chinese Rukh, is said to reside on the island of *A un lei Ts'eng*, in the south-western sea, i.e. Malay Peninsula or Archipelago, see *Chinese Recorder*, vol. iii, p. 361, and *China Review*, vol. viii, p. 189. Ibn Batuta pretends to have met it there (*op cit*, vol. iv, pp. 305-306).] At a far later period it is stated in the legendary chronicle of Kedah that the prince from Rum to whom the foundation of Kedah is ascribed, being shipwrecked on Garuda's island of Langkapuri (i.e. Pulo Langkawi) found a hiding place, safe from Garuda's hostility, in the very famous cave of Gua Cherita, where he was tended by his future wife the daughter of the Emperor of China, until through the providential intervention of Sulaiman (Solomon) he was set free to lay the foundation of the Kedah State on the opposite coast. The name of the hospitable island was afterwards changed from *Langkapuri* to *Langkawi*. This is a far more accurate version of the story than that given by Colonel Low in his translation—which Maxwell calls "inferior"—from the Kedah Chronicle. Another legend about a Princess *Meran Langkau* occurs in the Malay romance of Isma Yatim (see Newbold's "Straits of Malacca" London 1839 vol. ii p. 332).



while larger vessels and men-of-war occasionally visit the island.

In conclusion, there is ample evidence to show that the insular group of the Langkāwis, as well as the mainland abreast of it, were in the old days of exclusive sail navigation the centres of active trade and intercourse with transoceanic countries. We have, of course, no exact data as regards the extension of *Ho-lung* except the vaguely defined boundaries with adjoining States mentioned by the Chinese annalists, and we do not therefore know how far south and north it stretched on the Malay Peninsula; but I think that the position I have indicated in about  $6^{\circ} 29'$  N. lat. very closely corresponds to that of the central part of the kingdom, or, at any rate, of the district where its capital or principal seaport was situated. Tanjung Sawah, the south-western promontory of Langkawi Island, and Pulo Tuba, the island lying close eastward of Pulo Dayang Bunting, bear names strikingly similar to *Shē-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*; but it is more probable that this term was a generic designation of the Malay Peninsula at the time being, of which *Ho-lung* was merely a part. In fact, although *Ho-lung* is also called *Shē-p'o*, i.e. Java, in the Chinese accounts of it, and its later capital is said to have been at the city of *Shē-p'o* or *Tu-p'o* (Java or Tuba), we have seen that the kingdom of *Ho-lo-tan* is likewise stated to have been situated on the island of *Shē-p'o* or *Tu-p'o*. Thus *Ho-lung* was most probably simply the name for a part of *Shē-p'o* rather than a synonym for the whole of that region.

Off the north coast of Langkawi Island, and nearly abreast of the spot occupied by the Gūa Cherita cave, there is an islet bearing the name of Pulo Kilm. Other toponymics similar to *Ho-lung* occur farther up and down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> We shall presently see, however, that

<sup>1</sup> They are, on the north. *Kelung* or *Khelung* Bay, in the south-eastern part of Junkyion Island, the islet of *Khalum* (hob Khalum), at the entrance to that bay, and, a good deal farther to the north, *Alung* or *Muang Aklung*, an ancient district above Takōpa, towards Ranōng. On the south. (1) *Sun-ri Aklung*, a small eastern affluent of the Iruk River, close to its mouth in

none of the places they belong to is so suitably situated as the Geriāng Hill and surrounding territory, in respect of the States named by the Chinese annalists as conterminous with *Ho lung*. The positions of the States in question in relation to that of *Ho lung* as given in the rectified account adopted by us above, and their probable modern equivalents with which we propose to identify them, are as follows:—

1. On the west *P'o-têng* or *To-p'o-têng*, to the west of which lies *Mi-li-ch'ê To-p'o-têng*, 墮瓊登, is very likely the place marked *Taptung* in lat. 7° 35' N. and long. 99° 30' E., or just above Trang, in McCarthy's map<sup>1</sup>; and may thus correspond to an old State having its centre in the Trang district and formerly bearing that name. Again, *To-p'o-têng* may, though less probably, stand for *Takūa-thùng* in the elided form *Ta-[h]-wa-thung*. So may *P'o-têng* designate *Pulo Butong*, the insular group lying off to the west of Langkâwī; but it is more likely that it is a mere abbreviation

South-West Perak (2) *Klang* or *Kalang*, now the residence of Selangor, on the Sungai *Klang* at about twelve miles from its mouth, which is called *Kuala Kling*. This river is marked in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399, published by Phillips, as 吉令港, *Chi ling* (*Ki-ling*) *Chiang*, a spelling which excludes its identification with *Ho lung*. On this stream was situated the former State of *Kalang*, the foundation of which is claimed by the Benua (*Banawa* or *Fanaca*) tribes. *Kalang*, according to Newbold, means 'tin' and the country about Selangor was called *Nēgrī Kalang*, i.e. 'Land of Tin'. After the foundation of Malacca (circa 1300-1400) *Kalang* became one of its dependencies, being governed by the chief of *Pērak* (see Newbold's "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca," London, 1839, vol. II, pp. 30, 376). (3) *Pulo Klang* or *Kalang* (sometimes marked as *Kalam*, *Kallam*, etc., in the old maps), an island at the mouth of the *Klang* River. (4) *Tanjung Kling*, a point six miles west of the town of Malacca. (5) *Kalang* or *Kallang*, a district on Singapore Island just above *Gelang* and east of *Rochor*, from which it is separated by a small stream, the *Sungei Klang*. There is also a hill, *Bukit Kallang*, on the central part of the island. Of toponyms similar to *Po-lung* we have very few. One is *Sungei Baling*, a stream rising in Central *Kedah* and flowing into the *Muda* River. Another is *Pualing*, a considerable village in North Malacca, about twenty miles inland from Malacca town. Lastly, may be mentioned the *Arian* or *Aerian* River and District just below Province Wellesley.

of *To p'o-téng*. In any case, it will be seen that the State so named has every chance of being the territory stretching from Trang towards *Tahua-thùng* and even further. Though it may be easy to find place-names somewhat resembling *P'o-téng* further down the west coast of the Peninsula, I do not think one exists which could be connected with *To-p'o-téng*, hence I believe that my identification is correct.<sup>1</sup>

As regards *Mi-li-ch'é*, there seems to be no doubt that it is Mergui further to the north,<sup>2</sup> as the manner in which that name is spelled in Chinese, 迷黎車, makes it capable of being read also *Mi-li chu* or *Mi-li lu*, *Mi li li*, etc., which forms closely resemble those (*Mergi*, *Mngi*, etc.) recorded in the early pages of this paper for Mergui (*vide supra*, pp 84-85). The variant 迷離, *Mi li* (*Me-li*, *Mai-lei*), we have noticed as occurring in the "San-ts'ai T'u hwei" for a State situated to the west of *P'o-téng*, evidently refers to the same place elsewhere termed *Mi-li ch'é*.

<sup>1</sup> Groeneveldt we have seen, has not hesitated to identify *To p'o-téng* with the island of Bali, *بالي*, east of Java (see 'Essays relating to Indo China,' 2nd series, vol i p 183). Professor Schlegel (in *Toung Pao*, vol ix, 1898, pp 284-285), although asserting he is wrong is at a loss to find a suitable equivalent for *To p'o-téng*, and inclines to locate it at Trangani. He makes bold to suggest some Malay equivalent like *Bata is*, but cannot manage to dispose of the first syllable *To* of the name.

<sup>2</sup> In Groeneveldt's opinion (op cit, p 237) *Mi li ch'é* would correspond to the Moluccas (?), which are situated neither to the east or west of his 'Bali.' Professor Schlegel (op cit, p 287) reads *Bé le ch'ia*, and supposes the term is a transcript of the Sanskrit *Mlecchā* [Pali *Milakkhā*] usually applied to uncivilized tribes. He therefore takes it to refer to the wild Negritos of the Malay Peninsula. But this is altogether too vague. He might have, with better cause, connected the term with *Marica*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Malay *Lada*, i.e. pepper which becomes *P'arik* (for *Barica Briva*) in Siamese, and may have been the name given by Indian navigators to the insular group of the *Lada* or *Langkawi* Islands. This is, however a mere conjecture, unsupported moreover by topographical evidence nay, in distinct contradiction with it as it is related in the Chinese accounts. I have thought of Myitta or Writta on the Tennasserim River in the Tavoy district which was once a flourishing town, but I believe that Mergui or *Marit*, the ancient *Mrittili* (see above, p 82), is really the place intended.

There also existed on or about the site of the present Patani a city or fort known as *Kota Mel gei* or *Meli gei* (Malgai? Newbold, vol ii p. 68 writes *Mahai*), after which the country round about seems to have been named before the foundation thereof at Patani in about A.D. 1500 (see Leiden's 'Malay Annals' pp 85 and 319). Possibly this was somehow connected with the present Legeh which formed until a few decades ago part of Patani territory. From its situation on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula I do not think that this *Mel gei* is in any way connected with *Mi li ch'é*.

2. On the east *P'o-li*, to the east of which lies *Lo-ch'a*. *P'o-li*, 婆利 (*P'a-lai*, *Balei*, *Valai*, or *Vāri*), is stated in New T'ang History to be known also as 馬里, *Ma-li* (*Ma-lai*, *Barai*, *Balai*, etc.), to abound in ponies, and to produce also carbuncles, some being as large as a hen's egg.<sup>1</sup> The people of the country, according to the Sui Annals (A.D. 581-617), were skilled at throwing metal quoits or *cakras*, by which they never failed to hit their adversaries.<sup>2</sup> The history of the Liang dynasty mentions that in A.D. 518-523 the king's family name was Kūṇḍinya, who stated that the wife of Śuddhodana was a woman from his country.<sup>3</sup> The land produced a soft stone called

*Kambala*, out of which figures were carved that became very hard after long exposure.<sup>1</sup> The Sui history adds that in A.D. 516 the king's family name was *Ch'a-h Yaka*, and his personal name *Hu-lan-na-p'o*<sup>2</sup>; and says of the people that for their sacrifices they choose a time when there is

the line of kings reigning there. From the passage cited above, it may be inferred that in *P'o-h* also there may have reigned a personage of the same name hailing from the ancient home of the Sakya princes in the Nepal terai, where Koliya was situated. This would argue that the royal family of *P'o-h* were Buddhists at the time being. With these circumstances the fact may or may not be connected of a city bearing the name as recorded by Ptolemy, of *Kōli* (*supra* pp. 105-106), existing right across the Malay Peninsula in the Kelantan district, which may have been founded by the *P'o-h* sovereigns or their relatives in order to record their place of origin.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Schlegel (in *Toung-Pao* 1901, p. 183) identifies this stone with a species of marl called *Napat* by the Malays. Thus, he says, though very soft at first, becomes under water so smooth and hard that sometimes the anchors do not hold upon it. He is unable, however, to cite any examples of carvings from this material as extant on the east coast of Sumatra, where he places *P'o-h*. I can, on the contrary, point out endless instances of images impressed on tablets moulded out of a somewhat stiff clay, which are to be found in many a limestone cave of the Trang, Jala, Pahang, and other districts on the Malay Peninsula. Some of these have been described in *Man* for December, 1902, pp. 177-178. The author of the article there says of them (p. 178) "On being exposed to the air they soon become harder and assume a paler colour." I have a few of them with me, and although I must confess the material is rather brittle I am inclined to take it that this is the 'soft stone' with 'carved figures' alluded to in the above account. I have, since writing the above, come across two references to the very *Napat* stone in Newbold's 'Statistical Account of the Straits of Malacca,' London, 1839, vol. II, pp. 98 and 142. The author says it is statite, and occurs in a stratum under the tin ore in Sungai Ujong and above the gold bearing rock at Bukit Chumendra in Gommoh (Johol State). He adds that the first layer of *Napat* is soft and whitish (p. 142). This proves that *Napat* is more especially a product of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula than of the east coast of Sumatra, as Professor Schlegel would have us believe.

利利邪伽 and 護濫那婆 or 護路那婆. The first name seems to mean *Kantiraja*, *Saka*, *Sakya Yakkha*, or *Iaga*. The second sounds something like *Hirannala*, *Dhū annara*, *Hirī nava*, or *Uru lava*, *Uru va*. A Sanskrit inscription on a stele at Wat Mahayong (Mahayangana), near Lagor, dating probably from the seventh or eighth centuries, mentions a personage under the name of *Arin ya* (Arina Ūraya (?), the reading being uncertain) which may be the king in question and also contains the name of a certain 'illustrious *Agasti*,' which may be the same person whose name is recorded above under the mutilated form of *Saga* or *Iaga*. The reason why I suggest these connections is because the same inscription speaks of *C'indya*, or 'Chinese flags' perhaps banners made of China silk thus showing that the country had intercourse with China. It is a pity that this epigraphic monument should be so badly preserved as to prove for the most part undecipherable. The fact of its having been found in the Lagor district is no certain proof that it originally stood there: it may very well have been brought across from the western watershed where *P'o-h* was or erected on the occasion of some visit to Lagor of a king from *P'o-h*.

no moon, they then fill a platter with wine and eatables and let it float away on the stream, in the eleventh month they always offer a great sacrifice<sup>1</sup> The sea produces coral The itinerary followed by ships sailing to their country from Tonkin was by way of *Ch'ih t'u* (head of the Gulf of Siam) and *Tan tan* (Pulo Tanta lam, between Ligor and Singora)\* The New History of the T'ang Dynasty describes the people as having swarthy bodies and red frizzled hair, nails like hawks, and teeth like wild beasts, they perforate their ears and put rings (pendants) into them, and wrap a piece of cotton round their loins Their markets are held at night and with veiled faces<sup>3</sup> The king, when going out,

<sup>1</sup> Here it is a question of the festival of floating off-rings in streams introduced a long time ago from India into Indo-China and known in Siam under the name of *Lo kratho g* or Leaf platters floating. It takes place at the eleventh and twelfth full moons which generally fall in October and November respectively. The custom is widespread all over the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago it being practised with some variations even among the *Bajaks* of Borneo. It also exists in the Maldivé Islands (see Leyden in Essays relating to Indo China 1st series vol. 1 p. 193). It is probable however that its adoption in the Archipelago occurred at a comparatively modern date and that earlier it was mainly confined to the Malay Peninsula where it survives to this very day even in the purely Malay States such as Perak Selangor etc (see *Straits Times* Aug. 13th 1895 art. Malay Customs in Selangor).

<sup>2</sup> Groeneveldt op cit pp. 295-296 and *Young Pao* 1901 pp. 332 et seq. In these as well as in the following passages I have as a rule adopted the emendations to Groeneveldt's translation proposed by Professor Schlegel. I should like to call attention here to the fact that Valentijn in his map of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra marks a place by the name of *Tanta's Jelho* (i.e. Old *Ta-ta's* in Portuguese) on the Old Singapore Strait immediately to the east of *Tandong Boero* (Tanjong Bulus).

<sup>3</sup> Hervey de St. Denys translates the same passage as embodied in Ma Tuan lin's work thus (p. 459): Les naturels ont le corps noir des cheveux rouges et des ongles d'oiseaux de proie et les dents de bêtes féroces. Ils se percent les oreilles pour y suspendre de petites sonnettes et ceignent leurs reins d'un morceau d'étoffe de coton. Ils tiennent leur marches la nuit et s'y rendent le visage couvert. Practically the same description is given of the natives of *Lo-chi* the State lying east of *P'o-lo* on p. 489 of the same work. Les habitants sont très laids ils ont la peau noire les cheveux rouges des dents de carnassiers et des ongles d'oiseaux de proie. De temps en temps ils vont faire le commerce sur les côtes du *Lin-ka* (Campa). Ils arrivent et se montrent seulement pendant la nuit le jour ils se tiennent cachés. Dr. MacGowan quoting from I know not what Chinese work writes as follows in the *China Review* vol. xix p. 289.

In the reign of Yang-ti of the Suu 605-16 the Pahi of Sumatra [read *P'o-lo* and omitt. Samatra] brought as tribute specimens of their wild men,—black in colour, hair red and curled feet and toes like birds' claws and teeth like brute beasts—their ears were perforated for clothing they used a strip of cloth. Subsequently these savages are again named by an officer sent by Yang-ti to Pahi [*P'o-lo*] from whom it was ascertained that they were called *Losha* [*Lo-chi*] and occupied an extensive region east of Pahi [*P'o-lo*]. They were of dreadful

sits in a chariot drawn by an elephant, etc. Most of these particulars are repeated from the preceding histories of the Liang and Sui dynasties with but trifling additions, hence it seems that all Chinese intercourse with *P'o-li* practically ceased after 616 A.D., the date of the latest embassy mentioned in those records. I-tsing has merely a passing reference to it somewhat later on (A.D. 671-695).

It will readily be seen, from *P'o-li's* topographical location to the east (or, more correctly, south-east) of *Ho-ling*, that it must have been on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula from, say, the 6th or 5th degree of North latitude downwards. Such being the case, it must be identified either with *Pêrak* or the district on the banks of the *Prai* River (abreast of Pinang Island), or, again, the territory round about the *Pulai* stream and *Günong Pulai*, at the very south-eastern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, and at the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait. There are, of course, many other places on the west coast of the Peninsula and elsewhere bearing similar names, but they

appearance, black, red-headed, with claws for fingers and toes. They engaged in commerce, trading with *Lin-yih*, all transactions taking place by night or, if trading by day, it was with veiled faces." The translator then proceeds to suggest that these savages—hardly savages or wild men, by the way, for they engaged in trade with other peoples—might have been the progenitors of the present *Kubus*. There can be no doubt, however, that tribes of *Negrito* stock on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula are implied, and with them is wrongly included the far more civilized *Mon-Khmer* population settled along the sea-coast and on the adjacent islands which was really the element that carried on the trade and maintained intercourse with neighbouring countries, employing, as a matter of course, slaves from those savage tribes to do menial work, man the boats and sea-vessels, etc. It is most probably only in such a capacity, i.e. of ship crews, that batches of *Sakai* and *Samangs* ever got to the coast of *Campa*. As no native race is to be found on the east coast of *Sumatra* or the islands immediately adjoining it possessing the somatic characteristics depicted above—though evidently with exaggerated touches—for the populations of *P'o-li* and *Lo-ch'a* we are compelled to locate these two countries on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, where we meet such characteristics in the *Samangs*, the *Panggangs*, the *Tumors*, etc. As regards the practice of holding markets at night in *P'o-li*, it is interesting to observe that the same custom was followed down to the sixteenth century at *Malacca*, of which the "*Hai-yü*" (1537) says: "Women hold a market at night but must finish at the second drum when they stay over this term and are caught by the patrolling *orang kaja*, they are killed and the king does not look further into the affair" (*Gröeneveldt op cit.*, p. 247). This shows that *P'o-li* must have occupied the very same stretch of country or a continuous one, as we have already inferred for other reasons.

are mostly insignificant and of very doubtful antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The one other place, now no longer existing, that might lay some claim to identification with *P'o-l* is *Worawāri* or *Varawāri*, which is mentioned as early as A D 1360 in the Palatine Law Code of Ayuthia as one of the tributary States to Siam in the south (Malay Peninsula<sup>2</sup>). Whether the district so named has any connection with the *Wāris* tribe, better known as *Bidicanda*, who, settling in the southernmost part of the Malay Peninsula, proceeded to encroach upon Sakai territory further to the north, I am unable to say; but I should think not, because *Wāris* appears to be a relatively modern epithet<sup>3</sup>. It is, of course, possible that the term *P'o-l* may represent some such word as *Bālei*, *بالي*, meaning a hall of state, a court, a term often applied to capitals of Malay districts, in which case it would have disappeared long ago, along with the particular place it designated. But it is not altogether improbable that, in its alternative form, *Ma-l* (or *Malet*, *Malai*), we have the country which Edrīsī recorded in A D 1154 under the name of 'Island of *Malai*,' *ملاي*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Like, e g., *Palai*, a small village in South Malacca, about half a mile from the coast, *Sungei Palai*, a rivulet further up the coast, below the Bernam River, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 84, where I have suggested its possible connection with *Berabai* or *Mergui*, which is, however, far from certain. So its spelling, which may have come down to us in a corrupt form *Wara-ari*, according to a Siamese list of Malay poetical terms given in the "Pathama Mala," p. 91, is the Malay word for the China rose (*Hibiscus rosa Sinensis*). The common name for this plant is, however, *Bunga Raya*, and in the catalogues of Malay plant-names at my disposal I only find *Waru* or *Baru* = *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, L. The term *Varawari* may be, on the other hand, a contraction of *Muar*, *موار*, *Mucara*, or *Mora-Mudr*, the name of a well known river below Malacca, which may have been known also as *Micara-rūri*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.*, July, 1898, No. 31, pp. 47-59. *Wāris* is an Arabic word adopted into Malay, meaning an heir, and was probably given the Bidwandas from the fact of their having been the first comers in the Negri Sembilan district. See also the said *Journal*, No. 22, pp. 299, 302, 312-316.

<sup>4</sup> See Jaubert's "Géographie d'Édrisi," Paris, 1836, t. 1, pp. 86, 92. This term, together with the Chinese *Ma-l* or *Ma-lei*, should be compared with *Sūmah*, *Sucarni-māli*, *Malai-lolam*, etc., above (pp. 80, 81, 104). However, *vide infra*.



In any case, from the fact of *Po li* being described as quite an extensive country,<sup>1</sup> containing 136 villages or settlements, we think we are justified in assigning to it the whole stretch of coast from the Prai River on the north to the Pulai stream on the south, thus including within its compass all places referred to above as likely to have given their name to the whole country in question.

It should be added that the Sui annals mention another State with an almost identical name, though somewhat differently spelled viz 𑖑𑖥 𑖑𑖥, *Po li* (*Pok lai Bu li*)<sup>2</sup> This country, however, seems to have no connection with *Po li*, and probably must be sought for on the east coast of Sumatra if not elsewhere in the Archipelago.

East from *Po li* 𑖑𑖥, as we have seen the land of *Lo ch'a* with customs and population similar to those of *Po li*. By this we have already suggested that the east coast of the Malay Peninsula from Johor or even the Rochor River on Singapore Island up to Pahang and even further to the north is meant.<sup>3</sup> If *Lo ch'a* stands for *Raksas* or *Ral'sasa*, it is no doubt intended for the *Jakuns* 𑖑𑖥𑖥𑖥, of the more southern parts of the Peninsula and perhaps also for the wilder tribes of Negrito Sakai stock populating its eastern coast. The term may, however, be merely a toponymic travestied in Chinese spelling so as to assume that meaning which it may not at all have had in its original local form. We have already pointed out Rochor as a possible equivalent. But there is a more approximate one yet namely, *Latcha*, a small stream debouching a little above the river of Chana (Chanah) in the district of this name in about 7° 4' N lat

Another not very dissimilar name is that of *Legeh* or *Lagēh*, also called *Rangēh* (but usually spelled *Ranga*), not far below (6° 15' N. lat.).<sup>1</sup>

3. On the north, *Chén-la* (Kamboja). This bearing is fairly correct as far as Chinese bearings go; more correct in any case than that given for *P'o-lêng*, which, though lying to the west of *Ho-lung*, is located to the south of *Lin-i*,

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese characters 羅 刹 employed in writing the term *Lo-ch'a* are, it should be observed, pronounced *Lo ch'at*, *Lo-sat*, *Loa-sak* in the Southern Chinese dialects, and *La-shat* in Annamese, the second one meaning, in reality, *chair* or *chattrā* (Pali *chatto*), a parasol or umbrella, the state canopy which is one of the insignia of royalty. If not intended to convey the significance of *Rakṣasa*, *Lo-ch'a* must have accordingly been the transcript of a toponymic sounding something like *Lach'a*, *Lach'at*, *Lashak*, *Lajer*, *Lajah*, etc., in its original form. Such being the case, it occurs to me that this kingdom of *Lo ch'a* or *Lach'at*, *Lach'ak*, etc., must have been the hitherto unidentified province of *Locat*, *Lochat*, *Locheac*, *Loach*, *Locar*, or *Loneat*, visited by Marco Polo on his homeward journey from China and Champa which was most assuredly situated about this point on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and not on the coast of Kamboja or Siam as has hitherto been conjectured. If not actually *Latcha* in Chanah, it is undoubtedly *Legeh* or *Lageh*, which name, on account of the explosive and abruptly cut off sound of the last syllable, may seem to the uninitiated to sound like *Lagel*, *Langek*. I have often thought about *Lakhōn* or *Lagor* as being probably Marco Polo's *Locat* or *Locac*, but on account of the wide difference in sounds between the two names I now consider the identification proposed to be preferable. It should be observed that Marco Polo says of this place that it is so bad that very few people go there hence it cannot have been a great emporium of trade, and this is exactly what suits the district in question. His statement as regards gold being plentiful there al-o admirably suits Chanah and *Legeh*, whereas it would ill apply to the coast of Kamboja and the inner

ie Champī Those who are inclined to locate *Ho ling* in Java have thus in their favour, that they place it correctly in respect of Kamboja, but at what distance away<sup>1</sup> and are at a loss to make the other countries named as neighbours of *Ho ling* fit in in the directions indicated for them


4 On the south, the insular kingdom called *To mo ch'ang*, which has (1) *To lung* on the west, (2) *Po fang* on the east, and (3) *Pan chih pa* or *Ch'ien chih fu* on the south The distance at which *To mo-ch'ang* lies south of *Ho ling* is not stated, hence the difficulty of identifying it I have thought of Tamiang or Tamiyang on the east coast of Sumatra, in about 4° 25' N lat, but this is recorded, at least from A D 1436 by Fci Hsin as 淡洋, *Tan yang* or *Tam yang*<sup>1</sup> and besides does not suit, both on account of its not being an island and of its not having in its neighbourhood places bearing names similar to those indicated I have therefore come to the conclusion that *To mo ch'ang*, 多摩莪, is very likely Singapore Island, which in the Chinese map of about A D 1399 published by Phillips appears as 長腰嶼, *Ch'ang yau* Island<sup>2</sup> a term not unseemingly derived from the former *To-mo* the first part of the name, may very well represent the term *Tama*, *Tuma*, which we have noticed here in *Bêt mah*, *Tamus*, or *Tamalus Promontorium*,<sup>3</sup> and which survives to

<sup>1</sup> See Groeneveldt op cit p 216 and *To ng Pao* 1901, pp 365 366 There is in truth an island as well called *Ten ang* which gives its name to Temiang Stra t between R au (Phao) and L an na but this does not appear to suit the case Neither does Pulo Temman in the south western Anambas

<sup>2</sup> Lat 'Long loomed Island. An island of the same name is mentioned in the Chinese account of Brunei West Borneo (see Groeneveldt op cit, p 293) as lying in the river

<sup>3</sup> See pp 199-200 249 ante We have also *B ê t T'mah* or 'Tin H li' 550 feet high to the north west of Singapore town and the highest elevation on the Island of Singapore the name of which *Ti al* may be connected with the above through the Sanskrit *ta ara* - tin

The passage in question says Formerly their city had a stone wall and a wooden wall the stone wall was demolished in order to fill up the island *Ch'ang yau* and shut out the sea This evidently refers to the *Kota Pêl* or artificial bar formed in the river according to the *Selas'ah* of the rajahs of Brunei by Sultan Berkati between the islands *Pâja Orang* and *P'lan Cherm n* which jointly command the entrance of the Brunei River (see *Journal Straits Branch R.A.S.* No 5 June 1880 pp 3 7) *Ch'ang yau* here does not seem to be a transcript of the name of either of the two islands but a collective name given to them together with the connecting bar *Ch'ang yau* or *Ch'ang m*

this day in *Tumerau* or *Tembrau*, the name of the Old Singapore Strait, the *Selat Tebrau* of modern maps *Ch'ang* may stand for *ujong* = 'promontory,' and the whole represent *Tama ujong*, or something similar, which would be a form analogous to *Tamasak* = 'Tama Land,' that we have already met here (*supra*, p 199) The toponymy of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago offers us forms like *Temanjung*,<sup>1</sup> *Manjong*, , the ancient name for the Pêrak district (see above, p 98), and *Temajo* or *Temaju*, an island off the west coast of Borneo, abreast of Sangan Point, but I think that *To mo ch'ang* could nowhere be better located than on Singapore Island as proposed above.<sup>2</sup>

This point settled, it remains to look for the other places mentioned as its neighbours on the west, east, and south

*To lung*, 多隆, may be *Pulo Tulang*, below the Great Karimon and on the west side of Durian Strait, it may, in fact, embrace the whole of the cluster of islands of which *Tulang* forms part, both *Karimons* included.<sup>3</sup>

*P'o fung* 寶鳳 (*P'o-fun*; *Boa hung*, *Bu wung*, *Ba-fung*), is far more difficult to locate. It can hardly be *Pulo Papan*, because this island lies close to the south-east of *Tulang*, from which it is separated by a narrow channel only, and can scarcely correspond to *Pulo Abang* in *Dempu Strait* (below *Pulo Galang*), as this does not lie in the direction indicated, and very likely belongs to the group to be next discussed. It is therefore probable that *P'o-feng* or *Ba hung* may, after all, be meant for the *Papan* district (*Pāpan Besar*) eastwards of Old *Jahor*, if not for *Pahang*, or, at any rate,

its homonymous settlement at Kwāla Pahang on the Endau River.<sup>1</sup>

As regards *Pan-chih-pa*, 半支跋, or *Ch'ien-chih-fu*, 千支弗, I feel perfectly confident that under this name is comprised the insular group extending southwards from Penjabung Island and the homonymous strait south of Pulo Gālang to Lima and Penuba Straits and Singkep Island. In this cluster of islands, it will be at once noticed, *Penjabung* is a very close approach in nomenclature to *Pan-chih-pa*, while *Singkep* looks a surprisingly exact counterpart of *Ch'ien-chih-fu*, especially in its Cantonese pronunciation,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Schlegel, loc cit, too readily takes *P'o feng* to be Pahang, which, after his own showing (*T'oung-Pao*, vol ix, pp 297-8), is spelled 彭亨, *P'eng-heng* or *P'ang-heng*, in the books of the Ming dynasty (Wan-li period = A D 1573-1619). But thus, he contends, is the old name, taken from the Pang-gang tribe, "the new name is transcribed 婆風, in Amoy dialect *Po-hong* = *Pahang*" Nevertheless, I find it spelled 彭抗, *P'eng-k'eng* (*P'ang-k'ang*), in the Chinese map of about A D 1399 published by Phillips (op cit, p 39), which is also the form adopted in Fei-Hsin's work, A D 1436 (see Groenereldt, op cit, p 255), whereas the autograph 彭亨 is the one appearing later on in Ming history (ibid, p 256). Thus, contrary to what the learned Professor maintains, 彭亨, his 'old form' of the name, proves relatively modern. As regards his assumed 'new name,' 婆風, it already appears in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty, published during the eleventh century, and cannot therefore be quite so 'new' in comparison with the above. And as its form is considerably different from what we know for certain to be the usual transcripts of the name *Pahang*, we should be cautious in identifying it too readily with this name. Ma Tuan-lin (op cit, p 507) mentions, apparently following the Sung Annals, a kingdom of 婆皇, *P'o huang* (*Pa-hang*, *Ba-gang*, or *Ba-gwang*), which sent tribute to China from A D 449 to 463. The "*P'ei wen Yun Fu*" (see *China Review*, vol xxi, p 337) speaks of an even earlier embassy sent by the same State, and by the neighbouring one of 婆達, *P'o ta*, in the reign of the Sung emperor Wu ti (A D 420-423).

It is possible that Pahang is the district alluded to under these various transcripts, especially as *P'o-huang* is, in one instance, and under the date A D 449, mentioned at the same time along with the States of *Ho lo-tan* and *P'o-ta* (see Ma Tuan-lin, op cit, p. 506), thereby leading one to infer that it must have been a neighbour of theirs, being like them situated on the Malay Peninsula, but perhaps it is better to reserve judgment until we know more of the ancient history of the Malay Peninsula than we do now.

*Ts'yn-chi-fet*.<sup>1</sup> There are, moreover, within its compass *Pangalap* and *Penuba* Islands and Straits bearing not dissimilar names<sup>2</sup> I have no doubt that in this insular

<sup>1</sup> In other dialects *Ts'ien-chi-fuh*, Korean, *Ch'ŏn-chi-pul*, and Japanese, *Sen chi futo*, = *Sinchipu*, *Sinkipur*, or *Sinkipulo*. In a passage quoted by Professor Schlegel from the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*, bk. 222, fol. 5 recto (see *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 287, note 50), it is said that *Ch'ien-chih[-fu]*, otherwise called *Pan-chih-pa*, which means roughly *Wu-shan*, i.e. the 'Five Islands,' is situated in the middle of the south-western sea, and was originally a State subordinate to Southern India, that is, perhaps, a Dravidian colony. Professor Schlegel misconstrues the interpretation 'Five Islands,' which he takes to apply to the five islands (called, however, *Wu-shu*, and not *Wu-shan*) after which the territory known later as Malacca was called, according to Ma Huan's work (1416). If the Chinese interpretation is correct, *Pan-chih-pa* (*Pun-chi-pat*, *Pan-chi-pul*) may stand for *Panca-palli* = 'Five Cities.' I have also a sort of a suspicion that 干支弗, *Ch'en-chih-fu*, may be a *lapsus calami* for 干支弗, *Kan-chi-fu*, as the two characters, 干, *Ch'ien*, and 干, *Kan*, are often confounded with one another in Chinese texts. If so, 干支弗 might read *Ka-icapura* (*Conjeveram*). This

group of *Pan-chih-pa* or *Ch'ien-chih-fu* we have the hitherto unidentified islands of *Fanjab* or *Kanyab*, ٲٲ, ٲٲ, of Mas'ūdī<sup>1</sup> This "Imām of (Arab) writers" tells us in his "Meadows of Gold" (A.D. 943) that among the natives of the many islands of his fifth sea, the sea of *Keidenj*, "there is one tribe called *Fenjab* (or *Fanyab*): these have frizzly hair and strange figures; mounted on their boats, they lay in wait for ships that pass in their neighbourhood and shoot upon them poisoned arrows of a peculiar kind. Between the country they inhabit and the territory of *Kalah* there exist mines of white lead (tin) and mountains containing silver"<sup>2</sup> Further on our author speaks of the same country as *Kanyab*, and has a passing allusion to its ruler: "and other princes of India, such as the king of *Kanyab*, and several other potentates of the mountains (islands) of China (China Sea) which face the islands of *Zabey* and others"<sup>3</sup> Edrisī (A.D. 1154), although mainly following him, calls the same people ٲٲ, *Ianyat*—evidently a mere clerical slip for ٲٲ, *Fanyab*—and adds that every one of these natives carries round his neck a collar of either iron, brass, or gold<sup>4</sup>

Evidently the population here referred to is that of the Orang-laut, severally called *Sika*, *Sekah*, and *Bayau*, inhabiting the islands of the Rhio-Linga Archipelago, and well known in the past for their very pronounced piratical habits <sup>1</sup>

a collar of either iron, copper, or gold" (Jaubert's "Geographie d'Edrisi," Paris, 1836, t. 1, pp. 88-89) Professor Van der Lith, commenting upon the above quoted passage from Mas'udi on the *Fanyab* people, says ("Merveilles de l'Inde," Leide 1886, p. 261) "*Mais je ne puis pas expliquer le nom de Al-Fendjab. Peut être c'est par erreur que Mas'oudi leur a attribué ce nom, qui est cité par Edrisi, 1, p. 173, comme un titre des rois de Zabey (?)*" Now, this is unworthy of such a scholar. Had he read his Edrisi carefully, it might perhaps have struck him that the people referred to as *Fanyat* in t. 1, p. 88-89, are the same as Mas'udi's *Fanyab*, and he would thus have seen that Edrisi does also speak of them, although of course saying further on, p. 173, that in the *Ranch* (Zabey?) kings are called *Fanyab*. The rest will now be clear to the reader, and henceforth what has proved an inextricable puzzle to Arabists and Sinologists alike will cease to tax the brain and energy of future students, for *Pan-chih-pa* and *Fanyab* may now be safely entered in the list of solved



I need not point out how this, I hope now well proved, identification of *Pan-chih-pa* or *Ch'ien-chih-su* with Singkep and the islands lying north of it as far as Penjabung Island and Strait, deals the last blow to the *Ho-ling*, *scilicet* Java, theory. For it is plain that if *Pan-chih-pa*, which lies south of *To-mo-ch'ang*, which in its turn lies south of *Ho-ling*, is Singkep and the islands bounding it on the north, *Ho-ling* must be looked for much further northwards, that is, on the Malay Peninsula, and cannot in any wise be located away south in Java. This is, it must be admitted, even by itself alone, a conclusive argument capable of disposing right off of that question on geographical grounds; but when to it be added the multifarious points we have successively discussed and made out one by one in the course of these last pages, it cannot fail to strike even the casual reader that the sum of evidence in favour of the location of *Ho-ling* on the Malay Peninsula is absolutely overwhelming. Before dismissing the subject altogether, however, we think it worth while to make a few more remarks of a circumstantial character.

We have seen that *Ho-ling* was also called a 杜婆, *Tu-p'o* (*Tu-ba*, *Tu-ra*, *Dhu-ra*),<sup>1</sup> and 閩婆, *Shê-p'o* (*Ja-ra*, *Tu-ba*, *Sha-ra*), both which names we have found represented in the Langkawi group in Pulo Tubah and Tanjung Sawah. These alternative names for *Ho-ling*, it should be observed, are mentioned the first time in the new history of the T'ang dynasty (compiled during the eleventh century), and do not occur at all in the older compilation, which gives but a bare account of the country. The same remark applies to all the other particulars hereafter referred to, which all come to us through the new annals. Among such is the statement already dwelt upon that the king lives in the town of *Shê-p'o* (*Java*, *Saba*, or *Tuba*), while his ancestor *Ki-yen* had lived more to the east, at the town *P'o-lu-l'a-si*, or, according to

<sup>1</sup> Groeneveldt (op cit., p. 138) corrects the first character into 社, *Shê* but Professor Schlegel remarks in the *Toung-Tao*, vol. ix, p. 274, note 5, that 社 "may or may not be a clerical error for 閩."

Professor Schlegel's translation, "had removed to the east from the city of *Polukiasze*." In the event of this latter interpretation being correct, the city in question would, as we have pointed out, very probably be *Prakāsai*, just below Ghirbi (about 7° 52' N. lat.). For *Ho-ling* was pretty extensive. Twenty-eight small neighbouring States are said in the same annals to have acknowledged its supremacy, and there were thirty-two high officials in the country. The highest of these dignitaries is referred to as the President (大坐, *Ta-tso*) *Kan-hsuung*, in Cantonese *Kom-heng* (敢兄). Now this, it will be seen, is, as likely as not, the Siāmo-Khmēr title *Kamheng* or *Khamhēng* (the 'Strong'), often borne by high officials.

On the mountains, continues the same account, is the tract of land (or district) called *Lang-pi-ye* (*Long-pi-ya* or *Nang-pi-ya*), 郎界野, where the king frequently goes (or ascends) to get a view of the sea. Here we have a term similar to the Malay place-names *Rumbai*, *Rambai*, *Rambai*, *Rumbia*, etc., which we meet with in several parts of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. We even have a *Kwāla Rambai* near the central range, and a village called *Bahng* at the head-waters of the Mūda River, in Southern Kedah.<sup>1</sup>

An anecdote is next told about a queen of *Ho-ling* called *Hsi-mo* (*Sih-moh*, *Sit-moh*, *Sil-mah*, *Si-ma*), 悉莫, who was taken by the people of the country as their ruler in A.D. 674.<sup>2</sup>

Now it is a very curious coincidence that at about the same period the Peguan book of Gavampati<sup>1</sup> mentions a queen, *Sind-dei* by name, as reigning at Rē (*Burmanice* Yay), north of Tavoy, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, who had attained to great power, many neighbouring States acknowledging her supremacy. It seems almost certain that this is the same personage as the one alluded to in the Chinese account, the topographical inconsistency being easily explainable by assuming that *Ho lung* was, at the time being one of the States that were tributary to her.

Later on, in the year 813, *Ho lung* is stated to have presented to China, amongst other curiosities, four *Séng chih* slaves (僧祇奴), who were most likely dancing slave-girls, such as are known to have originally been trained for theatrical exhibitions at Ligor and neighbouring districts in the Malay Peninsula, whence the practice spread on to Pegu, Sīṃ, Kamboja, and the Malay Archipelago.<sup>2</sup> We are told a few lines later on, in fact, that between A.D. 860 and 873 *Ho lung* again sent an envoy to present female musicians.

a native of the State of *Ho-ling*, where he was met with

mentioned besides *Syangka*, with my identifications of them within parentheses, are *Ayodhyāpura* (Ayuthia, the old Siamese capital from A.D. 1350 to 1767); *Dharmānagara* (Śrī Dharma-raja-nagara or Ligor), *Marutma* (Mapi or Mergui, or Muttima, Muttama = Martaban?), *Rājapura* (Rājburī, S.W. Siām, or the juggling *Lo-ch'a*?), *Singhanagara* (Singapore, or also *Sindhapura* of the Chūm inscription, No. 383?), *Campā* (Hal Angwī), *Kamboja*, and *Javana* (Annam, or rather Tonkin). These being the facts of the case, I can hardly think that *Syangka* can mean Swankbilök, and must take it that some State on the Malay Peninsula is implied, which may be the *Ts'eng-ch'i* or *Seng-chih* above referred to, but as regards its exact location I am unable to make any definite statement. Indeed, Philip Baldeus, about the middle of the seventeenth century, does mention a harbour of *Sencaza* on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula between *Tanagar* (Trang? or Ranong?, P'hang-nga?) and *Perach* (P'crak). (See "Beschreibung der Ost-Ind. Kunsten," etc., p. 154, Churchill's "Collection of Voyages and Travels," 1794, vol. iii, p. 588. Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 41.) This *Sencaza* may well be the *Syangka* sought for, but as Baldeus' work is chiefly a compilation from the writings of his predecessors, the term in question may be also a clerical error for Langkaw; or something similar, so that his authority cannot be relied upon until

by several of I-tsing's confrères, whom he assisted in translating several Buddhist texts into Chinese<sup>1</sup>

From A.D. 873 no mention of further relations with *Ho-ling* is made in Chinese literature, which shows that either that State disappeared, was absorbed into others, or disintegrated as the case may be, or else, which seems less likely, that all intercourse between it and China ceased.

At all events, the circumstantial evidence we have collected above, coupled with the more direct data adduced at the outset, establishes beyond doubt, I venture to think, the position of *Ho-ling* on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula where we have located it, and absolutely excludes the possibility of its having stood on the island of Java, instead of which we have to read the country of *Jara*, *Sara*, or *Saba*, on the Malay Peninsula, defined above under section B. Nor do I think that the term *Ho-ling* stands, as most Sinologists have suggested, for a word *Kling*, *Kaling*, or *Kalinga* introduced by immigrants or colonists from the east coast of India. This, we have seen, was already the name for the eastern *Tri Kalinga* in Pegu, also at times styled *Taleng* or *Telunga*, and *Kalinga-rastra*,<sup>2</sup> and it is

unlikely that the denomination included the west coast of the Malay Peninsula as well, although we have mentioned indications of *Ho-lung* having at one time (seventh century) extended as far up as Rē (Yay) and perhaps further. A better suggestion would have been *Kareng* or *Karleng* instead of Kalinga, although there is no proof that the Karenga had as yet reached so far down the Malay Peninsula at the period in question. I prefer, therefore, to adhere to my own provisional identification with *Gertang* <sup>1</sup>

Having thus disposed—it is to be hoped successfully—of the *Ho-lung* question, it behoves us to finally clear the ground by a more precise determination of the position of *Shē-p'o* or *C'hā-rā* classed under Section B. This, we shall now proceed to demonstrate, must likewise be fixed on the Malay Peninsula. Our evidence for such an assertion are the itineraries given by Chinese writers outward from *Shē-p'o* in different directions, which need, however, to be overhauled and laid out afresh, as they have been, *more*

*solito*, muddled to the utmost degree by our Sinologists. The itineraries in question are set forth as follows, starting from the centre of the State or, what seems more logical, its capital.

1. Eastwards: 1 month's march to the sea (Gulf of Siām), thence 15 days' sailing to *K'un-lun*, here apparently Pulo Condor or Kundur (distance 300 to 400 miles from the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, which gives an average run of about 20 to 25 miles a day).<sup>1</sup>
2. Westwards. 45 days' journey to the sea (Bay of Bengal)
3. Southwards: 3 days' journey to the sea (Bay of Bengal). Thence, 5 days' sailing to the *Ta-shih*, 大食, or *Tayik* country = *Dach*<sup>2</sup> or Acheh, Achin. (At the above rate of speed this would give a distance of about 100 to 130 miles, which proves too small, the least distance from Achin to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula—at Papra Strait—being 240 miles)

4. Northwards: 4 days' journey to the sea (Bay of Bengal).<sup>1</sup> Thence, sailing north-west (read scuth-west), 15 days to *P'o-ni*, 渤泥; 15 more days to *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang); thence 7 days to *Ku-lo*, 古邏; again 7 days to *Ch'ai-lu-ting*, 柴歷亭, which is on the way to the land of *Kiau-chi* (Tonkin) and to Canton.<sup>2</sup>

Every Sinologist has invariably taken the *P'o-ni* or *Pu-ni*, 渤泥, mentioned here to be *Brunei* or *Bunai*, بروني, on the north-west coast of Borneo, for, according to the peculiar way of reasoning of such people, any toponymic that resembles *Brunei* in features must, of course, be Borneo and nothing else. Certainly, the name of *Brunei* in Borneo is similarly spelled *P'o-ni*, 渤泥 or 浮泥; but its distance from *Shé-p'o* is stated to be 45 days, and 40 from *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang); whereas the *P'o-ni*, 渤泥, in question is located at a distance of only 15 days from the northern border of *Shé-p'o*, and 15 from *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang).<sup>3</sup> Both these *P'o-ni* cannot therefore be one and the same State.<sup>4</sup>

Again, every Sinologist has hitherto invariably failed to identify *Ku-lo* and *Ch'ai-lu-ting*, for no names similar to these occur in the one-shilling school atlases on which

<sup>1</sup> Ma Tuan lin (op cit, p 495) and Schlegel (in *T'oung-Pao*, vol x, p 258) have four days instead of five, as stated in Groeneveldt (op cit, p 142) which must therefore be a slip. The Chinese text as given by Professor Schlegel (loc cit) has, in fact, I notice, 北至海四日.

<sup>2</sup> The actual distance from Kuala Pahi, the entrance to the Pahi River, to the mouth of the river Palembang is about 410-450 miles, which, apportioned over 15 days, gives an average of nearly 30 miles a day. Again, the distance from the mouth of the Palembang River to Kuala Cherating (our identification of *Ch'ai-lu-ting*), via Rhio Strait, is circa 400-420 miles, which, apportioned over 14 days, yields 28 to 30 miles a day, i.e. about the same average. It will be seen, therefore, that the Chinese itinerary is consistent throughout, so long as common-sense is taken as a guide in its interpretation, and not unbridled fancy, as is too often the case with our Sinologists.

<sup>3</sup> Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., pp 495, 567. Groeneveldt, op cit., pp 142, 219.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Schlegel has here taken a wrong view of the matter in readily admitting the existence of two *Shé-p'o's*, of which the one stated to be 45 days distant from *P'o-ni* was the island of Java (*T'oung-Pao*, vol x, p 304). Instead of perceiving that it is really a question of two *P'o-ni's*, as we have already demonstrated.



these gentlemen appear to base their abstruse geographical inquiries

Now, I am perfectly certain that the *P'o m*, 渤泥, of the above extract—which *cannot* absolutely be Brūnei—is, on the contrary, *Pam* or *Panel*, ڤاني, on the Barumun or Pīni River, east coast of Sumatra, in about  $2^{\circ} 20' - 2^{\circ} 30' N$  lat<sup>1</sup>. The bearing of the course steered upon leaving the northern part of *Shē p'o* bound to *P'o m*, given as north west, is undoubtedly an oversight for south west. Such slips frequently occur in the accounts of old travellers, among whom even the usually accurate Marco Polo. Measuring on a map the distance from the mouth of the Palembang to that of the Pīni River (15 days' sailing), and setting it out in a northern direction from the last named place we reach a point slightly above Takūa pī (Takōpa) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and not far below the Krah Isthmus, which latter we may therefore take as practically the northernmost limit of *Shē p'o*. Setting out the same distance (corresponding to 15 days' sailing) from Brūnei (W. Borneo) towards the west coast of the Malay Peninsula *via* the Natunas and the Straits of Singapore, for three times in succession (equal to 45 days sailing), we again get to a place somewhere between Pāk phrah (Papra) Strait and Takōpa, which is the position found for the northern limit of *Shē p'o*, at the outset *via* Pīni. The Chinese itinerary is therefore perfectly correct, and it is only the recklessness of Sinologists and their infatuation in making *Shē p'o* = the Island of Java, and *P'o m* 吧城 = Borneo (Brūnei), that causes it to look absurd. It will, however, now be perfectly clear that this is

not the case; and I may add that I have found the same accuracy in several other itineraries recorded by Chinese writers, which have been, as in the present instance, hopelessly mangled and muddled under the tender mercies of our geographical-dabbling Sinologists. It should be pointed out that from the fact of the distance *San-fo-ch'i*-Brūnei being given as 40 days,<sup>1</sup> and that from *Shē-p'o* to the same point (Brūnei) as 45 days, it is not at all legitimate to infer, as has been done by several writers, that *Shē-p'o* must lie at only five days' sailing beyond *San-fo-ch'i*. The reason for this is that the route from Brūnei to *Shē-p'o* (west coast of the Malay Peninsula) lies through the Strait of Singapore, whereas the one taken to reach Palembang wends *viâ* the South Natunas and Bangka.

Now, as regards *Ku-lo* and *Ch'ai-lu-ting* The last-named is, no doubt, the *Cherating* or *Serating* river and district<sup>2</sup> on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, in about 4° 10' N. lat. This, it should be noted, is more or less the point at which sailing-vessels from the Straits bound towards Annam or China during the season of the 'monsoon bid farewell to the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and steer across the Gulf of Siām in order to make the east coast of Lower Cochin-China, after having passed leeward of Pulo Obi (*Ūbi*). The distance Palembang-Cherating (14 days' sailing, actual 420 miles) is, we have shown, in perfect proportion to the one given for the run Palembang-Pāni (15 days, actual 450 miles). *Ku-lo* (7 days, or, at the same rate, 210 miles) must therefore be looked for at about half-way between Palembang and Cherating. This brings us to Rhio Strait—which was undoubtedly the route taken—and precisely to *Gūroh*, 𑖪𑖯𑖫𑖮, village, on the northern shore of Bintang Bay, which is just that distance (210 miles) from Palembang. However, *Ku-lo*

<sup>1</sup> The actual distance from the mouth of the Palembang River to the entrance to Brunei River is about 800 miles, which, apportioned over 40 days, yields 20 miles a day, i.e. very nearly the same average as in the distances already examined. The slight difference in such averages must, of course, proceed from the number and length of stoppages at intermediate stations on the route.

<sup>2</sup> We have here a *Sungei Cherating* (river), a *Kedda Cherating* (its mouth), a *Dukit Cherating* (hill), and a *Tanjung Cherating* (cape).

may be the neighbouring *Karas* Islands at the southern entrance to Rhio Strait, or even the flat islet of *Terkolei* lying in the approach to both Bintang and Rhio, and from which either seaport may have been conventionally indicated by Chinese navigators.<sup>1</sup>

The itinerary in question becomes, in the light of the above considerations, perfectly clear. Leaving the northern border of *Shê-p'ô* at Takūa-pō, or, perhaps more likely, at the embouchure of the Sawā River in the upper reach of the Pāk-chān inlet, the Chinese junks had to sail in a south-western (stated by mistake to be north-western) direction in order to reach the open sea and get clear of the dangers on the coast. Then, rounding Pāk-P'hrāḥ point and Junkceylon Island, they shaped a S.S.E. course along the west coast of the Malay Peninsula to the Dindings or Pulo Sembilan, and thence crossed southwards to *P'ô-m*, 吧城 (Pāni), which they made in 15 days from the date of their departure from *Shê p'ô*. In another 15 days they could get, if necessary, to *San-fo-ch'ī* (Palembang); otherwise they would proceed on to China via the Singapore Strait. From Palembang 7 days' sailing via the Rhio Strait would bring them to Bintang Bay at Gūroh or some neighbouring seaport (*Ku-lo*). Thence in another 7 days they would reach *Ch'ai-lih-ting* (Cherating) on the way to *Kiao-chi* (Tonkin) and Canton as stated.

Supposing now *Shê-p'ô* to be the Island of Java, and *P'ô-m*, 吧城, to be Brūci in N.W. Borneo, as our Sinologists would have it, how could they account for the unseamanlike idea that in order to reach *San-fo-ch'ī* (Palembang) from Java the Chinese junks should take such

an absurd détour *à Brunei* (N W Borneo), which seaport they could not certainly reach in 15 days, and which, on the strength of Chinese evidence itself, lay at fully 40 days' sailing from *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang)? The identifying of *Shé p'o* with the Island of Java by the Sinologists is accordingly shown to be a mere fad, like so many of its kind set going by them which have been exposed in the course of this enquiry. *Shé p'o* is now conclusively proved to be part of the Malay Peninsula below the Kra Isthmus, which formed its northernmost limit, a result agreeing with our former considerations connecting it with the *Sauca* River, and the *C'hawa* and *Sauca* districts in the neighbourhood of the isthmus just referred to.<sup>1</sup>

How far the southern border of *Shé p'o* reached we have no precise information. If we are to judge from the fact that *Ho ling* (or its capital), which we have demonstrated to have stood in about 6° 29' N lat., was likewise called *Shé p'o* or *Tu p'o* (Java Jaba, Sava Saba, Tuba, Tuva Toba Duba), and that even further down the Peninsula Ptolemy locates a mart by the name of Sabana, which is as likely as not still represented by the present *Sabah* on the Bernam River, 3° 45' N lat.,<sup>2</sup> we would have to infer that such southern limit of *Shé p'o* stretched as far south as Selangor, if not further, for even lower down similar toponymies occur.<sup>3</sup> However, we deem it a safer course not to lay too much stress on such unreliable indications, and prefer to remain content with the now well substantiated fact that the land of

<sup>1</sup> See above pp 461-462 note

<sup>2</sup> See pp 100-101 *ante*

<sup>3</sup> Eg. in *Java Island (Pulo Jara or Jawa)* in front of Malacca which is the islet (or rather the double islet for it is composed of two islets nearly joined) long known to the Portuguese as *Ilha dos Vans* because of its being the port or anchorage for ships trading to Malacca. The name may come to it from the *Ipomoea guamocot*, a little scarlet convolvulus called *Jawa* in Malay and may therefore have no connection whatever with the racial term *Jawa* or *Jara*.

A *Kicaki Sawa* exists in Sungai Ujong north east of Port Dickson. The term again may be derived from *Saucah*, meaning a wet rice field (called *Blang* in Achin). A *Kampung* (village) *Jawa* is to be found on the west of Rumea Point south end of the Malay Peninsula a *Sungai Jawa* below the mouth of the Selangor River etc etc. One of the chief tribes in Rembau bears the name of *Bedanda Jawa* (*Journal Straits Branch I & S.* No 13 p 242).

*Shé-p'ó*, i.e. of the Java race, included at the period in question a portion of the Malay Peninsula below the Kraë Isthmus, being still known in Ibn Batūta's time (A.D. 1345) as *Mul-Jarah*, *مُلْ حَارَة*, for here it is that the country so named by the famous traveller is to be looked for.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the terms *Jara*, *Jaba*, *Sara*, *Saba*, *Tuba*, *Toba*, had long before this crossed the Straits with the race that bore them, and established themselves both on the east coast and in the very heart of Sumatra,<sup>2</sup> becoming by Marco Polo's and Ibn Batūta's time by-names for the whole island, as well as for the more outlying island of Java, on the eastern half of which those terms had taken root in the interval.<sup>3</sup>

I shall now, by way of conclusion to my arguments anent the location of *Shé-p'ó* on the Malay Peninsula, draw attention to a passage occurring in the "Kwang-tung

T'ung-chih" or "General Topography of Canton" (first published in A.D. 1693), which tends to confirm the result I have arrived at above, although the work in which it occurs being quite modern in date, the views and observations introduced therein by its compiler may in many an instance prove to be the mere guesswork of an uncritical student, insufficiently supported by historical evidence and at times in open contradiction to it. This is the reason why I have reserved the last place to this unsatisfactory authority. In the passage alluded to, then, Malacca is identified with the ancient 哥羅富沙也, *Ko-lo Fu-sha-ye*<sup>1</sup> (*Kala-Fu-sha-ya*

or *Kola Pu-jā-ya*), and its capital is said to lie "near *Shé-p'o*, which is the reason that it is also called 大閩婆, *Ta Shé-p'o* or 'Great Java' It is now called 重迦羅, *Ch'ung-ka-lo* (*Ch'ung-ka-la*, *Tsung-ka-ra*, *Jung ka-la*) East of it lies 吉里地閩, *Chi-li Ti-mén*. For this reason this country was a long time not named a kingdom With a favourable wind it can be reached from 舊江, *Chiu-chiang* (or *Kau-kong*, *Ku-kang* = 舊港 = Palembang?), in eight days and nights Near the sea are only a few mountains and a scanty population "

This, I am bound to say, is a fair example of the geographical hodge-podges so frequently served up in Chinese literature for the mortification of its toiling students, who, if successful in going through the ordeal of unravelling them, may justly be said to have made some strides towards earning for themselves the Kingdom of Heaven. *Ko-lo Fu-sha-ye*, or, more correctly, *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo*, cannot, of course, have anything to do with Malacca, although its capital may well have stood near *Shé-p'o*, and its territory may have been known as *Ta Shé p'o*, 'Great Java' (or *Saba*), as the compiler says It may also have been called *Ch'ung la-la* or something similar,<sup>1</sup> and we shall demonstrate directly that it was But to locate east of it *Chi-li Ti-mén*, which I have unmistakably identified with *Gili Timor*,

i.e. the 'Island of Timor,'<sup>1</sup> is to hopelessly confuse it with the other *Ch'ung-la-la*, or rather *Sung-la-la*, mentioned in the Chinese records, which I have, despite the blundering vagaries of our Sinologists, identified with Sumbāwā (سمباوا, Sumbāwā) and, more precisely, with the *Sangar* district on the north coast of that island.<sup>2</sup> Bar these few little—and, of course, perfectly ingenuous—inaccuracies,

<sup>1</sup> Groeneveldt has here, for once, correctly identified *Ch'i-lí Tí-men* with Timor (op. cit., p. 236), although unable, of course, to account for the first part of that term. Professor Schlegel, on the contrary, unaware of the vagaries of the compiler of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih," gets confused through reliance on his correctness, and, believing *Ch'i-lí Tí-men* to lie eastwards of the treacherous *Ch'ung-la-la* as stated by him, makes superhuman efforts to explain the term *Ch'i-lí Tí-men* as *Kí-lí-Timor*, 'East to the left,' and what not, and to prove that it is not Timor at all, but some place on the east coast of Sumatra, or the island of Tyūman off the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and so forth (see *T'oung-tao*, vol. ix, pp. 370-371). All nonsense! Had Groeneveldt or Professor Schlegel any knowledge of the geography and languages of the eastern part of the archipelago where Timor is situated, they would have very quickly grasped the right meaning of *Ch'i-lí Tí-men* or *Kí-lí Tí-men*. For in those parts an island is called *Gilí*, and there are scores of them, from the south coast of Madura to the north coast of Flores and further, in the names of which the term *Gilí* occurs as a prefix, e.g., *Gilí Dua*, *Gilí Pandan*, *Gilí Wutak*, *Gilí Banta*, *Gilí Bado*, etc. Therefore, *Ch'i-lí Tí-men* means *Gilí Timor*, i.e. the 'Island of Timor,' and nothing more nor less. The solution is, it will be seen, very simple, like all solutions of puzzling questions, after the key has been made



quite characteristic of the Chinese compilers of geographical handbooks, etc., the above passage may be fairly correct; and, if so, it proves interesting as showing that *Shê-p'o* lay near to, or was conterminous with, Malacca; its location thus being on the Malay Peninsula.

Now, a word of explanation on the term *Ch'ung-ka-la* as a name for Malacca. It suggests some form like *Jung-ko-la*, *Jang-ko-la*, or *Jangala* (= 'Jungle'), *Jungala*. Joan Nieuhoff, writing about the same time (1662) as when the first edition of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih" appeared (1693), says that the capital city of Malacca was formerly called *Jakola*.<sup>1</sup>

Here, then, we have the *Ch'ung-la-la* of the Chinese account. Which of the two spellings is the more accurate I am unable to decide; but I should think Nieuhoff's, for it is probable that the form *Jakola* was the cause that enticed the compiler of the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih" into connecting this place with the old *Kola Fushala*. At all events, the original form of the term may safely be said to lie between *Jakola* and *Jangala* or *Jāngala*, because Nieuhoff's notation excludes any connection with the *Sangan* series of toponymics.

It is quite possible that the epithet *Ta Shē-p'o*, 'Great Java (*Jaba* or *Saba*),' or *Mahā Java*, *Java Besar* (?), stated in the passage quoted above to have been applied to the territory of Malacca, may have some connection with the place called *Sabah* on the Bernam River, not far to the north of Malacca, as well as with the historical continuation of Ptolemy's mart of Sabana, which, we have seen,<sup>1</sup> if not actually *Sabah* itself, must have stood very near it. Indeed, the *Shē-p'o* said in the same passage to be near the capital of Malacca may be this very place *Sabah*. In any case, if this last was no part of *Shē-p'o*, the southern boundary of the country so named cannot have lain very far to the north; for at short distances in that direction existed, on either coast of the Peninsula, the States of *Ho-hing*, and *P'o-ta*, and *Ho-lo-tan*, and *Po-huang*, which we have seen are in Chinese records either located on *Shē-p'o* territory or closely connected with it.

inland of it\*, or with the name of the *Jakun* tribes inhabiting that territory, or it may have a totally different origin as yet not clear to me. Similar toponymics are *Siyaru*, the name of the island otherwise known as *Paput*, lying close to the north-west coast of Sumatra right opposite Malacca town, *Jangkul Sekra*, *Senger* (river, Port Weld), *Sanglar*, *Sungai*, *Singkel*, the *Jung-ya-lu* pepper producing district of Chao Ju-kua (see p. 451 ante), etc. *Jāngala* or *Jāngala* was the name of one of the most ancient and celebrated kingdoms in Java, of tribes in India and Indo-China, etc.

\* "Johol originally included Jempol and the whole watershed of the Mear as far as the Pālong on one side and Mount Ophir on the other, having on the north and west common boundaries with Jeklu, Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Nāning (the latter now included Malacca)." — *Journal Straits Branch R. A. S.*, No. 13, p. 245.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 100-101. From a note by Takakusu (op. cit., p. alius) it would appear that Chao Ju kua also mentions *Ta Shē-p'o* (*Mahā Java* or *Java Besar*?)

There occurs, furthermore, a passage in Sung history which indirectly supplies us with the confirmation as to the boundaries of *Shê-p'o* stretching so far south as *Sabah* or thereabouts. This happens because the passage in question fixes the position of 州眉流, *Chou-mei-lu*, or 丹眉流, *Tan-mei-lu*, in relation to other countries—among them *Shê-p'o*,—giving either the sailing or overland distance to each of them<sup>1</sup>. As, contrary to Sinologists who have never succeeded in pointing out even approximately the location of the State just mentioned, we have in these pages established beyond doubt its identity with the present *Ch'i-mi-hla* and Ptolemy's *Têmala* within Cape Negrais,<sup>2</sup>

sailing distances we propose to take as a basis for our calculations —

- 1 Southwards from *Chou-mei-luu* there are 15 days (or stages) to 羅越, *Lo-yüeh*
- 2 South-eastwards from *Chou-mei-luu* there are 45 days (or stages) to *Shê-p'o*
- 3 North-eastwards from *Chou-mei-luu* there are 135 days (or stages) to *Kicang-chou* (Canton)

Now, the actual sailing distance from *Ch'i-mi-hla* (mouth of the Bassein River) to Canton, measured along the usual sea-route on a modern chart, is 2,700 miles, which, apportioned among the 135 stages set down in the Chinese account, yields us a ratio of 20 miles a stage, i.e. about the same result we have obtained from the Chinese itineraries previously examined. On the basis of this rate it is easy to calculate by elementary processes the distances we require. These become fixed as follows —

- 1 Distance from *Ch'i-mi-hla* to *Lo-yueh*, 15 stages  $\times$  20 miles = 300 miles
- 2 Distance from *Ch'i-mi-hla* to *Shê-p'o*, 45 stages  $\times$  20 miles = 900 miles

Setting these measurements on a chart from the mouth of the Bassein River southwards along the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, we obtain for —

- 1 *Lo-yueh*, a location a little above Mergui<sup>1</sup>
- 2 *Shê-p'o*, a location about *Sabah* on the Bernam River

There is therefore every likelihood, as we surmised, that Sabah is the *Shê-p'o* meant by the Sung annalists in the case at hand; and it becomes evident, at all events, that the *Shê-p'o* they had in view was the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and not at all the island of Java.

I-tsing, we have seen, entirely ignores *Shê-p'o* and merely mentions *Hô-lung* or *Po lung*, by which term, as pointed out above (p. 181), he very likely means *Gelang* (Galang) or *Puling* Cape, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula (4° N lat.); and, in any case, the eastern limit of the real *Hô-lung* State, which may have extended to that point or thereabouts. The only full itineraries he gives to and from India, with the sailing distances when recorded, are four, as follows.—

1. Tonkin to *Lang-ka-hsü* (Langkachiü near C'hump'hön, east coast Malay Peninsula);<sup>1</sup> thence to *Ho-ling*, and onward viâ *Lo-luo* (Nikobārs)<sup>2</sup> to Tāmraliptī (western part of the Delta of the Ganges).<sup>3</sup>
2. Tonkin to *Shih-li-Fo-shih* (Palembang), 30 days; thence to *Mo-lo-yu*, 15 days, and to *Ka-ch'a*, 15 days; then change of course to westward, making Nāgapattān in 30 days; thence across to Ceylon, 2 days.<sup>4</sup>
3. Canton to *Fo-shih* (Palembang) with the first monsoon, 20 days; thence to *Mo-lo-yu*; thence, changing direction, to *Ka-ch'a*; thence, taking a northern course, to *Lo-luo* (Nikobārs), in somewhat more than 10 days; thence, steering north-west, to Tāmraliptī in about 15 days (A D 671-672).<sup>5</sup>
4. Return voyage from the last-named seaport: Tāmraliptī, on a south-east course to *Ka-ch'a*, 60 days; thence, in a southerly direction to *Mo-lo-yu*, 30 days; thence to Canton in about 30 days (A D. 685 and 689).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See for our identification of this place p 115 *ante* and, for a more exhaustive discussion, my article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1901, pp 157, 158

<sup>2</sup> *Ide supra*, pp 380 seqq

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes' "Religieux Éminents," p 100 Tāmraliptī = modern Tamluk, on the west of the Hugli river near its mouth

<sup>4</sup> Chavannes, *op cit*, pp 141 and 130, in which latter it is shown that the starting-place was *Shen-wan* on the Tonkin Gulf (for our remarks on which place see pp 250-251 above) The distance thence to Palembang is about 1,500 miles which gives an average of some 50 miles a day That from Palembang to Nāgapattān, round by the north coast of Sumatra, is about 1,960 miles, which, apportioned over 60 days, the total length of the run, yields some 32 to 33 miles a day on the average It should be noted however, that in the Straits, owing to frequent calms and less freedom of navigation, the rate of speed must naturally be less than the above

<sup>5</sup> Chavannes, *op cit*, pp 119-121, in which the passage from the Nikobars to Tāmraliptī is put down at over half a lunation, and Takakusu's "Record of the Buddhist Religion," etc, from I-tsing's work, pp xxx-xxxi, where it is said "in about half a month's sail," undoubtedly a too small estimate (see, in fact, next note) The distance from Canton to Palembang varies between 1,700 and 1,800 miles, according to the course taken This yields an average of 85 to 90 miles a day, which does not surprise, as the passage was made with the first break of the monsoon, usually very violent The passage from the Nikobars to Tāmraliptī (real distance 900 to 950 miles) was also a very quick one

<sup>6</sup> Chavannes, *op cit*, p 123, and Takakusu, *op cit*, pp xxxi-xxxv Here, we see, 60 days were spent in reaching *Ka-ch'a* from Tāmraliptī, as against 25 (or perhaps 30) in the outward journey (Itinerary No 3) In A D 1545 it took Hsü I-tzu 40 days to accomplish about the same journey (see above p 400) The passage from *Ka-ch'a* to *Mo-lo-yu* is, it will be observed, here put down at

The points of most absorbing interest for us here are the determination of the positions of *Ka-ch'a* and *Mo-lo-yu*, so far only leisurely guessed by our Sinologists. *Ka-ch'a*, 訶茶 (*K'et-ch'a*, *K'ik-la*, *K'et-tra*), I have identified with *Kerti*, anciently *Katre*,<sup>1</sup> on the homonymous river, a little to the east of Pāsei (north coast of Sumatra). The settlement of this moot point at once clears the ground for the further determination of the site of 木里港, *Mo-lo-yü* (*Mat-lo-yü*, *Mat-la-yu*), or 木里港, *Mo-lo-yu* (*Mut-lo-yau*, *Mat-lo-yu*, *Mat-la-yu*, or *Mat-ra-yu*), as the term is severally spelled in I-tsing's works.<sup>2</sup> For this place, being met with, on his own showing, at about half-way from *Ka-ch'a* (*Katre*) to *To-shih* or *Shih-li To-shih* (Palembang), very likely somewhat nearer to the latter seaport on account of its distance from *Ka-ch'a* being variously given (see above) as 15 and 30 days' sailing, it must be looked for on either shore of the strait between

30 days, or double the time given in Itinerary No. 2. In comparison with this, 30 days from *Mo-lo-yu* to Canton is a very creditable performance, and must have been done, as on the outward journey, with a highly favourable wind. In connection with these singularly quick passages (compared with those set down in other Chinese works and discussed in the preceding pages), it should be observed that they were mostly made in Persian, Arab, or Malay, and not (except in but one or two instances) in Chinese ships. The outward journey from Canton to Palembang was accomplished, as I-tsing himself says, on a Persian vessel (see Takakusu, *op cit*, p. xxviii). That from Palembang to *Mo-lo-yü*, and thence onward to *Ka-ch'a* and Bengal, was done in a ship supplied to I-tsing by the King of Palembang (*ibid*, p. xxx). Similarly, that from *Ka-ch'a* to *Mo-lo-yü*, on the return voyage, was again performed in a vessel from Palembang (*ibid*, p. xxxiv). This fully explains the discrepancies in the rate of speed noticed in previous itineraries.

<sup>1</sup> The name by which its river is mentioned in the "Sejarah Melayu" (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 78), whence we learn that on its banks was situated the palace of the Paser king Marre in his "Histoire des Rois de Passey," p. 120, spells the name *Katare*. The late Rev S Benl and others have, *more solito*, jumped at once to the conclusion that *Ka-ch'a* is, of course, that hub of the universe, Kedah. So lately, also, Professor Schlegel, in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, p. 290. Chavannes, *op cit*, pp. 105-106, has perceived the untenability of such an utterly unjustified identification, and Takakusu, rightly judging that *Ka-ch'a* must be looked for to the south of *Lo-luo* (the *Nikobars*), has vaguely suggested its location "somewhere on the Atchin coast" (*op cit*, p. xxx), and in his sketch map has marked it close to the coast of Achin. I may here point out, for the guidance of those who connect *Ka-ch'a* with Kedah, that the name of the latter place appears in the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips, wherein it is spelled 吉達. *Ch'ia ta* (*K'it-tat*).

<sup>2</sup> See Chavannes, *op cit*, p. 119, n. 2.

the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Measurements taken on a chart lead us on the one side to Tanjong Tuan (Cape Rachado), a little above Malacca,<sup>1</sup> and on the other to Pulo Rupert (or Segaro) and the Sumatran hinterland between Siak and Rakan. This, be it understood, if we adopt the statement as to *Mo-lo-yu* lying at 15 days' sailing from *Ka-ch'a* and at an equal distance from Palembang; that is to say, at exactly half-way from these two points. But the other statement assigning instead 30 days to the passage from *Ka-ch'a* to *Mo-lo-yu* fully justifies us in locating the latter place somewhat lower down Malacca Strait. Such being the case, I am bound to declare right off that on the tract of Sumatran coast under consideration we find no record or sign of a place identically or similarly named ever having existed. On the contrary, we have plenty of evidence that one or more places of such a denomination stood on the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, and precisely on the Old Strait of Singapore and its immediate neighbourhood. The writers who have preceded us in the treatment of this knotty question had nothing to go by but the bare statement of João de Barros mentioning a *Tana-Malayu* along with a number of other petty States on the Island of Sumatra.<sup>2</sup> On the strength of this and of a passage in Alboquerque's Commentaries informing us that, in the language of Java, Palembang is called *Malayo*, they thought to have made an exceedingly clever hit in connecting these names with I-tsing's *Mo-lo-yu* or *Mo-lo-yü*. Truly,

<sup>1</sup> This was probably the site of the lower *Lo yueh*, as we have pointed out above, p. 525. Whether the term *Lo-yueh* here has any connection with *Mo-lo-yu* or *Mo-lo-yu* being a contracted form of it, remains to be seen. It is not altogether impossible.

<sup>2</sup> "Asia," Decada iii, pt. 1, pp. 510-511. The places enumerated—said to be states or kingdoms—are twenty-nine. The list starts from Daya (Daya) on the west coast of Sumatra a little below Achin, and, following the north and eastern shores of the island, rounds its southern end, and proceeds up the west coast, where it terminates. It seems, however, doubtful if this order is rigorously adhered to in every instance. If it is in the case of Palembang and Tana-Malayu then the latter, being mentioned next to Palembang, should be looked for to the south of it. But this is absurd, and Tana-Malayu was most certainly the district on the river Malayu, inland from Palembang, and Alboquerque's *Malayo*, as we shall see directly.



commentator's) passage anent *Mo-lo-yü* having in, or shortly before, his time become *Shuk-li Fo-shih* is, therefore, that it had been annexed by the latter; that is, became part and parcel of the latter's dominions. This view is perfectly consistent with the early history of Palembang, which, we shall demonstrate further on, was the seat of the potentate so often referred to by Arab writers as the *Mahrāj* (*Mahārāja*), who ruled over an empire extending all over the northern portion of the Archipelago.

Otherwise, we should have to assume that in I-tsing's time—as in Alboquerque's and De Barros' periods—there were two *Malāyu* countries, of which one comprised part of Palembang and the other the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula. But such does not seem to have been the case either during I-tsing's (A.D. 671–695) or his annotator's (A.D. 951–960) time.<sup>1</sup> The name *Malāyu* had then not as yet, apparently, travelled down so far south or crossed over the Straits to Sumatra, but was still lingering on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, making ready to cross whenever a favourable opportunity should present itself, which was not slow to come.

Having thus disposed of our predecessor's untenable view as to I-tsing's *Mo-lo-yü* being situated on the east coast of Sumatra, and assumed that its location must have been in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, it becomes necessary to demonstrate that a State of such a name existed here of old. Subjoined, then, is our original evidence for it, which goes many a year further back than Alboquerque's and De Barros' time.

1. The 'Koṭ Monthīrabān' (*Kaṭa Maṇḍira-pala*) or 'Palatine Law' of Siām, enacted in A.D. 1360 by the king who had a decade before founded the capital Ayuthia

<sup>1</sup> The distance of thirty days (equal to the whole distance Kerti-Palembang) given in one instance by I-tsing from *Ka ch'a* to *Mo lo yü*, would seem to lend support to the hypothesis of two *Mo-lo-yü* States existing in his time, the second one of which was Palembang itself or part of it. But I think, after all, that such a discrepancy can be satisfactorily explained by the variable state of the weather encountered on the journey, which caused the passage to be at times quick and at others very slow. Of similar discrepancies we have several instances in the itineraries themselves of that pilgrim.

(*Ayuddhya*), gives full lists of the States then tributary to Siām, both in the north and south. Among the States of the south (Malay Peninsula), one bearing the name of *Malāyū* is mentioned, the order being as follows:—

- (1) *Ujōng Tānah* (known afterwards as Johor)
  - (2) *Malākā* (= Malacca).
  - (3) *Malāyū*.
  - (4) *Woracārī* (Varavārī = Muīr? *vide supra*, p. 495).
- Total, four States<sup>1</sup>

This source of information is authoritative enough to admit of no question. We may accordingly take it as positive that there was in A.D. 1360—and probably far earlier—a State named *Malāyu* or *Malāyū* in the south of the Malay Peninsula.

2. The (Chinese) history of the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty states that, in the first year of the Yuan Chêng period—i.e. A.D. 1295—of Ch'êng Tsung's (Timūr's) reign the king of 暹國, *Siem-līroh*, i.e. Siām (the capital of which was then at Sukhōthai), sent a letter written on a golden plate, praying that the Court might send an envoy to his country. As the Siānese had for a long time lived in feud and war with 麻里子兒, *Ma-li-yū-érh*, and this country had now returned to allegiance, the Emperor enjoined the Siānese that they should no longer molest *Ma-li-yu-érh*, in accordance with their promise<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Siam, 6th Siamese edition, Bangkok, 1888, vol. II, p. 72. A widely different list is given at the outset of the *Chronicles of Ayuthia* (Siamese edition 1863, vol. 1, p. 21), but this work having been compiled only recently, from motley materials of not always proved authenticity, pieced up in a somewhat happy-go-lucky way, it cannot be invariably relied upon, especially for the older periods. The list in question runs as follows:—(1) *Malākā* (2) *C'hauca* (Java), (3) *Sor-gkha* (Sunkhala or Sngora). The names left out belong either to States on the north of Siam or on the Malay Peninsula that were governed by viceroys (Tavoy, Tenasserim, Lagor). *C'hauca* stands apparently here for either of the three districts of *Ujōng Tānah*, *Malāyu* and *Varavārī*, or for the whole of them, but this is by no means certain.

<sup>2</sup> *Tsung Pao*, vol. IX, p. 289. Professor Schlegel here translates 'a letter written in golden characters,' which, although it may be a correct rendering of the original, is historically inaccurate. Royal letters of State in Siam have always been written not in golden characters, but with vermillion, or else engraved, on a golden plate which was afterwards rolled up and put into a casket adapted to the purpose.

Here *Ma li yu-erh*—or, still better, *Malaya-iāa*, *Malayur*—cannot evidently be aught but the *Malāyu* mentioned above, which, having returned to allegiance on or shortly before A.D. 1295, was still a tributary in 1360. Its existence thus becomes proved for at least another century further back, considering that in 1295 Siūm had already long been at feud and war with it<sup>1</sup>.

3 Marco Polo sailed, just two or three years before that, from Champī across to *Locat* or *Lochac* (Legeh or Latcha, see above, p. 497), on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, proceeding thence southwards by way of the two islands of *Petam* (Bintang and Batang or Batam, in my opinion), until he reached the island of *Pentam*, where he found a king, with a city named *Malaur* (Malla vira?). Now, the itinerary followed by the great Venetian traveller from Champī to the Straits has never been satisfactorily determined. The identifications of *Locat* and the *Petam* islands given above are entirely my own, and so are those of *Pentam* and *Malaur*, both of which I locate on the north shore of the Old Singapore Strait, this being, in my judgment the route taken by Marco Polo's junk. An important village named *Bentan* exists on that Strait in long 103° 53' E, as well as a river *Malayu*, only a few miles further to the west (long 103° 42' E), but probably the place our traveller had in view was the opposite island of Singapore, the ancient *Bētumah*,<sup>2</sup> while *Malaur*, given by him as the name of the king's capital, was more likely that of the realm—evidently the *Ma li yu erh* and *Malayu* of the two preceding paragraphs.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the position of the puzzling State of *Mo lo yu*, *Ma li yu erh*, or *Malaur*, was at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, and precisely on

<sup>1</sup> I should think this *Ma li yu erh* is not the Kota *Mel ges* or *Mel yes* of the *Sejarah Melayu* (see above, p. 490) the capital of a State occupying the site where Patani rose in, or shortly before A.D. 1500. The way in which the name is spelled in Chinese argues an original form something like *Mālyā vira* *Malaja-vira* or *Malajir* hence it is almost beyond doubt the same place as Marco Polo's *Malaur*.

<sup>2</sup> See above pp. 199-200.

the north shore of the Old Singapore Strait,<sup>1</sup> where, besides the Malāyu River, time-worn traditions of a *Malaya* or *Malaya-terra* country and people, of a *Malaya-dēpa* (Malaya island or continent), and of a *Tūnah Malāyu* confront the unbeliever. And, as my predecessors have chosen to ensconce themselves behind Albuquerque and De Barros, I shall also in my turn betake myself to as good a contemporary authority to pit against theirs. The king of Achin, says Bocarro under date July, A.D. 1613, was met in the Straits by the Portuguese at the head of a great fleet with which he had taken the city of Johor and conquered the kingdom of *Malaio* (Malāyu), capturing the *Rajaramsa* (Ratabonço), brother to the king of Johor, the principal warlike personage among the *Malaio*s (Malājūs).<sup>2</sup> This passage plainly shows that at the period the events alluded to occurred the kingdom of *Malāyu* was Johor, the native State in the south of the Malay Peninsula that was the historical continuation of the medieval Malacca, and,

<sup>1</sup> This narrow passage between the island of Singapore and the mainland was invariably used by western ships bound to the China Sea, until some time after 1615, the date at which the wider and easier passage now known as the Strait of Singapore was discovered. This was at first termed by the Portuguese *Estreito do Governador*, from the fact of Dom João da Silva, the Spanish governor of Manila, having passed through it on his galleon shortly after its discovery, in March of that same year, 1615. This first attempt was not altogether without a hitch, since the governor's galleon grounded on the reef at the point of the strait and was grazed by the top of it, though not sustaining any serious injury (See Bocarro's "Década 13 da Historia da India," Lisboa, 1876, p. 428.)

As regards the Old Strait or *Selat Tebran* (a name queerly transcribed *Sel'eta de Bruu* by Hamilton in 1727), it was still passed in 1599 on his way from Macao to Goa by Carletti, who describes it as so narrow that from the ship one could jump ashore, or reach with the hand the branches of the trees on either side. His vessel struck on a shoal whilst in the channel ("Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti" Firenze, 1701, p. 209.) As late as 1822 Crawford went through the same passage, for curiosity's sake, in a ship of 400 tons, and found the journey tedious but safe. This was therefore, in the old days the only known route to China, and Marco Polo must have also passed this way on his homeward voyage. I do not think, however, that the credit of the discovery of the new Strait belongs to the Portuguese, for, from an examination of the sea-routes on the Chinese map of circa 1399 published by Phillips, I found out that a course is there laid down through this channel. Hence this must have been well known to the Chinese at that date.

<sup>2</sup> "E chegando aos Estreitos achou o Achem com uma grande armada com que tinha tomado a cidade de Jor, e conquistado o reino da Malaio e captivo o Ratabonço, irmão d'elrei de Jor, a principal pessoa de guerra entre os malaioes."—*Década 13 da Historia da India*, Lisboa, 1876, p. 165.

through it, of the older realm of Singapore and of the still more ancient one of Malāyu, on the Old Singapore Strait, the name and territory of which it inherited and handed down to later ages

I might go on but for want of space, quoting other authorities in support of my thesis, and give besides a fair amount of circumstantial evidence. I trust, however, to have already made out a clear case, and shall therefore limit myself to presenting the principal points chronologically arranged in the subjoined synoptical table —

#### OUTLINE HISTORY OF MALAYU AS A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNICAL TERM

- circa 100-150 Maleu Kolon (Cape) = *Malayakolam*, *Malai kurrani* (Ptolemy, *supra*, pp 101-105) On the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, about 4° N lat (Tanjung Gelang)
- 672 Mo lo yu, Mo lo yu, or Mo lo yuu, 末羅瑜 or 末羅遊 (I tsing)<sup>1</sup> (Chavannes, *op cit*, p 119 Takakusu *op cit*, p xxxix) On the southern end of the Malay Peninsula and north side of the Old Singapore Strait near the Sungai (river) Malayu Subject to the domination of *Fo shih* (Palembang)
- 1154 MALĀI, مَلَايَ, island or peninsula, very extensive, lying twelve days' sail from *Sanf* or *Champ*: (Edrisi), (Jaubert's "Géographie d'Edrisi," pp 86, 92-93) Very probably the southern part (if not the whole) of the Malay Peninsula<sup>2</sup>
- circa 1180 MALAYA Country, in which the king of *Ramañña* (Pegu) imprisoned the Ceylonese envoys sent to *Kamboja* ("Mahāvamsa" ch lxxvi) This is from the translation of parts of that chapter published by Professor Rhys Davids in the *Journ As Soc Bengal*, vol xli, pt 1, p 198 Wyesinha ("The Mahāvamsa" Colombo 1889, p 229) takes *Malaya* in its literal sense of hull and thus translates 'he [the Ramañña

<sup>1</sup> Cf 末羅瑜, *Mo lo* = *Malla* i.e. the Malla people in North India (see f tel's "Handbook" p 93) whence the correct reading would appear to be *Malaya*. The Cantonese pronunciation of the term *Mut-lo-yau* faintly suggests some possible connection with *Mut Jawa* *Mal yau*, but more probably *Mo yau* *Mo yau* is meant.

<sup>2</sup> Edrisi is the first Arab writer to mention the term *Malai*. Reinoud ("Géographie d'Abou-el-Idrisi" t I p cdxiii) takes it without sufficient justification on as the name of a people the *Malaya*. But it is instead a toponymic, *Malaya* or *Malaya* the land of the *Malaya* and not the people.

king] imprisoned them [the envoys] in a fortress in the hill country " This is manifest nonsense, that specification being in such a case a detail quite unnecessary for the purpose of the narrative I accordingly agree with Professor Rhys Davids in considering *Malaya* as a proper name, and take it to imply the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, over which Pegu may very likely have acquired some influence at the period, and in some seaport of which the king may easily have had the Ceylonese envoys to Kamboja kidnapped and imprisoned

- 1181 MALAYA DIPA = 'Malaya Island' (or Peninsula), (Kalyani Inscriptions of Pegu, *cide supra* p 81) A Buddhist country Evidently the same as Edrisi's Island of *Malat*
- 1274 MALĀYR or MALĀYUR, ملاير, a well known and frequented district near *Lameri*, لامري, in a bay, in about the same longitude as *Kalah* (Ibn Sa'id) (Van der Lith and M Devic's "Merveilles de l'Inde," p 258) As Ibn Sa'id's treatise is but an abridgement of Edrisi's, his *Malayr* or *MalaJur* is, no doubt, the same as Edrisi's *Malat* However, it is interesting to observe here for the first time the addition of an *r* at the end, which suggests a form *Malaja vāra*, hereafter almost invariably employed
- 1292 MALIUR, MALAVIR City, at  $60 + 30 = 90$  miles\* from *Petam* or *Pontain* Islands (Bintang and Batang), on an island named *Pentam* (*Betūmah* Bentan on north side of the Old Singapore Strait), a notable emporium (Marco Polo, see p 533) The Malayu Kingdom, same as in the above entries, on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait, about the mouth of the Sungai Malayu (Malayu River)
- 1292 MU LAI YU, 木來由 (Cant *Muk-lai yau*, NB 由 has the same sound as I t'ing's 提), a State to which Chinese envoys were sent to summon it to submission (Groeneveldt, *op cit*, p 155) Probably the same country as above\*

Otherwise it may be *Māl-Jawah*, which, according to Wassaf, submitted to China in 1292 ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp 241-2)

- 1293 MU LI or WU LI, 沒里, 巫里 (*Mut-lei, Mon-lei, Buri*), a State that sent a letter inscribed on a golden leaf to the Chinese emperor (Groeneveldt, op cit, p 152) Very likely *Wulah* or *Wailah*, west coast of Sumatra, a little above Malabu, although it may be a contracted form of 南巫里, *Nambu ri* = *Lambri* (see op cit, p 155)<sup>1</sup> It possibly is also somehow connected with *Mul Jawah* (see last entry, and also "Merveilles de l'Inde," p 243)

- 1295 MA-LI YU FER, 麻里子兒 (*Ma lei yu i, Ma li-u r*), a country which had long been at feud and war with Siam, but had now returned to allegiance (History of the Yuan Dynasty, see p 532) The same as in the preceding entries except the last two

- 1317-18 MALAMASHI, CALAMAK, otherwise *Panthen, Pathen, Paten*, or *Natani*, an island and kingdom near *Fana* (*Lana*, Java) and *Champā* (Odoric of Friuli) (Ramusio, op cit, vol II, f 247 verso, and De Bacher's 'L'Extreme Orient au Moyen Âge,' pp 107, 104) In my opinion, the same as Marco Polo's *Malatir* (city) and *Pentani* (island)

- 1332 MALĀIR or MALĀYUR ملاير, a city in the country of *Kalah*, in which are also the cities of *Iansur*, *Laiui* (= *Lo yueh*,

*Larevi*, Lārut ?),<sup>1</sup> and *Kalah* (Nowairi) ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp 258 and 281-2 for text)

- 1360 MALĀYŪ, a tributary State of Siam in the south (of the Malay Peninsula) ("Kot Monthierabal," Laws of Siam, see p 531) Undoubtedly the same as the preceding ones
- 1539 MALLAYO (Coast of) "Being departed from the River of *Parles* [Perlis, see p 481] . I reached to the Isles of *Pullo Sambalin* [Pulo Sembilan, abreast of the entrance to the Pêrak River], the first Land on the Coast of *Mallayo*" (Mendez Pinto's "Voyages," etc, London, 1692, p 24) This again shows that even in Pinto's time the country of Malāyu was in the south of the Malay Peninsula, commencing at the mouth of the Pêrak River, that is to say, in 4° N lat
- 1613 MALAYO (= Malāyu), the name given to the native kingdom of Johor in the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula (Bocarro, op cit, see p 534)
- 1763-1766 MALAYU a distant island, evidently the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, and same as *Malaya dīpa* referred to in the Kalyanī Inscriptions under the date A D 1181<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in the Burmese inscription of King Singu Min at the Modi monastery, south of Ava Therein this king states of his father, Sinbyuyin, who reigned A D 1763-1766, that "his dominion was so vast that tribute in the shape of spices reached him even from the distant island of *Malayu* in fleets of ships" ("Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava," Rangoon, 1899, p 167)
- 1750-1850 WU LAI, 無來 (MOU LAI), or 無來山, WU LAI-yau (*Mou lai yau*, *Mu lai yü*), meaning 'a vagabond,' used as a transcription for 'Malay' ("Hai kwo T'u chi," lib ix p 1<sup>3</sup>, and Giles' "Chinese Dictionary," p 1257, s.v. 12753)



The second transcript should be compared with the 木來由, *Mu-lai-yu*, of A.D. 1293, *supra*, with which it has the two last characters in common, while the initial ones in either differ but very slightly in sound. If, therefore, now employed to designate the Malays in general, or Malaya, the region they at present inhabit, it denoted in the past the *Malaya* district in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula.

Having now exhausted the Chinese sources at our disposal as regards the hitherto much debated location of 閩婆, *Shê-p'o*, Java, Jaba, or Saba, we may confidently conclude that there is absolutely no proof, in Chinese literature, of the Chinese having become acquainted with, or ever having made mention of, the Island of Java before the unsuccessful expedition sent thither by Kūblū Khān in A.D. 1292-93<sup>1</sup>. On the contrary, all evidence that we have before that period invariably points to the part of the Malay Peninsula below the Kra Isthmus as the site of the 'Insular'—read 'Peninsular'—Java, even Sumatra being almost entirely out of the question, in so far as Chinese

<sup>1</sup> The only arguments that can be set against this conclusion of ours are two, and they are of very little weight. One is the belated and unsubstantiated allegation of Ma Huan in his "Ying yai Sheng lan" (A.D. 1416), that "The country of 爪哇, *Chau wa* [i.e. the Island of Java] was formerly called 閩婆, *Shê p'o*" (Groeneveldt, *op cit*, p. 171)—at the best a mere guess, repeated in later compilations such as encyclopædias and the like, and accepted without question by our Sinologists to this day. (An exception must however, be made in favour of Professor Schlegel who says that "the Djava (*Shay po*) described in the Books of the Sung dynasty was a principality situated [somewhere] upon the Malay Peninsula"—*T'oung Pao* vol. x p. 304. As to the contrary view upheld by other Sinologists see it confuted by the Chinese writers themselves in the next note.)

The second argument alluded to is the circumstance we have already mentioned (see p. 480) of P'ei Hsin twice making use in his "Hsing ch'a Sheng-lan" (A.D. 1436) of the spelling 閩婆, *Shê p'o*, in lieu of 爪哇, *Chau wa*, in speaking of the Island of Java. But this is a mere fortuitous occurrence, caused no doubt, either by oversight or by a desire to render more closely the local form *Jawak* of the name of that island. On the Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips the Island of Java is most distinctly marked 爪哇國, *Chau-wa Kuo* i.e. the 'Country of Java'.

records are concerned.<sup>1</sup> It is further of the highest importance to note that even as late as A.D. 1378, 閩 婆, *Shē-p'ō*, whose king was then named 摩 那 駝 喃, *Mo-na-t'ō-nan* (*Māladhāna*, *Manidhāna*, or *Māladalam*, *Mara-dalam*?), is recorded to have sent envoys to bring tribute; this being the last time that *Shē-p'ō* was heard of. This country, in the opinion of the Chinese commentators themselves, is not *Chau-ica* or the Island of Java at all.<sup>2</sup> Hence it is very probable that we have here the last glimmering of *Tuba*, *Jaba*, or *Saba*, on the Malay Peninsula. With this I now bring to a conclusion the present inquiry into the location of the 'Insular' *Shē-p'ō* of the Chinese, appending summarized in a synoptical table, for greater facility of reference, the principal facts gathered anent its history and nomenclature from the sources alluded to.

<sup>1</sup> The only instances that could be brought forward as having some degree of probability of applying to Sumatra are Fa Hsien's *la-p'ō-t* (Yabade of Yabadio), a striking approach to Ptolemy's *Iabadiū*, and Chao Ju-kua's *Shē-p'ō* in so far as the pepper-producing districts located there by him are concerned (see above, pp 450-451). Chao Ju-kua may, however, have been mistaken in saying that such districts were in *Shē-p'ō*. Having no access to the full account he has left us of *Shē-p'ō* I am not able to judge how far this conjecture can be maintained. But even admitting he is correct, there would be nothing strange in his mentioning Sumatra under that name at a period (A.D. 1200-1258) not very far distant from those in which Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, and others similarly called that island *Java* or *Jauah*. And this could never be held as sufficient proof that the *Shē-p'ō* of preceding writers meant

RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY OF THE ONOMATOLOGY AND OUTLINE  
HISTORY OF THE 'INSULAP' SHI-P'U AND JOINT  
STATES ON THE MALAY PENINSULA FROM CHINESE  
SOURCES

A D

- 414 YAPOT<sup>1</sup>, 耶婆提 (Yabadı Yavadih[ rīja?], Yavaday[ a], Yavades, Yavadi[ pa] Yavadio) A country peopled by Brahmans and other heretics, where Buddhism is only sparsely practised (Fa Hsien) The text contains no evidence whatever as to this country being situated on an island or a continent It must be identified either with the east and north coasts of Sumatra Ptolemy's Iabadiu or with a portion of the seaboard of the Malay Peninsula on or about Malacca Strait
- 420-423 P'OTI, 婆達 (Vada Vata Bada Baddha Bata) a State, sends envoys to Court with tribute ("P'ei wen Yun-fu") Probably Taverniers *Bata - Bardia* (Koh Matta)? on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula abreast of Chumpuon
- 420-423 P'OHUANG, 婆皇 (Bawang Bahang) a State sends envoys (ibid)<sup>1</sup> Not far from the above May be Pahang or else its homonym further south on the Endau River (east coast of Malay Peninsula) Other possible equivalents are *Pago*, an ancient place now disappeared and district on the River Muar, and *Pinggan* further down the coast
- 424 SHI P'U 閩婆 (Jaba Saba Daba Java Sawa) visited by Gunavarman grandson of a former king of Kabul, on his way

<sup>1</sup> Both these extracts are culled from the *Ch'ien Han Shih* vol. xiii p. 33. Mr Lurker the translator adds that Kang hsi's list only mentions 勃達, P'otat (Put tat Paok tak Bul dat P'it tat or *Baldja Batta*) State existing during the Tang dynasty which may be one and the same with the above although the pronunciation would argue a form *Batta Battak* thus leading us to identify it with the country of the Patta or Battak in North Central Sumatra But this country seems to be referred to severally in *Chao Ju kua's* *Chu fan shih* (circa 1240) and the Kwang tung Tung chih (published 1693) as 拔浪 Pa ta (Pak tak Bat tap Battak?) See *T'oung Pao* for 1901 p. 13. The Battak according to Kolleevijn (Peknoptie Geschiedenis der Nederl. Indische Bezittingen) at the time when Hinduism penetrated to them formed a State in the north of Sumatra of which a remnant is still to be found in the little kingdom of *Bakara* on the Lake of Tobo

from Ceylon to China (Kwai Yuen catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, compiled in 730 A D) (See p 463) NB— This is the first mention of *Jaba* or *Saba* in this form, see next entry

- 430 SHĒ P'Ō, 閩 婆 (Jaba, Java, Saba, Sawa), an island, according to some versions, and district (*Shē p'Ō Chou*), according to others, on which the State of *Ho-lo-tan* (see next entry) was situated ("Sung shu," bk 97, Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 505)
- 430 HO LO TAN, 呵 羅 單 (Goladan, Kuladan, Hardalah), a State on the 'Island' of *Shē p'Ō*, sends envoys ("Sung shu," cited A D 500-513, bk 97, and Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 505) Possibly *Gurūt* in the Ghirba district, west coast of the Malay Peninsula (see pp 95, 97)
- 433 HO LO TAN Its king, Visva-varman, sends on a letter with presents A few years later he is deposed by his son (Ma Tuan lin, op cit, pp 505-6) The "Sung shu" appears to place the mission here referred to in the eleventh year *Yuan Chia* = A D 434
- 433 SHĒ P'Ō sends an embassy, according to the "Pien i tien" section (ch 97) of the "Tu shu ch'eng" Encyclopædia (compiled towards A D 1700) This mission, not being mentioned in the annals of the First Sung dynasty, the statement may be incorrect or else it is possible that this refers to the very embassy sent by *Ho lo tan*, in the *Shē p'Ō* country, and by mistake has been attributed to the king of that region itself
- 435 SHĒ P'Ō TA OR SHĒ P'Ō P'Ō TA, 閩 婆 達, or 閩 婆 婆 達; a State Its king, Sri Pūḍa dhara varman (or Siri Vāṭa-dhanavarman, Śaḥi vartivardhana varman?), sends envoys with presents ("Sung-shu," A D 500-513, bk 97, and "Nan shih," written about A D 650) Here, evidently, as I have explained (*supra*, pp 463 and 469) it is in reality a question either of two States, *Shē p'Ō* and *P'Ō ta*, which may have been under the same ruler, or else of a single one, *P'Ō ta* situated in *Shē p'Ō*, and accordingly designated *Shē p'Ō P'Ō-ta*, i.e. the *P'Ō-ta* [State] of *Shē-p'Ō*, in order to distinguish it from some other homonymous State in the neighbouring archipelago Ma Tuan lin mentions only one mission, which he ascribes to the State of *Shē p'Ō* alone (op cit, p 499) The editors of the "Pien i tien" (1700) state that according to the "Ming-wai shih" (1459) *Shē p'Ō*

was formerly called *She p'o ta*, that during the T'ang dynasty it was called *Ho ling* or *Tu p'o* (Tuba, Dava) the king whereof dwelt in the city of *She p'o* (Saba, Jaba), and so forth in a light way (see *T'oung Pao*, vol x, p 298) These rapprochements should not be taken too literally, although the States named were all neighbours, if not actually conterminous, being all situated on the southern half of the Malay Peninsula It is interesting to notice in this connection that the third and fourth letters of the ruling king's name *P'o ta*, are identical with those employed to write the name of the *P'o ta* State This may, however, be merely a coincidence and the originals of the two transcripts may convey totally different meanings

- 436 *HO LO TAN* sends new envoys It must have been the son of the lately deposed king (see under *A D* 433) who despatched them (*Ma Tuan lun*, op cit, p 506)
- 449 *P'o TA* Embassy sent by its ruler, *Sri Pulunga* (*Bhrnga*, *Bhulinga* or *Palamga*) varman<sup>1</sup> by name, who thus receives investiture (*ibid*, p 507)
- 449 *P'o HWANG* King *Sri* (or *Sah*) *Bala* varman despatches a mission to apply for investiture, which he obtains (*ibid* p 507)
- 449 *HO LO TAN* *P'o HWANG* and *P'o TA* mentioned in one breath in a decree of Emperor *Wen ti* and praised for their zeal Honoric titles are conferred upon their rulers which are sent on in charge of officials of the Chinese Court (*ibid*, p 506)
- 451 *P'o TA* renews its homage to the Chinese Emperor (*ibid.*, p 508) This State is not mentioned after this date
- 451 *P'o HWANG* again sends envoys to Court (*ibid* p 507)
- 452 *HO LO TAN* A grandee of this kingdom *Vara Svami* (or *P'brah Sami*) appears at Court as ambassador, bringing tribute (*ibid* p 506) From this date no further mention of intercourse with *Ho lo ta* occurs in Chinese history
- 456 }  
 459 } *P'o HWANG* sends envoys with tribute at each of these  
 463 } dates (*loc cit*) No further embassy is recorded after 466  
 466 }

舍利不陵伽跋摩 The term *P'li g* or *B'lang* here suggests a connection with *Palamga* or *Balongka* (*s pra* pp 111 115) thus somewhat increasing the probability that *P'o-ta* or *Data* is really the neighbouring *Bard a* marked abreast of *C hump hen Bay* in the old maps (probably *Mattrra Island* or *Koh Mattrra*)

- 631-640 YEN-MO-LA (or YEN MO-LO)-Chou Kwo, 閩摩那 (or 羅) 洲國, or *Ye mei-ni*, 野寐尼 *Yamana* (Yama, or Yamunī?) *dvīpa pura* = the island kingdom of *Yamana* (or Yama), or *Yamani* (Yāmi, Yāminī), an island or district, lying to the south west of *Mahu Campu* (Hwen Tsang or Yuan-chwang) In my opinion the same as *Yama dvīpa* of the "Vayu Purāṇa" (which may be identical with the *Ramanaka-dvīpa* of the Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas) Possibly the country and city of *Dharmaraja* (= Yama), i.e. Ligor (see p 109), east coast of the Malay Peninsula, if not Sumatra (Yabana, Yavani dvīpa?), the *Prathama Yava*, or simply *Yava*, of the Pāgar rūyung inscription of A.D. 656
- 647 T'u r'o or Sui r'o, 杜婆, 社婆, 閩婆 (Tuba, Daba, Saba) the alternative name of a State otherwise known as 訶陵, *Ho ling* (Galing Gariang), and the name also of its present capital (which formerly was more to the east—or west, according to other versions—at 婆露伽斯, *P'o lu ka ss* = Prakāsa near Ghurba? see p 95), latitude 6° 29' N This State comes to Court with tribute ("Chiu Tang shu," bk 197, and "Hsin T'ang shu," bk 222)<sup>1</sup> Probably the tract of west coast of the Malay Peninsula about *Genong Geriang* and abreast of Pulo Tuba (Langkawi group)
- 664-5 Ho ling or Po ling, 訶陵 or 波凌 (Giling Balang, Buling) A State between *Lang ka hsü*, 郎迦我 (Langkachu = Chump'hön, see p 115), and *Mo lo yu* 末羅瑜 (Malayū), (I t'ang) Probably the east coast of the Malay Peninsula at Tanjong Gelang or Puling, 4° N lat, and perhaps the eastern portion of the country of *Ho ling* referred to in the preceding entry
- 674 Ho ling Queen Simā reigns there, presumably the same as Queen Sīmā-devī, who was at about the same period ruling at Rū (Yay)
- 767 T'u r'o or Sui r'o (Daba Saba, Davaka) Its people, conjointly with those of *Ku lun* (or *K'un lun*), invade and plunder the capital of Tonkin (*Kiau chau* = at that time being *Long bien*, the western portion of the present city of Hanoi) Defeated by the Chinese troops at *Chou-ri'en*

<sup>1</sup> Although no precise date is given in the account of *Ho ling* except an indication of the period—*Chang kuan* = A.D. 637-642—it is added that contemporaneously with the envoys from *Ho ling* there arrived in China those from *Tu-p'o-t'ing* who in the account of this State are said to have been sent in the twenty-first year of the *Cheng kwan* period = A.D. 647

(Des Michels' "Annales Impériales de l'Annam," p 169) The country here referred to is the highland *Java*, *Dava*, or *Davaka* in Upper Burma (see pp 55, 467 *ante*) and the expedition seems to have taken place by land *Ku lun* or *K'un lun* here presumably includes both the Great and the Little *K'un lun*, i.e. the eastern portion of the Peguan coast, and the western seaboard of the Malay Peninsula, as far south as Takopa or Papra Strait<sup>1</sup>

- 774 SUE P'Ō? "Very dark and thin men coming from another country in ships" rob the Langa of Kauthara and destroy the temple of the goddess Po Nagar (Bhīḡavati) at Nā trang (Southern Camp). Pursuing them King Satyavarman gains a complete naval victory over them (Chām inscription, No 407) Although the nationality of these robbers is not mentioned, it is probable they came either from the Malay Peninsula or the islands near it. See preceding entry and the one after next
- 776-779 HO LING Sends three envoys to China between these two dates ("Hsin Tang shu," bk 222, pt 11)
- 787 JAVA The armies of *Java* 'arriving in ships' (*na lagatair Jara-calasamglah*), burn the temple of Śiva at Pandurāṅga (This temple, dedicated to Bhadrādhīpatisvara, stood at about nine miles westward of Panrang in Būn twōn. It was rebuilt in 799 under the name of Indrabhadreśvara—Cham inscription No 397) Both Prof Bergaigne and Commandant Aymonier readily take *Java* here to mean the Island of Java (*Journal Asiatique* 1888 p 56 and *History of Tchampa* p 10) an absolutely chimerical assumption for which there is not the slightest foundation. Certainly either the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra are meant
- 802 JAVA Jayavarman II, king of Kamboja who ascends the throne this year 'came from *Java* a dependency (?) of his to which he probably undertook a journey or led an armed expedition (Khmer inscription of the Sdok Kok Thom temple

<sup>1</sup> For *Ta K' l* and *Hsiao K' l* see pp 89 90 also pp 103 and 260. The king of Little *K' n l* at the period in question is stated to have been called *Mo g Ta let* and that of Great *K' n l* *Tu Lo bak* (see Aymonier's *History of Tchampa* reprinted from the *Asiat. Quarterly Review* July 1893 p 9 of the reprint). No native characters being given for these names it becomes impossible to institute any comparison. Aymonier readily fancies this to be an invasion of Tonkin from the coasts of Southern China [sic] by hordes of Malays and Japanese notwithstanding that the native commentators to the Annals add a note clearly explaining that the invaders came from *D lā* the *C'ā lā* of the mountains also known as *D'it lā* (i.e. *T' lā* see pp 31 and 466)

A D 1032) Aymonier here again too rashly assumes that it is a question of the Island of Java (*Excursions et Reconnaissances* No 20, p 283, "Actes du XI<sup>ème</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes" 2<sup>ème</sup> Section p 192), whereas it is not unlikely—considering the political influence that Kamboja had had for centuries on the Malay Peninsula—that this is the country meant, or else Sumatra, but never the Island of Java. Besides, this alleged dependency of *Jatā* on Kamboja is by no means proved. That the reverse was more likely the case appears from the translation of the Khmer portion of that inscription which Aymonier has since I wrote the above, given in his "Cambodge" (vol II Paris 1901, pp 263-264). After the statement that H M Paramēśvara (Jayavarman II) came from *Jatā* in order to reign and reside at *Nagara Indrapura* the document in question goes on to say that during the reign of the same monarch (circa A D 802-859) Hiranayadīna a learned Brahman came from the *Janapada* (probably in India) at the King's own invitation, because the King desirous of giving up the treatises (ritual books) which evidenced the dependence of Kamboja on *Jatā*, wanted him to frame rules for a new ceremonial more suitable to a *cakravartin* (universal emperor). Notwithstanding Aymonier's view that the dependence referred to in the text must thus have been merely 'moral' it seems to me that the only logical inference that can be drawn is, that prior to that the Kambojan kings had not been independent rulers but vassals, somehow, of *Jatā*, of which they had been compelled to follow the ritual laid down for her tributary princes. It is thus more than probable that we have here an unmistakable indication of that punitive expedition undertaken against Kamboja by the Mahārāja of *Zabey* of which Abu Zaid left us the record—a tradition, he says handed down from the old times (*vide supra*, pp 212-213). As his informant visited the country about A D 870-880, the event must have taken place at least one century before, thus being perhaps contemporary with the attack of *Jatā* on Panrang in A D 787. And as he adds that since that period the kings of *Kmar* (Kamboja) used every morning to turn towards *Zabey* and do homage to the Mahārāja, it becomes at once clear what the passage referred to above in the inscription meant about dependency on *Jatā*. I am accordingly inclined to take it that in the case in point *Jatā* means Sumatra for there it was as we shall demonstrate in due course, that the *Zabey* empire had its centre



- 802 Sŭi p'ò Sends a mission to the Chinese Court Her envoys give the Chinese an account of *P'iau* (Lower Burmā) Evidently a country on the Malay Peninsula (see p 467)
- 813 Ho-LING Presents four *Séng ch'í* slaves (*lakkhōn* actors) and other curiosities ("Hsin T'ang shu," bk 222 pt 1) (See p 506)
821. SHE P'ò offers tribute to Emperor Mu Tsung in the tenth month of this year ("Chiu T'ang shu, Mu Tsung Chi," ch 16)
- 827-835 Ho LING sends envoys with tribute between these dates ("Hsin T'ang shu," bk 222, pt. 1)
- 860-873 Ho LING despatches an embassy to present female musicians (*lakkhōn* girls) (*ibid*) From this moment all record about intercourse with this State ends, and the field is occupied by *She p'ò* alone

## LATER HISTORY OF SHE-P'Ò

- 904-5 Sŭi p'ò *San fo ch'í* (Palembang) is stated to lie between *Chén-la* (Kamboja) and *Shé p'ò* ("Sung-shih," bk 489)
- 971 Sŭi p'ò People from this country come to trade at Canton ("Sung-shih") (See p 515)
- 990-1 Sŭi p'ò Invades *San fo ch'í* (east coast of Sumatra at and to the north of Palembang) (*ibid*, and "Pien-i tien," 98)
- 992 Sŭi p'ò In the twelfth month of this year its king, 穆羅茶, *Mu lo ch'a* (Malaja, Mahrīja), sends an embassy headed by a personage, 陀世, *T'ò chan* (Dacham, Datam), by name, and led by a Chinese shipowner from Chien-ch'í (in Fuh lun) The envoy mentions that his sovereign bears the title of 夏王, *Hsia chih Ma lo yò* (Adhi Ma[hā]-rāja or Adhi-Malaya?), and that the kingdom has as

all his Indianist colleagues naturally takes it to be Java, but we must let it follow the lot of *Fa Hsien's Pa p'o t'i* (see under *a b 411* above). Hence, either north an least coast of Sumatra or west coast of the Malay Peninsula on or about Malacca Strait

- 1109 *Sui r'o* sends envoys to bring tribute in the sixth month of this year (ibid.)
- 1129 *Sui r'o* The Emperor of China confers investiture upon its ruler with a long title (ib.)
- 1132 *Sui r'o* New honours and benefits bestowed upon its king by the Chinese Court (ib.)
- 1210 *Ta Sui r'o* (*Chao Ju kua in Takakusu, op cit, p xlviii*) = *Mal'a Jara Jara-bejar* = Malacca? (see last entry below)
- 1279-80 *Sui r'o* Troops of *Chaiwa* race advance to conquer the southern provinces of Siam (on the Malay Peninsula), subject to Sukhothai. They are repelled by the Siamese king, as mentioned before ('*Rajalharaj*' a chronicle of Pegu preserved in Siam, p 10 of the Siamese ed.)
- 1292 *MUL-JĀWAH* مول جاوا (*Mula-Java*), an island (or peninsula) 200 parasangs in width and 120 in breadth (600 by 360 miles). As the result of an expedition sent by Kublai Khan this year, it submits to him. Its king Sri Rama does homage and offers presents to the Chinese Court. Kublai extends him a courteous welcome and sets up his son on the throne as a tributary prince (*Wassaf*<sup>1</sup>). Possibly 木來由, *Mu lai yu* or *Mu-lai yau* to which envoys were sent in 1292 to call it to submission (see above, p 536). Also perhaps, Ptolemy's *Perimula* (*-Java?*) = *Ligor* (see pp 106-110, 441, 517)<sup>2</sup>.

- 1345-6 *MUL-JĀWAH* ملى جاوا (= *Mula Java* or *Mala[va]* *Malla-Java?*), a non Muhammadan country two months' march in length. Its seaport and capital is *Kukulah* or

<sup>1</sup> A Persian historian translated by Hammer Purgstall in '*Geschichte Wassaf's*' Wien 1806 p 44. Quoted in '*Merveilles des Indes*' pp 241-242.

<sup>2</sup> A king *Sri Rama Vikra* is reigned on Singapore Island and neighbourhood in about 1390 according to my reckoning which is however only approximate and can be depended on merely within twenty years or so. *Sri Rama Vikrama* was the grand son of *Sri Tribhuvana* (*Nala Utama*) the founder of Singapore and may well be one and the same person with the *Sri Rama* alluded to in the above extract. At all events there can scarcely be any doubt that both these rulers were contemporaries or very nearly so.

*Kalola*, 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀺, a fine city surrounded by a wall of hewn stones, so wide that three elephants can march abreast on it. There are plenty of elephants, eagle-wood, good camphor, little cotton, and scarcely any ponies (Ibn Batūta). Undoubtedly the 哥羅 or 哥羅富沙羅, *Kō lo* or *Kō lo Fu-sha lo*, of Chinese records, Han dynasty (206-221) and A.D. 650-656 ("Hsin T'ang-shu," bk. 222b). See pp. 432, 444, 518. Mentioned in A.D. 921-922 in Captain Bozorg's "Ajūb" as 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀺, *Kakola*, where merchandise was unshipped and conveyed to another place distant seven days' march from the coast. The people said to be anthropophagous only in so far as they ate their enemies out of revenge ("Merveilles de l'Inde," pp. 66, 67, 126). Very probably Ligor, perhaps called *Kalola* from *Koh Krah* (Koh Kura), *Cara* of old maps, lying abreast of its bay. Otherwise, Kwala Biserat (in Jala, 6° 30' N lat.), Kwala Berserah (3° 54' N lat.), or Koh, Koh badara (Ptolemy's *Koli*) = Kelantan, further down the coast.

1350 CHAWA (Java) a State tributary to Siām, on the Malay Peninsula (Chronicles of Ayuthia vol. 1, p. 211). Apparently in the southern part of the Peninsula (see p. 532).

1378 SHE P'Ō Its king sends envoys to bring tribute ("Ming shih," concluded A.D. 1724). His name is 摩那駝喃, *Mō nō tō nan* (Manah dalam, Maladhana Mala Donan<sup>1</sup>), ("Pien 1 tien," compiled towards A.D. 1700). Apparently the same State as the preceding (see p. 540).

1436-1693 SHE P'Ō Near it is Malacca which is therefore also called *Ta Shē p'Ō*, i.e. Great [or Greater] Java [or Saba, Jaba]' = *Mahā Java Java Besar* (?). Another name for it is *Chung-la la* (Jangala, Nieuhoff's *Jalola* 1662), ("Kwang tung T'ung chih," pub. 1693). The *Java* or *Saba* (*Shē-p'Ō*) here alluded to is very likely, as in the case of several of the preceding entries *Sabah* on the Bernam River, Ptolemy's *Sabana*. (See pp. 517-525.)

II *The Arabic Evidence*

Let us now turn to the information supplied on the subject by Arab writers. As we observed (see p 462 above), they also, like the Chinese, clearly distinguish between two *Jaba* or *Java* countries, with the difference, however, that they locate one on the island of *Kalah* (central part of the Malay Peninsula), and by the other they seem at times to mean Sumatra and at times the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, in some instances confusing the two latter, in others confusing them with *Kalah*. Owing to this it becomes extremely difficult to unravel their geographical mazes. On the other hand, as regards their equivalent for the Chinese *Shé p'o* (Java, Daba) of the mountains, they are explicit enough so that there can be no question that it is their *Tafah*, *Tufan*, or *Taban* طافى, طانى, طانى, as I have demonstrated long before this (see p 57). With this, however, we are not concerned now, and shall therefore proceed to deal with the statements relating to the former.

IBN KHURDADBIH (A D 864) informs us on the one hand of the *Jabah* of India [extra Gangem i e Malay Peninsula], or Indian Prince, to whom belongs the Island (read 'Peninsula') of *Kalah*, and on the other of the island of the *Jabah* [King] of *Shelahet*, whose personal title is *Ma' a raja*. "This island is very extensive, the king who owns it is clad in a robe and a head cover both of gold, he worships Buddha. Productions cocoanuts bananas, sugar cane, sandal wood, hyacinths cloves. Near by there is a little mountain throwing up flames for a circuit of one hundred cubits and to the height of a lance. During the daytime only smoke issues forth, and the fire only appears at night. Fifteen days' sailing across the sea beyond it brings one to the country of cotton (another version says 'aromata'). The distance between *Jabah* and *Shelahet* is about [lacuna] ' 1

<sup>1</sup> Le livre des Routes et des Provinces par Ibn Khordadbeh in *Journ. d'Asiatique* 1865 pp 239-282. The concluding sentence clearly shows that

EDRĪSĪ (A D 1154) similarly states that on the island of *Kalah* dwells a king called the *Jabah*, or 'Indian Prince'. But then he makes two islands out of Ibn Khurdādhbih's 'Island of the *Jabah* of *Shelahet*' (or, perhaps more correctly, 'Island of *Jabah* and *Shelahet*) He goes on to say, in fact "In the neighbourhood of this island [*Kalah*] are those of *Jabah*, *جابه*, *Salahat*, *سلاط*, and *Hany*, *هرج*. They lie apart one from the other about two [twenty?] parasangs, and all obey a single king. This prince is called *Jabah*." And then our author adds that the potentate just referred to has his likeness impressed on his coins, that he worships Buddha, to whom he has erected a temple faced with marble, that to such temples are attached dancing-girls (*devadasi*?), etc (see p 506). "This island [of *Jabah*]," he remarks further on, "produces in great abundance cocoanuts, excellent bananas, rice, and sugar. In the Island of *Hanyay*, *هرج* (or *Hany*),<sup>1</sup> there exists a large chasm of which nobody has ever been able to fathom the depth, it is a notable peculiarity." As regards the Island of *Salahat*, he informs us that it produces sandal wood in plenty, spikenard and cloves. "On the island is a volcano<sup>2</sup> throwing up flames

that it is here a question of two islands (or two districts on the same island) of which one was called *Jabah* and the other *Shelahet*. Barbier de Meynard seems therefore to have been wrong in translating the opening sentence. Deux îles plus l'une est l'île du Djabah de Chelahet nommée Maharadja (op cit p 288). EDRĪSĪ as will be seen below makes of it two distinct islands but Nowairi calls it the Island of *Jabah* and *Salahet* which is I think the right interpretation.

Since writing the above I have noticed in fact that Professor De Goeje in his new translation of Ibn Khurdādhbih (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum [t. vi, Leiden 1889 p 46] takes the same view. He translates. De la [halah or Balus?] aux îles de Djāba de Sebalahit et de Harladj 2 Par. and ascribes to *Shalah* the production of sandal wood Indian spikenard and cloves. Then he adds that as regards *Kalah* Abu Zaid's text reads it is the kingdom (belongs to the kingdom) of *Zaby* thus making it clear that *Kalah* was not exactly a dependency but part and parcel of the *Zaby* empire. See however the extract from Yakut below.

<sup>1</sup> Professor De Goeje loc cit reads in both Ibn Khurdādhbih and EDRĪSĪ *Harlay* *هرلج*, and adds that according to Ibn Rosteh the Island of *Harlay* came to be so called after the name of one of its governors. If so I wonder whether *Harlay* or some similar term is not implied thus making the form *Hanyay* a fairly probable one. See however note 3 on p 552.

<sup>2</sup> In De Goeje's translation of Ibn Khurdādhbih this little volcano is ascribed to *Jaba* island (see loc cit).

a hundred cubits high. During the daytime only smoke is seen to issue forth, but at night a very bright fire appears."<sup>1</sup> In the last statement he fairly agrees with Ibn Khurdādbih, except on the location of the volcano, which the latter writer states to lie near the island. *Shelāhet*, or *Salāhat*, we have shown to be (pp. 80, 91), the name of Malacca Strait and its sea (*Śrī Lohut*, *Selat*, *Salet*, etc.); the island of *Shelāhet* is therefore, very probably, Sumatra, or, more precisely, some portion of its east coast on Malacca Strait, while the term *Jabah* is to be understood to apply to the race that inhabited that territory, rather than to the territory itself. I may point out, in this connection, that there exist in the north-west portion of the Āru, *Hāru*, or *Ghūrī* (عوري حارو) Bay a district, village, and river, called *Salahajī* (4° 10'–15' N. lat.),<sup>2</sup> which may be somehow traditionally connected with Edrīsī's *Salahat*. Again, not very far to the south-east of *Salahajī*, in the Bātu-bāra State (3° N lat.), there is the district of *Tanah Jāca*, which may well represent Edrīsī's Island (read 'district') of *Jubah*, unless this really be meant for the ancient kingdom of *Yava* or *Prathamā Yava*, further down in the central portion of Sumatra (vide p 462 ante). *Harj*, *Harnaj*, or *Harlay* may be the adjoining *Hāru* district itself, and if not, a clerical error for *Haranj* (هرنج = هرنج), which latter is, presumably, its correct form.<sup>3</sup> As regards volcanoes, there are known to exist no

<sup>1</sup> "Geographie d'Édrīsī," trans Jaubert, Paris, 1836, t 1, pp 81–82

<sup>2</sup> The bar at the mouth of the *Salahajī* River has a depth of twelve feet at high-water springs, and must have been, therefore, quite accessible to the shipping of the old days. I have no doubt that the *Salahajī* district is one and the same with the 日羅夏治, *Jih-lo-ha chih*, country of Ming history, bk 3<sup>rd</sup>, unidentified, *more solito*, by Groeneveldt (op cit, p 184). It is therein stated to be near *Chau wa* (probably here not meant for the Island of Java, but for either *Shē p'o* or the *Tanah Jawa* district in Batu bara), and named immediately after 磔里, *Tieh li* or *Tih-li* = Deli, which lies but at some forty miles south east of *Salahajī* and *Aru*. And yet Groeneveldt feels inclined to locate both places on the Island of Bali! Dr Bretschneider has given up them both as unidentifiable in the *China Review*, vol iv, p 387.

<sup>3</sup> It is pretty certain that Jaubert's reading *Harnaj* is hopelessly wrong. *Haranj* should be the right form, which we have already met in Serapion (9–10th

less than sixty seven on Sumatra Island, of which several are still active, e.g., Gūnong Gredong ( $4^{\circ} 10' N$  lat, that is, at the same height as Āru Bay), Merapi ( $0^{\circ} 25' S$  lat), Talang or Sulau, etc. Although nearer the west coast than the eastern, they may nevertheless, being over 8,000 and 9,000 feet in height, be visible from several points on the east coast of the island. However, the volcano of Ibn Khurdādbīh and Edrisī may, after all, be that of Krakatoa, further south in Sunda Strait.

YĀKŪT (A.D. 1218) evidently means the Malay Peninsula when he states (i, 516) "*Ma'ban* is the last part of India, then comes the country of *Sin* (India extra Gangem and China), the first part of which is *Jawa*, reached by a difficult and fatal sea." And further "remotest *Sin* is a far off land, only the merchants seek its outlying parts, to wit, the country known as *Jawa* on the sea coast, like to India, from it are brought eagle-wood, camphor, and nard, and clove, and mace, and China drugs, and vessels of china ware" (ibid., iii, p. 445).

IBN SA'ID (A.D. 1274), quoted by Abu l Fedā,<sup>1</sup> says "Amongst the islands of the Indian Ocean mention should be made of that of *Jawah*, a large island famed for the abundance of its spices." He further mentions *Jāwah* as a city situated on the island of *Kalah*, along with the cities of *Lameri*, *Fanur*, *Kalah*, and *Malajur*, which all, he states, are situated on a bay. Here *Jawah* may be either the Chinese *Shé p'o* city mentioned in the new L'ang history (perhaps only after the eighth or ninth century A.D.) as being the later capital of *Ho lung*, the *Clauca* district below the Krai Isthmus, or *Sabah*, Ptolemy's *Sabana*, on the Bernam River. *Fanur* may, likewise, be *Panchur* on the River Mawar, east of Malacca town. In this case all the

century) (pp. 437-438) as a camphor producing country. This by itself is sufficient evidence that it cannot be the Island of Java nor any other in its immediate neighbourhood. Serap on it is true, says Hara, is little (i.e. Southern) China, but he may be mistaken and some place on either the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra may really be meant. *Harany* it will readily be seen is surprisingly similar to the Chinese *Ho lung* or *Ha lung* (Garin, Gerlang etc.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Corap'c'c' Abdul Fela* transl. by St. Curran L. ii pt 2 p. 127.

cities named would turn out to be places on the Malay Peninsula, and would be all situated, as the author says, on a bay, to wit, Malacca Strait, while his island of *Jawah* would be the same as Ibn Batūta's, viz Sumatra. Otherwise we should have to admit that Ibn Sa'id has recklessly confused the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, which would be a grave charge not easily proved.

DIMASHIKĪ (A D 1300) simply follows Ibn Sa'id when he states that the island of *Kalah* contains the cities of *Fansu*, *Jawah*, *Helabin* (Malāvir), *Laxezi* (Lo yueh, Lārut, Lavet), and *Kalah*<sup>1</sup>. *En revanche*, however, he supplies us with some curious particulars about *Shelahet*—which name he spells *Selāmit*—as follows —“The island of *Selāmit* has a circuit of 300 miles and is covered with mountains and forests. It produces cocoanuts in plenty, there is to be found a species of animals resembling man and talking an unknown tongue. Their body is hairy, they dwell on trees like birds, and feed upon fruits, their stature varies from three to four spans. Their hair is red, and their paws resemble those of a bird. Upon perceiving men they take to flight and climb up to the tops of the trees”<sup>2</sup>.

ABŪ L FEDA (A D 1321) hints beyond doubt, in Van der Lath's opinion<sup>3</sup> at the Island of Sumatra under the name *Jawah* when he says “On the south of the Island of *Jawah* one remarks the city of *Fansu*, whence the *Fansu* camphor derives its name”<sup>4</sup>. There can in fact scarcely be any question here that Sumatra (its northern half, at all events) is meant which but a few years earlier Marco Polo termed Java Minor, and a few years later Ibn Batūta called the Island of *Jawah*. For the ‘south’ of the island where

<sup>1</sup> Mehrens Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen âge Copenhagen 184 p 208

<sup>2</sup> Op cit p 203 Is it here a question of monkeys or of wild tribes? Cf the description of the *Lo ch a savages* (c de supra p 493). The inhabitants are very ugly and dark skinned with red hair teeth like caninora and claws like birds of prey. They only show themselves at night during the daytime they keep themselves hidden (Ma Guan lun op cit p 499)

<sup>3</sup> Merveilles de l'Inde p 238

<sup>4</sup> Guyard op cit t u pt 2 p 12



*Fansūr* is located, we must, of course, understand here, as in Barbosa, its west coast. (See pp 452-453.)

KAZWĪNĪ (A.D. 1330) draws a distinction between *Jāwah*, جَاوَا, the country of camphor, and the Island of *Jābah*, جَابَا, with a volcano<sup>1</sup> In the former we have either the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula or the north and west coasts of Sumatra; while in the latter I am more inclined to recognize Edrīsī's island of *Salāhat* than the Island of Java itself, which appears to have remained unknown to the Arabs.

NOWAIRĪ (A.D. 1332) repeats almost word for word Ibn Khurdādbih's account, introducing, however, now and then some not unimportant detail, or some useful variant to the latter's text. Here is what he says:—"Among these islands there is that of *Kalah*, inhabited by Indians [instead of 'by the Indian king who rules over it,' as in Ibn Kh.]. . . . The island of *Nalūsh* [same as I. Kh.'s *Balūs*?] lies on its right [instead of 'left' as in I. Kh.], and at a distance of two days. . . . Next one finds the Island of *Jābah* and *Selāhut*, سَلَاھُط [instead of 'Island of the *Jābah* (Prince) of *Shelāhet*,' as in I. Kh.], with a town. . . . There are cocoanuts, bananas, sugarcane, . . . sandal-wood, nard, and cloves. Opposite this island there is a mountain; a fire burns on its top. The mountain is 100 ells high; its breadth and width are the same. At night the fire is seen, but during the daytime only smoke. At fifteen days' distance from this mountain one meets the Island of Spices (*Jazyratū-l-Tyḡ*, حَرِيرَةُ الطَّيْب), producing all sorts of spices." In this extract the position of the volcano is more clearly defined than in Ibn Khurdādbih's and Idrīsī's narratives; thus it seems now almost certain that Krakatoa in Sunda Strait is intended. Fifteen days' sailing thence across the sea brings one to the Island of Spices, which must therefore be the insular group of the Bandas and Moluccas, situated just about that distance from Sunda

Strait. However, of this island or country of spices the Arabs, even in Nowairi's period, seem to have had but a very hazy idea, based on purely hearsay information, for none of them ever appears to have gone there; hence, the distance stated must be taken as merely approximate.

IBN BATŪTA (A D 1345-1346) clearly distinguishes, as we have repeatedly observed in the course of our inquiry, between the Island of Jāwah, جَاوَا, = Sumatra; and *Mul-Jawah*, مَلْ جَاوَا, the Infidel Country = Malay Peninsula, southern part. Hence we need not dwell on their respective identities any further.

IBNŪ-L-WARDĪ (A D 1349), although repeating, in the main, the statements of his predecessors, adds sundry hints of some importance. After having told us, for instance, that in the extensive island of *Kalah* dwells a king of the *Banū Jaba al Hindī* people,<sup>1</sup> he proceeds to speak of the Island of *Jabah* with a volcano, inhabited by men who have red faces and hair covered breasts.<sup>2</sup> As such somatic characteristics are nowhere to be met among the inhabitants of the western portion of the Archipelago except in Sumatra, this is, no doubt, the island meant.

It will thus be seen that the Arab writers, like the Chinese, almost unanimously distinguish between two *Jāvas*, with the difference, however, that they place one on the 'Island of *Kalah*' = Malay Peninsula, and the other on

<sup>1</sup> Does *Binnu* stand here for بَنُو, *Benua* or *Benusa*, and if so refer to the *Orang Benua* or wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula? I have not access to the Arabic text of this passage, and cannot therefore judge as to the correctness, if any of my surmise. Abu-l-Feda states that in the principal city of the Island of *Kalah* there dwell Musalmans, Indus and Persians. To which particulars Kazwini adds that the same city is a meeting place for learned Brahmans.

<sup>2</sup> "Merveilles de l'Inde" p. 257. The red colour is characteristic of the complexion of the natives of Engano, although it is also found in a lesser degree among the neighbouring Mantawai islanders and other Indonesians (Batta, Kubu, Pasuma), with whom it occurs mixed with brown, the resultant shade thus being a light ruddy brown. Of hairy races, none has so far been found in the Archipelago except in the Kroe (S W Sumatra, opposite Engano) and Suk (E Sumatra) districts. In the former, hairy dwarfs occur, and in the interior of the latter, wild, hairy tribes, as yet not well known (see A. B. Meyer's "Negritos," p. 45). It is easy to see, on the face of this evidence, that the Island of *Jabah* referred to above cannot be Java, but Sumatra.

Sumatra (Islands of *Jabah* and *Shelahet*), whereas the Chinese locate both on the Malay Peninsula, and although they became early acquainted with the east and north coasts of Sumatra, they seem not to have learned until the thirteenth century (and that very likely through the medium of the Arab or Indian navigators) that this island was also called *Java*. *Per contra*, while the Chinese made the acquaintance of Java through the expedition they undertook thither in A.D. 1292, and recorded its name as *Chau-ia* (in but very rare instances, and that by a mere oversight or slip, as *She-p'o*), the Arabs seem never to have visited that island, or if they did they never made mention of it in their literature. This is, I think, the true state of affairs in so far as the Chinese and Arab geographical knowledge respectively of the Indo-Malay Archipelago is concerned.

### III *Location of Zabej*

It now only remains to attack the last stronghold made by Arabists and Sinologists to protect their Java theory. This stronghold of theirs consists in the argument, which they think unassailable, that the *Zabej* empire mentioned in Arabic literature is, of course—who would not divine it?<sup>2</sup>—Java, or had, at any rate, its seat and centre on that island.<sup>1</sup> Such being their position, I now propose instead to demonstrate that *Zabej* was Sumatra, and had its seat and centre on Sumatra, Java being entirely out of the question, except, perhaps, as a mere dependency of that empire.

SULAIMĀN (A.D. 851) says —“*Zabej*, الزَّابَج, lies on the right hand side of the provinces of India the entire region

obeys a single king, *Kalah bar*, *كله بار*, is one of its dependencies<sup>1</sup> Near *Zabey* is a volcano and at the foot of this a spring of cool and fresh water, there is also a thermal well"<sup>2</sup> Here it will readily be seen, it is simply a question of Ibn *Khurdādbih*'s Island (islands) of *Jabah* and *Shelaket* with its volcano close by shadowed under the generic name of *Zabey* This will be confirmed by the extract now following

IBN *KHURDADBIH* (A.D. 864) tells us The King of *Zabey* is called *Maharāja* amongst his possessions there is an island named *Dhutail* which echoes with the sounds of drums and cymbals According to the reports of sailors there exists in those parts a horse with a mane so long that it trails on the ground<sup>3</sup> Here we may notice that *Maharaja* is the very title recorded by this writer for the king of the Island of *Jabah* and *Shelaket* which is of course one and the same with that of *Zabey* *Dhutail* is a faulty spelling for a name correctly written *برطائل*, *Bertajl* or *Bartayl* by *Kazwini* which is meant in my opinion for the Island of *Bintang* otherwise known as *Riau* or *Rhio*<sup>4</sup> *Riau* *ريو* means in fact noise noisy,

loud sounds.'<sup>1</sup> Hence the legend, and if not, from it the name. The horse with the long mane is, of course, the mythical marine horse, of which we shall hear more anon.

ABŪ ZAID (A.D. 880-916) informs us that *Zābej* city, مدينة الزابج (read 'State,' see below), is situated facing China, between it and which country there is a distance of one month's sailing, and even less with a favourable wind (same as recorded by I-tsing, see p. 527).<sup>2</sup> The King of *Zābej* bears the title of مبراج, *Mahāj* (*Mahārāja*). His capital (evidently 'State') has an extent (circuit?) of 900 parasangs (2,160 miles).<sup>3</sup> This potentate rules over a large number of islands, stretching for a distance of 1,000 parasangs (2,400 miles) and more. Among his possessions are the islands of—

1. *Sarbaza*, or *Seiboxa*, سرنرد extent (circuit?), 400 parasangs (960 miles) = *Śrī-Bhoja* = the east coast of Sumatra at, and about, Palembang.
2. *Rāmī*, رامی extent (circuit?), 800 parasangs (1,920 miles); producing camphor (Sulaimān calls it *Rāmmī*, رامسى, and locates here the *Fanşur*, i.e. *Bārūs*-camphor forests) = *Lambri*, *Lameri*, i.e. the north and west coasts of Sumatra

- 3 *Kalah*, كَلَّه: extent, 80 parasangs (1,920 miles) = west coast of the Malay Peninsula between Papra Strait on the south and Mergui on the north. Over it ruled, as we are informed by Ibn Khurdādhbih, the *Jālah* Prince of India (Pegu).

The island on which the *Mahārāja* resides is extremely fertile and populous; the dwellings follow one another without interruption. No waste land exists in this country, nor dwellings in ruin. The palace of the *Mahārāja* fronts a *thalw*, تَلْو, or estuary (marsh, lagoon),<sup>1</sup> formed by an inlet of the sea. This is invaded by the sea-water at flow-tide, but the water therein turns out fresh at the ebb. A little pond (lagoon) is formed by the water contiguous to the royal residence. In this pond the king threw every morning a brick shaped ingot of gold, hence it became known as the 'Pond of the gold ingots'.<sup>2</sup> This story,

which I have abridged from the original, winds up with the account of the expedition undertaken by the Mahārāja to punish the King of *Kamār*, قمار, or *Kumāra* (Kamboja), for which see pp. 201-205 above. *En passant* the author drops the useful hint that between the two kingdoms (of the *Mahārāja* and of *Kamār*) there are ten days' sailing in latitude (i.e. following a given meridian), increasing to as much as twenty when the wind is light. For the Island (or district) of *Zābej* proper, i.e. that on which the Mahārāja resided, we must understand, as will be most conclusively shown further on, that of *Sarbaža*, i.e. the east coast of Sumatra at, and about, Palembang. Now, Kamboja bears due north of Palembang, the 105th meridian of E longitude (from Greenwich) passing exactly through the mouths of both the Palembang and Hatien Rivers, on the latter of which we have located *Kamar*, or *Kumara*. Abū Zaid's bearing

and many others besides, his sway extends, at the utmost, over the whole of the sixth sea, i.e. that of *Sanf* (i, 343) His territories produce all sorts of spices and aromata . . . ; the exports are camphor, eagle wood, cloves, sandal-wood, arcca-nuts, nutmegs, cardamon, and cubeb These islands, in the direction of the Chinese Sea, border upon an ocean of unknown limits and extent In their remotest parts there are mountains inhabited by numerous tribes , from these mountains issues a perpetual fire (i, 341-342) In the neighbourhood of *Kalah* and *Seina* there are gold and silver mines (i, 242) The volcano of *Zabej*, in the Sea of China (Sea of *Sanj*), (iii, 68) " The foregoing extracts plainly demonstrate that the capital of *Zabej* stood on a creek or river outlet subject to tidal influence, which is exactly the case with Palembang *Zanj*, or *Zanej*, occurring instead of Abū Zaid's *Sarbazā*, has here evidently nothing to do, as Gildemeister thought on meeting the same form in Abū Zaid's relation,<sup>1</sup> with *Zing*, *Zanj*, زنج , or Zanzibar, the country of Negroes, but is undoubtedly a clerical slip for *Zabej*, زابج , a term which, owing to the imperfections of the Arabic alphabet, has given rise to the most extraordinary variants If, therefore, *Zanj* = *Zabej* Island stands in Mas'ūdī's text for Abū Zaid's *Sarbazā*, it must be one and the same with it So, we shall demonstrate further on is also *Seina*, which is but an alternative name for *Sarīlāza* The mention of gold and silver mines in the vicinity of *Seina* proves that this so called 'island,' alias *Sarbazī*, alias *Zabej*, cannot be Java<sup>2</sup>



In the "Kitāb-al-'Ajāib," ascribed to Mas'ūdī, it is stated that in the Island (or islands?) of *Zabey* there were Chinese settlers who had left their fatherland on account of internecine troubles.<sup>1</sup> The troubles referred to may have been the famous rebellion of Hwang-ch'ao that devastated the whole empire from A D. 878 to his death in 884, and was followed by other disturbances.<sup>2</sup> All the same, we know very well from I-tsing and other Chinese sources that Sumatra had become known to the ubiquitous John Chinaman long before that time. Basing his statement on another, less clear passage of the same "Kitāb," Reinaud draws the unwarranted inference that at the dawn of the tenth century A D *Zabey* and *Sanf* (Campā), which were distinct kingdoms in Sulaumān's time (A D 851), had become a single empire through the one having subjugated the other.<sup>3</sup> This, we are now well aware, is untrue, notwithstanding the fact that at earlier periods expeditions may have been undertaken by *Zabey* against certain points of the Chām littoral (A D 787) and Kamboja conquered (some time before A D 802) (See above, p 545)

CAPTAIN BOZORG (A D 955) has preserved to us several important details about the *Zabey* kingdom and its capital

<sup>1</sup> Reinaud's "Geographie d'Aboulfeda," t 1, Introduction p 390. Arabic text of Mas'ūdī's "Kitāb al-'Ajāib" in t 11 of his "Relation des Voyages," etc., also t 1, p lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> This famous rebellion is described by Abu Zaid who names the leader *Dan-ghua* (for Hwang-ch'ao). See Reinaud's "Relation," t 1, pp 62 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> "Geographie d'Aboulfeda," Introduction, p 416 and "Relations," t 11, p 192 of the Arabic text (of the "Kitāb-al-'Ajāib"). Reinaud quotes in support the statement of the Christian monk of Najran who, having travelled through the Archipelago in about A D 980, mentions that at such a period the king of *Lulin* (Southern China) had just invaded and conquered *Sanf*. But this event refers, in my opinion, to the expedition which the Tonkinese king *L-Hang*, or *Lā Dū Hān* (who had then his capital at *Hua-lū*, 花 蘭), founded A D 968, a little to the westwards of the chief lieu of the *Nūn-būn* district, and took in A D 982 against *Champa*, resulting in the conquest of this country and destruction of its capital *Sri Han* in *Kwāng būn* (see above, p 229). These facts have therefore nothing to do with *Lulin* (South China), and much less still with *Zabey*. The mention of *Lulin* as the place of origin of the expedition is a mistake proceeding I think from the fact that but a few years before (i.e. in 968) Tonkin was still under the sway of China. Our identification of the event alluded to by the Christian monk of Najran enables us to fix the date of his travels in Far Eastern seas in the year 982 or 983 A D.

in his "Aǧāib-al-Hind."<sup>1</sup> The city where the Mahārāj of *Zabej* resides, he writes, contains very numerous streets (creeks?)<sup>2</sup> where trade is carried on (p. 137). In the bay of *Sertrah*, سرتره, there are innumerable crocodiles: charmed some time ago, they are now harmless (p. 158). *Sertrah* lies at the extremity of the Island of *Lāmeri* (north and west coasts of Sumatra), and at 120 *zāms* (900 miles, see Mas'ūdī, p. 561) from *Kalah* (west coast of the Malay Peninsula above Junkceylon). The bay (inlet, estuary) of *Sertrah* penetrates, it is stated, for 50 *para-sangs* (120 miles) into the island. It is a river far wider than the Tigris at Basra; its waters are fresh. There is no deeper (i.e. penetrating so far inland) bay in the whole island. Tidal influence makes itself felt at intervals of twelve hours<sup>3</sup>. There are crocodiles, but having been charmed they are now harmless in that neighbourhood. Some dwellings are built on shore, but the majority are floating houses supported by rafts made of timbers (bamboos?) tied together. The houses are built of wood; hence those on shore are liable to frequent fires. The dwellings in the bay are disposed in such a manner as to form something like avenues (creeks?) (p. 176).

This description admirably tallies with the Chinese account of Palembang left us by Ma Huan (A.D. 1416) and reproduced with but little variation in the History of the Ming Dynasty, bk. 324.<sup>4</sup> By comparison of the two extracts from the

<sup>1</sup> See Van der Indt and M. Derive's "Merveilles de l'Inde," Leiden 1883-1886, to the pages of which work the numbers within parentheses in the above extracts refer.

<sup>2</sup> See below, canals are more likely meant. Palembang, as is well known is intersected by numerous creeks, spanned by many bridges, and it is from the great number of these bridges that the town derives its modern name. Probably at the period we are now concerned with the bridges were very few, or not as yet existent.

<sup>3</sup> "Between the monsoons [in Bangkai Strait] flood and ebb succeed each other generally every twelve hours" ("China Sea Directory," vol. 3, 4th ed., 1891, p. 395).

<sup>4</sup> See Groeneveldt, op. cit., pp. 196 and 197. Ma Huan's account runs "The country is not large. The people exercise themselves much in fighting on the water, and as there is more water than land only the houses of the chiefs stand on shore, whilst the rest of the people build their houses on rafts which are attached to piles, so that they rise with the water and cannot be flooded. When they want to go and live in another place they pull up the piles and remove with

Palembang. However, Van der Lath is mistaken in categorically asserting that *Serirah*, سريره, is a clerical slip for *Serboza* or *Saribaza*, سريرة, سريرة, of which the latter is the truly correct form.<sup>1</sup> It is by such dogmatic *pronunciamentos* that our predecessors in the historical geography of the Far East have often made confusion worse confounded. And my proof that *Serirah* is a distinct term from *Saribaza* lies in the fact, so far overlooked by Sinologists, that the Chinese records of A D 961-962 give us the equivalent for *Serirah* in *Hsien-lu*, 先 留 (*Sen lu*, *Sen-ru*), which, they state, is an alternative designation for the kingdom of *San-fo-ch'i* (*Serboza*).<sup>2</sup> *Serirah*, or *Serirat*, and *Sen-ru*, *Sera-rera* (or *Seia rara*), may on the one hand represent the term *Siri rattha*, or *Siri-rastha*, and on the other the tribal name *Sarauti* belonging to a nation settled at Palembang,<sup>3</sup> while it may be somehow connected with *Chaleh* and *Saleh*, two branches through which the Musi, or river of Palembang, discharges into the sea.<sup>4</sup>

AL-FARĀQ, or FARĀQ, in his "Kitāb al Ātwāl, or 'Book of Longitudes'" (A D 900-1000), states that *Saribaza* or *Serirah*, is the island on which the Mahārāja resided.<sup>5</sup> This assertion we shall see confirmed later on by Abū l Fedā.

MUHALLABĪ (circa A D 1000) tells us that the island of *Serirah* is a dependency of China.<sup>6</sup> This is fairly correct, as *Hsien-lu*, or *San-fo-ch'i*, is recorded as having sent tribute to China since A D 905.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 248, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Ma Tuan lin op cit p. 662.

<sup>3</sup> The names of the inhabitants of Palembang belong according to Crawford to a nation distinct from the Malays called *Sarauti* (see Dehn's 'Descript. Dict. of Brit. Malaya' p. 348). Whether this name has been introduced from India where it denotes a sect of fakirs (see Ball's 'Cyclop. of India' 3rd ed., vol. iii p. 534) or not I cannot say but it would be worth enquiring.

<sup>4</sup> Salak (Ayer Saleh) is one of the eastern mouths not now navigable of the Palembang river the best entrances to which are now the Sunggang and Banjar. Another (Salak) river is a western tributary of the Banjar Asin, which it joins at its mouth.

<sup>5</sup> See Dulauriet in *Journal de l'Asie* 1816, pp. 211-212.

<sup>6</sup> Op cit p. 112 and Guyard's 'Géographie d'Aboul-Feda' t. i, pt. 2, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. where dit op cit p. 188.

AI-BĪRŪNĪ (A.D. 1031), after having spoken of an island of *Ram*, رَم, or *Rāmīn*, belonging to Ceylon,<sup>1</sup> which is undoubtedly the one now called *Rameśvaram*, vulgo *Ramisseram*, lying between Adam's Bridge and the opposite point of Madura, informs us that the island (or islands) of *Zabej* lies in that part of the Indian Ocean turned towards the east and nearing China, and adds that such island (or islands) corresponds to that termed *Surendīb* (*Suraṇḍa-drīpa*), or 'Island of Gold,' in Sanskrit literature<sup>2</sup> (Fragments, 123)

EDRISI (A.D. 1154) does not tell us much that is of value and his information is as usual with him confused

*Kel sabha pabala ceja* in the Kalvan inscriptions. The capital *Gola natta ka tagara* was situated according to the inscription to the north west of the pagoda. Whether *Kel apara* was the same as *Gola natta* or a distinct city nearer to the Kelapa Peak it is in the present state of our knowledge difficult to say. But that a city of this name existed in the district in question is certain for the History of the Tang Dynasty bk. 222 (see *T'ou p'ao* vol. ix pp. 252-253 and Ma Tuanlin op. cit. p. 59) mentions a kingdom *Alosha* 遮婆舍那 (*e Kel sabha* or *Kalapa*) as lying to the north of *T'ho lo* (which does not seem to be *Takula* i.e. the old Golamattka but either *Tugala* or *Thagara* on the Tavor River see p. 86 *at* or *Dr. rana* in *Siam*). A village bearing the name *Kel sa ex* is on the left bank of the Lama River above the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and another *Kelapada* apparently smaller lies above *Pasat* not far from the confluence of the Gyr with the Suluan River. But the site of *Kelasa* is evidently to be looked for in the neighbourhood of *Elasa* Ierk. This district was part of *Saranallam* the Glin Kingdom of Biddhat fame. It is a cord only very likely that *Sarapa* is not exactly identical with the Malay Peninsula which immediately adjoins it as we have suggested. *Sarapa* is in fact separately referred to in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* (vol. i p. 510) as a island which may mean the Isthmus district or some other little island near by on the coast of the Gulf of Martaban. The Nepalese MS (A.D. 1643 Cambodge) of the eleventh century A.D. or earlier on which Foucher has based his recent study on the *Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris 1900) mentions a *Kalasa varapa* (*Kalasa varapa*) with a sanctuary dated from at least the eighth century (pp. 90-91) which may well be the *Kalapa* of the *Katha Sarit Sagara* and the *Alosha* of the Kalvan inscriptions. If not there is no lack in that neighbourhood of similar toponyms such as e.g. *Itolmya Sabara* (Sara) and *Sarabara* Culf and *Alu Zada Kalahar*. The *Sarapa* of the same MS (op. cit. p. 105) may have stood also somewhat that way. *Tjapara* there is stated to lay in *Sarapa* may be not *Lanta* which although bearing that name was founded only in A.D. 1317 but *Sri Jayana* Lower Siam (*Indo-China* p. 188). *Sri Jayana* is in fact the full form of the name given in the MS referred to. *Sarapa* was the later name of *Suphna* the neighbourhood of the latter (see p. 164) but we have found p. 80 evidence of a monarchical *Sarapa* in the Tava River province. I rather doubt if Biggs Map of Tava River 1868 marks the hitherto unexplored reaches of an ancient city of *Thos* won a boom in the *Sarabham* at the headwaters of the *Tava*. It is near the same frontier.

As regards the mystery of the land of *Kalasa* also mentioned in the Nepalese MS above referred to see in his op. cit. pp. 100-9 a *Kalasha* of the latter with *Kalapa* founded by *Tava* op. cit. vol. i p. 86) and little more put forward by Foucher and others for the term *Kalasa* plural *Kalasa* which is not exactly the same as *Kalasa* and the *Rana* at the beginning of the seventeenth century the *Kalasa* had scarcely become known to the world until the nineteenth century when the name of the parts of the *Kalasa* in the *Kalasa* where the name *Kalasa* or *Kalasha* occurs may be known to the world. It will have been better to suggest in the *Kattigara* list a name like *Kalasa* could not have been any (away from *Sarapa*) and it is not to be a present state beyond *Kalasa* say *Sumatra* or the *Sarapa* of the Malay Peninsula at the very most *Borneo* for according to the *Indo-China* map the *Kalasa* is at the mouth of the *Tava* river. The *Kalasa* and *Kalapa* are not to be confused. The *Kalasa* is a certain fact that *Kalasa*

to a degree. He locates the island (or islands) of *Zābej* (which he calls, as we have seen, probably through the carelessness of his copyists, *Zālej*, *Zānej*, *Rālej*, *Rānej*, etc.) in front of the coast of *Zanj*, i.e. Zanjibār and Sufāla, and considers both countries, which lie some 3,000 miles apart, as almost facing one another. Hence, naturally, an inevitable jumble up of facts regarding them in his narrative. Anyhow, he goes on to state that the natives of *Zanj* being unprovided with sea-going vessels, their transoceanic trade is carried on by ships from *Omān* and others, bound for the islands of *Zābej*, which are dependencies of India. The people of *Zābej*, on the other hand, sail to Zanjibār in large and small craft and trade there, an easy task for them, as they can easily understand the language of the natives of that coast. The importance of this statement, on which Reinaud lays such great stress,<sup>1</sup> as proving that commercial intercourse existed between the Archipelago and the east coast of Africa, and that the language spoken in both countries was the same or very nearly so, is marred by the possibility that the islands he calls here *Zālej* and *Rālej* are in reality those of *Rānej*, a term meaning Cocos Islands, which seems to have been the name supplied to the islands lying to the

west of the Maldives, among which Madagascar was presumably included<sup>1</sup> It is true that among the *Zaney* islands Edrisi mentions *Sharbuah*, شربوة (also spelled سرند, *Saranda*), the name of which strikingly resembles شربرة, *Sharurah* (so written, as we shall see by Nowairi), and سرند, *Sarbaza*, to which he assigns 1,200 miles in circuit (400 parasangs?—the same as the perimeter ascribed by Abū Zaid to *Sarbaza*, *supra*, p. 559) But along with it he refers to the island of *Anjabah*, انجه, capital *Anfujah*, انفوحه, which is, it is alleged, انقوحه, *Anluyah*, i.e. Zanzibār Island, till this very day called *Anguja* by the Swahilis<sup>2</sup> The other island *Karmada* or *Karmadat*, كرمده, which he locates near *Zaney* Island, may, however, if not actually *Karumata*, كرمات, be Nowairi's *Karimuh* or *Karamu*, كرمود, which he places in his *Lanu* or *Lanau* Sea (Straits of Malacca), and which I think may be the Great *Kerimun* or *Krimun* or both it and its smaller homonymous island opposite Tinjong Bulus, the south western extremity of the Malay Peninsula<sup>3</sup> Apart from this medley, Edrisi mentions a volcano on an islet near his *Zaney* Island which, from the description he gives of it, is apparently the same as the one he refers to further on as being situated on the island of *Saluhah*<sup>4</sup> The remainder of his information on *Zaney* (*Zabey*) consists in

<sup>1</sup> See Van der Lath in *Merveilles de l'Inde* p. 294. Great affinity has of course been traced between the languages of the Archipelago and Malagasy the tongue spoken all over Madagascar so great indeed as to lead scholars to consider the latter to be affiliated to the Malayo Polynesian stock and to suggest the hypothesis that Madagascar was colonized by tribes from the west coast of Sumatra (see papers relating to Indo China 2nd series vol. 1 p. 270) But this although proving the expansion of the Malayo Polynesian (or Melanesian) Negro (?) see pp. 253-254 above) race to such distant lands does not completely establish that commercial intercourse existed between the two regions at the time of which Edrisi speaks. More evidence is required ere we can unreservedly accept his statements.

<sup>2</sup> See Jaubert's *Géographie d'Edrisi* pp. 55 et seqq. and Van der Lath in *op. cit.* pp. 288-289-94.

<sup>3</sup> Van der Lath is certainly wrong (*op. cit.* p. 281) in correcting كرمود into سموده, *Ty wakh*. I have several times already admonished on this manifold tendency of playing with the geographical nomenclature handed down to us in the old texts.

<sup>4</sup> Jaubert *op. cit.* pp. 60 and 62.

a repetition of the statement from Mas'ūdī's (?) "Kitāb-al-'Aja'ib" as regards Chinamen having emigrated and settled there owing to the troubled state of their fatherland. With this we take leave of Edrīsī, who has caused so much confusion in Far Eastern geography.

YĀKŪT (A.D. 1218) tells us that from *Sarbaza*, سَرْبَزَا or سَرْبَزَا, as he spells its name, camphor is exported.<sup>1</sup>

KAZWĪNĪ (A.D. 1203-1274), following his predecessors, describes *Zābej* as an extensive island situated not far from the limits of China, but more towards India.<sup>2</sup>

IBN SA'ĪD (A.D. 1274), quoted by Abū-l-Fedā, is pretty explicit in his statements. "The islands of *Rānej*" (*Zābej*), he writes, "are celebrated in the accounts of merchants and travellers. The largest of them is *Sarīrah*, which is 400 miles long from north to south and about 160 miles in width all over. Several arms of the sea penetrate into it. Its capital, *Sarīrah*, is situated on its middle on an estuary and a river." And further on he adds: "The islands of the *Mahraj* (*Mabūrāja*) are numerous. Their sovereign is one of the richest monarchs of India and the one who possesses most gold and elephants. The largest of these islands is the seat of his authority."<sup>3</sup> As a little before Ibn Sa'īd has declared that the largest of such islands is *Sarīrah*, there can be no doubt left as to this being the one containing the capital. The mention of elephants entirely excludes Java. Abū Zaid (see p. 559) assigned 900 parasangs (2,160 miles) circuit to the capital (State) of *Zābej*, and 400 parasangs (960 miles) circuit to *Sarbaza* island (district). It will be seen, therefore, that while *Sarbaza* or *Sarua* denotes the particular portion or district of Sumatra in which stood the capital (viz. Palembang), *Zābej* includes the whole island or nearly so. Sumatra is 1,070 miles long, and has an average breadth of over 200 miles. The 160 miles in width assigned by Ibn Sa'īd to the *Serīrah* territory correspond very closely to the width

<sup>1</sup> "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> Guvart's "Géographie d'Aboulfedā," t. II, pt. 2, pp. 126 and 132.



of the Palembang district from the sea (Bunga Strait) on the north east to the central mountain range of Sumatra to the south west

DIMASHKI (circa A.D. 1300) follows Idrisi in confusing *Zalej* with the islands off the east coast of Africa, and thus he locates *Al Ifūjah* (Zanzibār?) close to *Seirah* and separates both of them from *Kamar* or *Komor*, قمر (Madagascar?), by a mere channel or arm of the sea.<sup>1</sup> On *Seirah*, however, he is pretty well informed. He puts down its circumference at 1200 miles, says it contains two rivers<sup>2</sup> (the Jambi and Musi?) and many cities amongst which *Seirah* is the most celebrated, and adds that the best camphor is derived therefrom.<sup>3</sup> He then passes on to the island of the Mahārīja which he seems to believe a quite distinct place and unfolds his lore on it in this strain — The island of the Mahārīja is the most extensive its length is of 12 and its breadth of 5 days' march (or sailing?) At its extremity stands a great volcano which throws up sparks and stones with a thunderlike noise and lightning. Owing to the fire there is no dwelling nor thoroughfare within a distance of one parasang (3 miles). This volcano is the largest in the world there is not the like of it. The place it occupies is called Volcano Island and compared to the remainder of the island it stands to it in the same ratio as the foot does to the whole leg. When ships approach the island at the beginning of a squall tiny black dwarfs five spans or less in stature resembling negroes appear and climb aboard without harming anyone.<sup>4</sup> Here we have a repetition (or the original version?) of the Negrito story located by the Muhtasar al Ajaib at *Sijir* (see above p. 245 note). As to the volcano it is evidently the same as mentioned by preceding authors. Furthermore Dimashki

Mehren Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen âge Copenhagen 1874 p. 193

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 22

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 199 and 201. The text has I suppose 400 parasangs of circuit as an Abu 'Alī for *Sirbanā* which calculated at the rate of three miles to a parasang gives the 1200 miles of the translator.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 207

sway, named respectively *Pamusā*, *فموسا* (*Kimūsī* = *Gomus* or *Gomespola*?), and *Lasmah*, *لاسمه* (= *Basma*, *Bhasman*, *vide supra*, p. 440). The natives of these islands are fair (almost white) complexioned, their women are exceedingly handsome. The men are brave and enterprising; they devote themselves to piracy on skiffs of remarkable speed, especially when they are at war with the Chinese, with whom there exists no truce (or respite).<sup>1</sup> *Sumah* or *Shumah* cannot be, as was oddly enough suggested, *Sumatra*,<sup>2</sup> for that name did not as yet exist in *Edrisī's* time (A.D. 1154). The term might at best be referred to *Sumah*, *Sumara*, or *Samara*, all names for camphor (see above, pp. 439, 440), and through them to *Samarlang*,<sup>3</sup> or other district on either the north or west coast of *Sumatra*.<sup>4</sup> However, such conjectures, based on mere phonetic similarities, do not appear to be sufficiently supported by other evidence. The real connection seems to be with *Ibn Khurdādhbih's* island of *قوما*, *Kyuma* or *Kayumah* (a misspelling for *توم* or *توم*, *Tyūmah* or *Tanumah*?), which, he also states, produces eaglewood and camphor,<sup>5</sup> as well as with *Sulaimān's* *Betumah* or *Bī Tumah*, *بوم*, and, through both, with *Tumeras* or *Tembrau*, the Old Singapore Strait,

with the quotations from Ibn Sa'īd and Muhallabī, which have already been noticed above

Nowairi (A D 1320-1332) places Sharīrah, شريرة, as he spells its name, in his first sea, i e the Sea of *Sanyz*, in which he is misled, apparently, to locate also *Anfujah*, انفوحه (=Zanzibār?)<sup>1</sup> *Zabey*—or as he writes it, راجع, *Raney*—he correctly puts in his second sea, the Sea of *Suf* or *Sunf*, along with other islands he calls *Barhan*, برکان,<sup>2</sup> *Kmar* (Kamboja), *Rak* or *Rād* رادی, رانی (perhaps for *Ram* رامي),<sup>3</sup> and *Lankalus* or *Lanyalus*, لسكالوس, لسكالوس, which may be the island of Bangkalis in front of Siak (east coast of Sumatra), or else that of Langkachiu (*Lang ya-hsiu* of Chinese records), abreast of *Chump'hōn Bay* (east coast of the Malay Peninsula, see above, p 115)

BAKUĪ (circa A D 1430) the imitator of Kazwinī, assigns, like the latter, to *Zabey* a position intermediate between China and India, but nearer to the Indian (Malay?) Peninsula<sup>4</sup>

With him we have about exhausted the list of Arab authorities who left us useful information about *Zabey*. It will be seen that the identity of its capital and principal district with *Sarbaza* or *Seira*, i e *Sri Bhaja*, *Hsien lu*, or Palembang, is vouched for by no less than three respectable writers, viz., al-Farus, Ibn Sa'īd, and Abū l Fedī, while it is impugned by none of them, and is besides supported by an overwhelming mass of circumstantial evidence. And yet our

Arabists and Sinologists have somehow managed to make out that *Zābej* was Java, that its capital stood on Java, and that the empire had been founded by the Javanese.<sup>1</sup> And, strange to say, all this aerial castle of fiction they have built rests on a simple misconception, namely, that the term *Java* embodied in the name *Zābej* cannot, or rather could not, designate any other country but that 'Pearl of Islands,' Java. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the sake of that scientific progress our present generation has so much at heart, that such antiquated theories will now be abandoned in view of the evidence to the contrary we have brought together above. However, to omit no point that may prove one's thesis, I may add that I hold one more argument in reserve which, in my humble opinion, conclusively demonstrates the identity of the capital and seat of the kings of *Zābej* with Palembang. This important particular I was fortunate enough to discover in Captain Bozorg's narratives, and it is to the following effect:—

Captain Bozorg's 102nd 'Ajāib story<sup>2</sup> tells us of an Arab navigator who obtained an audience from the then reigning king of *Zābej*, whose name is recorded as سرباناکله (or سرباناکله), *Ser-Nātākalah*. Now, by turning to the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> Excusing Renaud and Dulaurier for having expressed such views (*Introduction* to the "Géographie d'Aboulféda," pp. 349, 390, "Relation des Voyages," etc., p. lxxiv, *Journal Asiatique* 1846, pp. 204-208) at a time when these researches—of which they, the learned Renaud especially, may be regarded as the founders—were as yet in their initial stage, there is no possible excuse for the Java-aberration of later scholars, such as Van der Lath (see above, p. 577). Takakusu ("Record of the Buddhist Religion," pp. xliii-xliv, where he makes *Zābej*=Java), and many others who represent the most recent research. Chavannes is, however, an exception—the only one as far as I am aware. He, in fact, had, among a number of misconceptions, the clear perception, at least, that *Sarba-a* or *Srī-Bhaja* must have been the famous *Zābej* of Arab travellers. He, nevertheless threw out the hint as a mere guess, without attempting to substantiate it, and his suggested connection simply rests, I must point out, on a wrong basis, viz., the analogy, as he explains, between the names *Sarba-a* or *Srī-Bhaja* and *Zābej* ("Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes," p. 37, note). We shall see directly that such supposed analogy is groundless. Takakusu, loc. cit., instead of taking up the sensible hint preferred to revert to the old Java theory, now obsolete and also a regression in science.

<sup>2</sup> See "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 154.

than one year to reach the Chinese capital (then at *Pien liang*, now K'ai-fêng Fu, in Honan),—it will be seen that he may very likely have begun to reign, say, twenty or thirty years before that event (or A.D. 930-940), thus allowing ample time for the story concerning him to reach Captain Bozorg's ear, so as to find a place in his book by 955 A.D. or thereabouts. There seems, therefore, no shadow of a doubt that the names Śrī Nūtū kalah and Śrī Huta-hahdan refer to one and the same personage who was, as the Chinese and Arabic narratives respectively state, king of *Sin fo-ch'i* (= *Sarabaza*, *Śrī Bhoja*, or Palembang) and Mahārāja of *Zābej*. Hence, surely, *Zābej* = Sumatra, with capital at *Sarabaza* = *Seriba* = *Hsien-lu* = *Śrī-Bhoja* = Palembang.<sup>1</sup>

Having thus, I venture to hope, proved my contention, it only remains for me to challenge the last argument to which Van der Lath clings in order to justify his identification of the *Zābej* empire with the Island of Java. From the fact that Captain Bozorg mentions<sup>2</sup> *Maḥādīwand*, *مہادیوند*, as a city of *Zābej* where amber (ambergris?) is plentiful, he glibly twists that word into *Mazafūwid*, *مزافوید*, so as to be able to connect it with *Majapahit*, *ماجپاہیت*, the name of the famous mediæval kingdom in the eastern extremity of Java.<sup>3</sup> His success in name-changing may be judged by comparing his revised reading with the correct form of the toponymic last referred to, as it occurs in the Javanese chronicles.<sup>4</sup> But, apart from this, to hold that the kingdom of *Majapahit* already existed in Captain Bozorg's time, that is to say, from the first half of the tenth century—whereas its foundation

<sup>1</sup> Although as he has to confess Van der Lath could not find in the lists of the kings of Java any name approaching in the least to his *Śrī Nūtū kalah* he yet holds a brief for Java as being *Zābej* the seat of his power (see *Merveilles de l'Inde* p. 233). Alas! Javomania is I am afraid incurable.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 231-232.

<sup>4</sup> See extract from Javanese chronicle printed by Dulaurier in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1846 pp. 545-546 whence I have taken the above form of the name.

the text, whether rightly or not corrected into 'ambergris' by the translator yet remains to be seen—is plentiful, should consequently be looked for on that coast. If, on the other hand, it is really a question of amber, we must then locate that seaport either on the coast of Annam or on the Gulf of Martaban.<sup>1</sup> Does not, in fact, *Markāwand*, by an almost imperceptible alteration, thus مارتاوند (Martāwand), look for all the world as the very perfect simulachre of *Martawan* or *Martavan*, the usual way in which the name Martaban is spelt by our early travellers? I shall not, however, allow myself, like my predecessors, to be led away by phonetic resemblances, even although in this case the conjecture is, after all, not so improbable.<sup>2</sup> I may, *per contra*,

with The Pasa Chronicle mentions the eastern countries referred to as being Bantan, Sirān (Ceram), and Larutuka (east portion of Flores), and names, among other articles, nutmegs, cloves, and musk (see Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Paëy," p. 98). This clearly shows that the amber, or rather ambergris, must have come from the Moluccas (Tidore, etc.), which are, with Timor the nearest places on the east of Java where the spermaceti whale and its product ambergris occur. Sounerat (vol. II, p. 118) mentions amber as being found in Iolo (Sulu). But prior to that period, i.e. A.D. 1377, when the Island of Java was probably still a *terra incognita* even in the Archipelago and Van der Luth's *Musavard* did not yet exist except retrospectively in his imagination, it is very unlikely that ambergris flowed thither and found there a market.

<sup>1</sup> Amber is spoken of by Ma Tuan lin (op. cit., p. 421) as being, apparently from a very early period, obtained from mines in *Yia* (Upper Champa); and, indeed, a certain amount seems to be extracted thence (Annamese territory) to this day. It is said to be derived also from Kamboja (?) and Yün-nan (Li-kiang and Yung-ch'ang districts). Williams ("Middle Kingdom," 1881 ed., vol. II, p. 395) vaguely states it is found "in the Indian Islands" and localities in Annam and Yunnan. The chief source of supply in Indo-China has, however, been for centuries Upper Burma, where the Hsü-Kong valley in which the *Paya-tang* or 'Amber Hills' are situated (in about 26° 15' N. lat. and 96° 30' E. long.) has long become famous for the golden resin. This was worked at Ava, as more recently at Mandalay, into beads for rosaries, various trinkets, and even statuettes and boxes such as were found in the late king of Burma's treasure and are now kept in the South Kensington Museum. The output of the Hsü-Kong mines was, in 1896-97, about 14 cwts., valued at 2,330 rupees. It has, besides, been noticed in other places in Burma (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. I, vol. II, 1900, pp. 291-295). Marina ("Della Mission," etc., Rome, 1763, pp. 69, 448) tells us how red amber was carried across from the kingdom of Ava to Eastern Laos (Wiang Chan), and thence forwarded, always overlaid, to Tonkin. There is, in conclusion, nothing strange at all there should be a market for it, as well as for ambergris (see preceding note), on the Gulf of Martaban. I may here venture to notice how much our works of reference, even the most recent, are sadly deficient in information about this and similar important products of further India, the particulars about whose history one is left to ferret out for himself in the original literature.

<sup>2</sup> Martaban (see p. 71 above) is recorded to have existed, as a city, since A.D. 576; and as a name of a district it may be even older.

point out that scarcely more than two and a half centuries before Captain Bozorg, I tsing (A.D. 671-695) tells us of a State or district named *Mo chia man*, 末加漫 (= *Mal haban*, *Malaban*, *Marlawan*) hitherto unidentified<sup>1</sup> which may very well be the same place as the *Markawan* of the 'Ajūb. As this last is distinctly stated to be a city on the Island of *Zaboj*, i.e. Sumatra, it is evidently only logical to look for it there, and preferably on the north coast. Unfortunately, however, I could not, so far, discover in that tract any place name resembling the one under consideration, although lower down, on the east coast of the island, there exists a settlement *Makapan* (on the west shore of Brouwer Strait or Selat Panjang just below the 1st parallel of N lat.) that may well represent I tsing's *Malaban*, but scarcely, I am afraid, the ambergris trading centre *Markawand* of the 'Ajūb. In any case, I trust to have conclusively demonstrated that the proper site for the latter is to be fixed in the northern portion of Sumatra and not on the Island of Java.<sup>2</sup> And to meet Van der Lath on his own ground, I may point out that if the 'Ajūb toponymic under discussion is really to be read *Mazafand* or *Mayapahit* such a name does just as well occur on the east coast of Sumatra, where in the Langsar district not far south of Per-luk, we have a *Mayapahit* or *Mayupahit* River (400 yards wide, and at least six feet deep in the entrance, but deeper within) with a village of the same name<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Takakusu op cit pp xxxix and l.

<sup>2</sup> The other nearest toponymies that I am aware of would be *Bakacan* a village about 8 miles up the Kateman River Berhala Strait (red 0° 16' N lat.) and *Mangoman* an inlet lying a little northward of Lagundi harbour near the southern coast of Sumatra. Professor Schlegel in *T'ou Pao* 191 p 121 asserts that *U t ka o* (Mo chia man) may be a transcript of *Marga ma* and that Von de Walle Malay Dictionary to show that in Malay *Marga* means 'be or district' but this is of very little help even admitting there existed a district *Marga U t ka o* (so called from the Mante tribe in Aceh) of which there is no record. *Marga Monte* would of course very closely represent the Arabic *Markawand* (*Ma kan ant*) but until more evidence is forthcoming we cannot accept such fanciful etymologies. In my opinion *Markawand* argues some form like *Makaran* *Uyara* *Urtara* of which there are closely related examples in the Archipelago e.g. the *Urtara* alluded to above *Marapura* in extreme north-east Borneo (north of which however we have also a *Marga r*) etc.

<sup>3</sup> It may be objected that this place name may have been introduced here from the famous *Mayapahit* kingdom of Java but who can tell that the reverse did not happen the name in question being transplanted from here to Java?

To wind up with the list of the place-names recorded by ancient writers and supposed by modern scholars to represent localities in Java, it only remains to mention *I'o-shih-pu-lo*, 佛逝補陀 (*Bhoja-pura*?), occurring in I-tsing's list of countries in the Southern Sea. Takakusu<sup>1</sup> considers this place as distinct from *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang), and—unmindful of the fact that I-tsing never mentions the Island of Java, not even its supposed famous equivalent *Shē-p'o*, and never visited it in the course of his journeys to the south—he attempts to connect it with the *Boja* district and *Boja-nagara* settlement in East Java. Not content with this, he even boldly surmises that “we have here perhaps the origin of the name *Śrī-Bhoja*, for Palembang was certainly a colony of Java.” The last dogmatic assertion is only true in so far as concerns the period following A.D. 1377, or thereabouts; and as regards the name *Śrī-Bhoja*, we shall see that, like many others, it is more likely to have been introduced into Java from Sumatra than *vice versa*.<sup>2</sup> In any case, for Sumatra we have the proof in I-tsing that *Śrī-Bhoja* existed on Sumatra as a name for Palembang at least since A.D. 671, it being further recorded under the form *Sarbazā* by Sulaimān in A.D. 851; whereas as regards Java evidence has still to be forthcoming for a still greater antiquity of the term *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja* there. To me *I'o-shih-pu-lo* or *Bhoja-pura* ‘Island,’ as I-tsing terms it, is merely the name of the district, or particular township in which the capital *Bhoja* of the *Śrī-Bhoja*—or simply *Bhoja*—State was situated; and it is only by a misconstruction of I-tsing's words that Takakusu is led on to draw such a subtle distinction between the two names.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 1

<sup>2</sup> We have a *Bojo* island off the south coast of Tanah-Bala, on Si-berut Strait, west coast of Sumatra, a *Bojo* inlet off the east coast of Bangka, a *Bojo* Bay (Koninginne) on the west coast of Sumatra, a *Bojo* village on its north coast (on Merak's River Telok Semawi) etc., besides a *S-Bojo* city and district down the west coast of the same island (Ta-pian na uh Bay).

<sup>3</sup> The only passage in which the term *I'o-shih-pu-lo* occurs is on p. 10 of Takakusu's translation. There I-tsing enumerates the ‘islands’ (in reality



All the above, I feel sure, do away with the mistaken ideas by which Arabists and Sinologists alike have always

states or districts) of the Southern Sea, counting as he says from the west, in the following order (the identifications appended are my own) —

- (1) *P'o-lu shi* island = *Pasis* district W Sumatra.
- (2) *Mo lo yu* country (which is now the country of *Sri-Bhaya*) = *Malayu* State, south end of Malay Peninsula
- (3) *Mo-lo-sin* island (Bokassin) = *Palersang*, N Sumatra (see Marre's "Histoire des Rois de Pasey," p. 27)
- (4) *Ho ling* island = *Gerianq*, west coast of Malay Peninsula
- (5) *Tan-tan* (more correctly *Ta-t'a*) = either *Pulo Terntan* or *Trotto*, Langkawi group, or *Datu Point*, entrance of Pancei River, east coast of Sumatra, or *Datu Point*, or *Baru* on the equator east coast of Sumatra
- (6) *P'en p'i'i* island = either *Berba* islet and river, Jambi district, east coast of Sumatra, or *Bemban*, on north-east extremity of Bating Island, Singapore Strait
- (7) *P'o-li* island = either the *Pras* or the *Pulau* district, west coast of Malay Peninsula
- (8) *K'u-lu* island = either *Kuntur* island, off east coast of Sumatra, below Gelam Strait (0° 40' to 0° 50' N lat.), or *Pulo Gila g*, farther to the east.
- (9) *Fo-shih pu* island = *Bhoyapura* district of *Sri-Pheya* (Palembang)
- (10) *A-shin* or *O-shan* island = either *Asahan* district, east coast of Sumatra (3° N lat.), or *Ranyu-Auu* (or simply *Asin*) River, close by the north of the Palembang River, or *Asahan* district, south-east end of Sumatra, 5° 31' S lat.
- (11) *Mo ch a-mian* island = either *Mekapan* on Brouwer Strait, *Bakawan* on Kateman River, or *Mangoman* (Magaman<sup>2</sup>) island at the southern end of Sumatra

As may be seen from the list just transcribed, I-tsing follows but casually the order he proposed himself but at all events he begins at the westernmost point, i.e. *Burus*, ending at about the easternmost, i.e. *Fo-shih-pu-lo* (Palembang) and *Mo-shia-an* (may be Mangoman) his general course being from N W to S E. And yet Takakusu has managed to drag in *Pulo Condore* and *Java*. A glance at Professor Schlegel's later attempts to identify the above places in the *Toung-Pao* for 1901 pp. 109-121, will show that the equivalents he suggests are likewise untenable on some one or other ground. But to revert to our subject. In the above list I-tsing does not at all mean, by No. 2, *Sri-Bhaya*, as Takakusu would have us to believe, but merely intends to refer to *Malayu*, which, during his time, or at some later date, became part of *Sri-Bhaya* (Palembang). *Malayu*, we have seen, was 15 days' sail from Palembang, and stood on the southern extreme of the Malay Peninsula, i.e. westward according to I-tsing's notion, of Palembang, hence, why should he, in alluding to it, include with it Palembang, which should come at about the end of his list among the easternmost countries? This point settled, it will be evident that the real *Sri-Bhaya* I-tsing had in mind is No. 9, i.e. *Fo-shih-pu-lo* or *Bhoyapura* (Palembang). This was the capital, the principal district of the sovereign State. *Mo-lo-yu* was but a dependency of it. The distinction that Takakusu is so anxious to draw between *Sri-Bhaya* and *Bhoyapura* as being two entirely separate localities (in order that he may drag in some little bit of the Java of his heart) is, therefore utterly absurd, and in absolute contradiction with both the tenour and spirit of I-tsing's text.

sought to connect *Zābej* and *Shé-p'o* with Java, and unimpeachable evidence will be required to the contrary to prove their pet, but I am afraid now hopeless, thesis. From the fact of its lying so far away in the southern seas, Java evidently remained completely ignored, or but vaguely known to the Chinese and Arabs, until well-nigh the end of the thirteenth century A.D.; while as regards Javanese domination it did not spread beyond the limits of the island itself until about A.D. 1377, the approximate date of the Javanese conquest of Palembang and other neighbouring insular States in the Archipelago. It is therefore idle to talk of Javanese transoceanic empires before that date. For all evidence to hand concurs in showing that the power which was supreme in the Archipelago at an earlier period and became famous in Arabic literature under the name of *Zābej* had its centre in Sumatra, and precisely at Palembang, at least as far back as the date of I-tsing's arrival there (A.D. 671). Prior to that the seat of power may have stood further to the north, as would appear from the *Pāgar-rūyung* inscription of A.D. 656 already referred to, and from some circumstantial evidence tending to show that the paramount ruler may have resided somewhere in the Jambi or even Indragiri district. In A.D. 631-640 we get from Yuan-chwang dim echoes of his *Yamana*-, or *Yabana*-, *dripa*, which may be one and the same with the *Yara* or *Prathamā-Yara* State of the inscription just referred to. Before that, again, we have a Chinese tradition, or rather legend, which shall be referred to further on, according to which the eastern limit of the Sumatran empire was at *San-fo-ch'i*, viz. Palembang, while the western extended to India (extra-Gangem, i.e. Peninsula), thus inducing one to infer that its centre must have stood on the northern part of Sumatra. Still retracing our footsteps into the remote past, and taking note *en passant* of Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'u-t'i*, *Jabadā* (𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸?), or *Yabadiū*, we reach our goal in Ptolemy's *Iabadiū* or *Sabadiū* at the very dawn of the first century of our era. The sequel is perfectly consistent throughout with historical as well as geographical and ethnological evidence, as will

now appear, after the field has been cleared of all imaginary resemblances which have been set up by our predecessors. We may therefore now proceed unhampered on our way to discuss his data and turn them into useful building material.

#### IV *Ptolemy's Iabadiu*

According to Ptolemy's geographical data, rectified as shown in our tables, the position of the transverse axis of Iabadiu or Sabadiu becomes fixed between long  $104^{\circ} 21' E$  and lat  $1^{\circ} 51' S$  on the west, and long  $105^{\circ} 48' E$  and lat  $1^{\circ} 33' S$  on the east, thus embracing the area intervening between the eastern seaboard of the Jambi district abreast of Pulo Bedawang and the north coast of Bingka until a little beyond the eastern point of entrance to Kelabat Bay. Allowing for a slight error in excess of longitude, we may shift these two extremities of the axis of Iabadiu a little back until the eastern one coincides with the eastern seaboard of the Jambi district in lat  $1^{\circ} 33' S$  as indicated, when the western one will fall on the Tambesi River (the principal tributary, from the right, of the Jambi), and we shall then have pretty nearly the whole width of the Jambi district included within the limits of the Ptolemaic Iabadiu. How far this island extended, in the conception of our author, northwards and southwards of the axial line just now determined he left us no data to judge by. All the same, from the oldest available reproductions—or imitations—of his maps it may be argued that the axis above referred to was the major one, i.e., that it represented, according to his notions, the length of the island its width being reckoned by him about one half of that. There can thus be no doubt that his conception of the extent of the island was far short of reality, although it may be pleaded in extenuation of his shortcomings in this respect that if, as we have suggested the insular groups of the Barusan, Sabadeibai, and Sindai scattered, according to him off the west coast of his Iabadiu, both on the north and south, really represent portions of the west coast of Sumatra

(i.e. respectively the Bārūs, Padang, and Indrapura districts) mapped separately by him under the impression that they were distinct islands, and not contiguous parts of a single whole, of which his Iabadiū was but the mutilated torso, his share of responsibility in the matter would then be considerably reduced. For his error would then merely consist in his having handed down to us the tradition of these *disjecta membra* instead of a compact, connected whole. In thus proceeding he was naturally misled by his informants, who were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with Sumatra to perceive that its coast stretched in an unbroken line for 960 miles from north to south.<sup>1</sup> And this ignorance of the real extent of the island continued, as we have seen, for over eleven centuries after him, ending, as far as the European world was concerned, with Marco Polo—who, first of all known travellers, no longer spoke of those portions of

<sup>1</sup> As regards those informants, they were, like the later travellers Arab and Chinese, misled in their own turn by the peculiar style of nomenclature followed by the natives in designating the various portions of the southern Asiatic continent and Archipelago. It is important to remember that Orientals—I speak especially of those of Further India—have no generic terms nor ever thought or felt the necessity of inventing them, not only for the great divisions of the earth's surface (continents, regions, peninsulas, etc.), but even for the less extensive tracts of land (such as e.g. large islands, isthmuses, etc.). The only words their scanty vocabulary supplies them with for denoting the multifarious features just referred to are at the very outside three, viz., one meaning 'land' (*sthāna*, *sthāna tanah*, etc.), the second meaning 'country' or 'kingdom' (*raṣṭa*, *rattha*, etc., in some instances, and in others *nagara*, *negri*, *nagor*, *nakhon*, etc., which signifies at the same time the capital), the third meaning 'island' (*deśa*, *dipa*, *div*, *du*, *pulo*, *t'loh*, *koh*, etc.), which is, however, applied to the smallest islands only. The Chinese have very ambiguous terms (1) *chou*, 州, — an islet, a department or political division, province, district, (2) *chou*, 洲, an islet, a continent, (3) *shan*, 山, meaning a mountain, a hill, a mountain range, as well as an island, and (4) *shān*, 島, meaning an island generally of small size. In the Archipelago the terms almost exclusively used are *tanah* for country, land, territory, and *pulo* (replaced in some parts by *nusa*, *gali*, etc.), for island (of a small size). The term *neuri* = country, region, territory, state, nation, capital, city, is but seldom used. It is with this very limited linguistic stock-in-trade that the populations of Further India have to meet all exigencies of geographical nomenclature in so far as the designation of parts of the earth's surface are concerned. But for the largest of these parts they have not, as I remarked, generic names: they supply their content by calling each of their smaller divisions (country, realm, district) by a certain specific name, leaving the whole to go down nameless to *Erigeia*, quite unconcerned. Who has ever heard, for instance, that Orientals ever devised a name for, say, Asia, that Indians ever had a comprehensive name for the Indian Peninsula, or the Chinese for

Sumatra as separate islands, but as of contiguous kingdoms—whereas it continued for some time to be handed down in both Arabic and Chinese literature. One redeeming

feature with Ptolemy is, however, the fact of his having handed down to us from so remote a period the record of so many districts of Sumatra Island (Bārūs, Saba, Sinda or Sunda or Indrapura), and last, but not least, of the capital of its paramount kingdom, Argyrê, which, corresponding, as we shall see, to the present Aceh, demonstrates at any rate that he had some idea as to the extent of the island so far westward.

But passing on now to a more minute investigation of the nature and purport of the term Iabadiū or Sabadiū, he has recorded as the (in reality, only middle and northern portions) Island of Sumatra, we at once find ourselves puzzled by the derivation he gives of its name. For his statement is most explicit on this point. the term in question means, he tells us, 'Island of Barley': "*Ἰαβαδίον (ἡ Σαβαδίον), ὃ σημαίνει χριθῆς, νῆσος*"<sup>1</sup> This apparent crux need not, however, disconcert us. He here again repeats what his informants were told on the subject by the early Indū traders. And we know from experience gained during the course of the present inquiry that genuine scientific etymology, as now understood by us, is not, or at least was not in the old days, the forte of Oriental peoples, no more, indeed, than it was even about a century ago with ourselves. When the origin of a particular term was obstinately puzzling and could not readily be detected, the course adopted by those good people was to invent one to suit their taste and fancy. Throughout the preceding pages we have met with many an example of such amusing etymologies, concocted on the lines laid down in the "Diversions of Purley" by some Oriental Horne Tooke. In the case in point, then, it is not difficult to guess what actually did happen. The early Indū traders, being at a loss to account for the meaning of the racial term *Jaca* or *C'haud* they found applied to a certain section—the most enterprising and progressive—of the native population of Northern and Eastern Sumatra, somewhat

<sup>1</sup> "Geographia," lib vii, ch 2, § 29.

misled, as we shall see directly, by the chance coincidence of a peculiarly large kind of millet growing there evolved *ipso facto* a derivation from *Yara*, 'barley,'<sup>1</sup> corroborating it, moreover, with a legend which we give below, invented *ad hoc* as their kinsmen and followers have done for other ethnonyms or toponyms in various parts of Further India.<sup>2</sup> And it goes without saying that the rude and ignorant natives—dazzled by the many sided lore possessed by some of those early traders and emigrants, and by the Brāhmins and Buddhist monks who naturally in the course of time followed in their wake—accepted all they were told as gospel, just as we had occasion to notice in other countries of the same region.<sup>3</sup> Ignorant of their own origin owing to the absence as yet of written records they gladly accepted those which the cultured foreigners had fabricated for them—exactly as many a Western parvenu accepted the pedigree that some shrewd genealogist had traced back for him to the Crusades, to Charlemagne, or to the knights of the Round Table.

And now to the legend above referred to. I must preface it, however, with the remark that it comes to us, clad in poetic garb, from the Island of Java although there is scarcely any doubt that it has migrated thither from Sumatra together with the term *Jaya* or *Yara* with which it is indissolubly connected. Perhaps it may be yet possible to trace it in the last mentioned island. It is to the following effect—<sup>4</sup>

A king of Hastināpura (on the Ganges), by the name of Ajī Śaka was the first Indū adventurer who reached Java,

<sup>1</sup> The Sung History (bk. 439) positively states of *Sai fo ch i* (*Sa ba a* or *Ialembing*) under the date A.D. 903 that 'the country does not produce barley but rice and green and yellow peas' (Groeneveldt op cit p. 187).

<sup>2</sup> The form *larana* another *lucua* a non *lucendo* derived from the same words *Ja a* or *Ca a* in the north of Indo-China (see above pp. 128-150) was probably also current in the south if it were the real prototype of *Hwa tan*, *Ja en mo na* (*Jaba d*?) see pp. 463-464.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. p. 266 above as regards the legend about king Sagara in Southern Campa.

<sup>4</sup> See Winter & Roorda's *Ajī Śaka* Amsterdam 1857 *Annales de l'Extrême Orient* Paris 1881 t. II p. 293 etc.

then called *Nusa Mendang*<sup>1</sup> and peopled by Rākṣasas. Finding there an edible kind of grain called *Yara* or *Jara*, he changed the name of the island into *Nusa Jara*. Having in due course subdued the cannibal Rākṣasas, he founded cities, taught the people to write, and established the Śaka Era, so called after him, in A.D. 78<sup>2</sup>

To prove that all this is mere invention, it will suffice to point out that the allusion is to the mythical Indū king Śilivāhana, the fabled founder in India of the so-called Śaka or Śilivāhana Era, which does not seem to have come into use until several centuries later than the initial year of that era<sup>3</sup>. The only scintilla of truth embodied in the legend just referred to lies apparently in the reference made to the grain found growing on the island, which,

<sup>1</sup> Java is alleged to have been known, at a still more remote period than when the Indū immigration took place, as *Nusa Hara-hara*, or 'Desert Island,' and *Nusa Kendang*, or 'Island of the mountain ranges' (see Dulaurier in *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p. 244). Its capitals are said to have been successively at *Kuripan*, *Jaigala* (or *Jaŋgala*), *Maulang Kamulan*, *Astina* (Hastina?), *Geling* (West *Jajajaran*) in the vicinity of the present Buitenzorg south of Batavia, A.D. 1280-1306? *Majapahit* (A.D. 1356-1475, or 1280-1475?), and *Demak* (1475-1478?). There can be no doubt however, that several of these cities coexisted contemporaneously as capitals of separate states.

<sup>2</sup> The Javanese Śaka era has not for several centuries corresponded with the original, owing to the defective lunar calendar adopted there, it is said, in A.D. 1633. The divergence from the Indū Śaka amounts at present to four years in excess. This led some writers to infer that the Javanese era began in A.D. 74, which does not seem to be the case. The Javanese envoys to China are related in Ming history (bk. 321) to have presented "a letter stating that their kingdom had been founded 1376 years before that is, in the first year of the period Yuen K'ang of the Emperor Hsuan of the Han dynasty (B.C. 65)." (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 163). However, 1432-1376 = A.D. 56, a discrepancy which Groeneveldt, loc. cit., is at a loss to account for. Probably there is an error of 10 in excess in the number of years stated as having elapsed from the foundation of the kingdom which should in this case be read 1,376 instead of 1376, when we should obtain 1432-1276 = A.D. 156. But the error may be of several hundreds of years as far as we know, and evidently not only the Javanese who did the reckoning, but also the Chinese who went on comparing dates with their own chronology, were not mathematicians.

<sup>3</sup> "In Northern India the earliest inscription which is avowedly dated in the Śaka era is that dated Śaka 784 at Deogarh in the Lalitpur subdivision of the Jhansi District" (Vincent A. Smith in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1903 pp. 36-37). Earlier inscriptions in Western India may be dated in the same era, but this is by no means certain just yet. In Kamboja however, the Śaka era appears on inscriptions as early as A.D. 629, in Champa even earlier (A.D. 479-577), and in Burma in A.D. 610 (Kurek pagoda inscription at Iagan).



though not barley, but being presumably of a size similar to barley, was nevertheless called *Yara*, i.e. 'barley' (this being its Sanskrit name),<sup>1</sup> by the Indū immigrants (and not by the natives) in order, as we pointed out, evidently to obtain a source from which to trace the derivation of the name *Jara* or *C'haud* borne by the population of the island. Ptolemy's mention of the meaning currently ascribed in his time to the term *Jara* or *C'haud* proves two things, and very important withal, viz.: (1) that in his time Indū immigrants had already settled on the island and concocted the etymology, with very probably also the accompanying legend in a similar form to that referred to above; and (2) that the island in which these events occurred was Sumatra (the northern half of it corresponding to his *Iabadiū*), and not Java. It follows, therefore, that both etymology and legend must have originated in Sumatra, whence they were in the course of time introduced into Java as I have shown.

But there is yet one more clue to show that the cradle of those linguistic and myth-making feats was really Sumatra. Such a clue is, in my opinion, to be found in the account of the voyage, seemingly not so fabulous as has hitherto been thought, of the Greek traveller and writer Iambulus, preserved to us by Diodorus Siculus at the end of the second book of his *Universal History*.<sup>2</sup> Therein it is stated in the words of Iambulus himself, whose account Diodorus has transcribed at some length, that Iambulus, having been made a slave by the Æthiopians, was sent away by his captors with a companion in a boat which carried them to a happy island in the Eastern seas. After seven years' stay in this island they were ejected by the natives, whereupon having fitted a skiff they set sail, and after a voyage of four months reached the sandy shallows of India (Sunderbands?). Thence Iambulus alone (his companion

<sup>1</sup> *Jara* is the Telugu name for *Hordeum hexastichum* (see Forbes Watson's "Index to Indian Plants," p. 219, s.v.), and everywhere else in India *Jar*, *Yara*, or *Yarala* mean some variety of barley.

<sup>2</sup> "Bibliothèque," lib. ii, ch. 57.

having got drowned while attempting to land) was carried away by the inhabitants to *Polibothra* (Pāṭaliputra), many a day's journey from the sea. At length, after several incidents, he safely arrived in Greece, where he committed all his adventures to writing.

The happy island in the Eastern seas on which Iambulus had made so lengthy a stay has been supposed by some to be Ceylon, despite the fact that the space of four months stated to have been occupied in the passage thence to the Gangetic Delta well argues that it must have lain far more remote from the shores of India, and should therefore be sought for in the Eastern Archipelago. The description given of it suits remarkably well with Sumatra, especially in the particular points of thermal springs,<sup>1</sup> of the sun shining straight overhead and the polar star becoming invisible,<sup>2</sup> of the natives having their ears bored,<sup>3</sup> of a deadly grass,<sup>4</sup> etc. The circuit of the mysterious island is stated to be but 5,000 stadia, equal to about 500 miles, which would be, of course, far too short for Sumatra; but as it is added that there are seven more islands close by of the same size, it is very probable that these islands are, as in other instances inquired into by us, merely adjoining districts of Sumatra.

<sup>1</sup> Sulamān (see Reinaud, *op. cit.*, p. 21) mentions a hot well at the foot of the volcanic mountain near *Zāby*.

<sup>2</sup> Marco Polo notices the same fact of *Java Minor* (Sumatra) in general, and of the State of *Samara* (Sumatra) on its north coast in particular, adding when he reached *Comari* (the country about Cape Komorin, in the extreme south of India) that something could be seen there of the North Star, which he had not been able to see since reaching *Lesser Java*. Odoric records, when speaking of *La neri* (Lambri, N.W. Sumatra), that he had lost sight of the North Star. As regards the sun being straight overhead, I tsing mentions (Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144) that no shadow is cast at midday by the gnomon at Śrī-Bhoja during the equinoctial periods.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolò Conti says of Taprobana or *Sciamuthera* (Sumatra) "The ears both of the men and women are very large, in which they wear earrings ornamented with precious stones" (Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," pt. II, p. 6). He does not in the slightest refer to this custom when speaking of the Greater Java i.e. Java proper.

<sup>4</sup> *Jpok* or *Upas* tree. Odoric speaks of trees bearing a terrible poison in *Natem*, *Punthen*, or *Calamak* (Malayu kingdom on Old Singapore Strait, see p. 537). Fei hsu (A.D. 1436) says of *Aru* or *Haru*, east coast of Sumatra "Every man carries a bow and poisoned arrows to protect himself" (Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 217).

In such a case, the coastline of these districts joined together would give us a total not much inferior to the circuit of Sumatra.

The truthfulness of the above description appealed before this to a Portuguese gentleman alluded to by Ramusio as well acquainted with the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, who had no hesitation in identifying as Sumatra the happy island that had hospitated Iambulus.<sup>1</sup>

But there is more yet. The alphabet in use among the natives of that elysium is described as consisting of seven characters, each of which is capable of undergoing four different transformations, so as to produce in the aggregate twenty-eight letters or logograms. The important information is moreover added that the order followed by the writing is from top to bottom—all features that stamp that system of graphology as peculiar to Sumatra. The Battak there have, in fact, and from time immemorial, a system of writing disposed in vertical columns from top to bottom and then from left to right.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio's "Navigationi et Viaggi," 1563 ed., vol. 1, pp. 174 seqq. Lassen understood the island of Iambulus to be Bali, but Colonel Wilford declared for Sumatra. And yet Lucian, in his "Verae Historiae" (i, 3), summarily pulsed Iambulus along with Ktesias as a writer of fables. But the same happened with Marco Polo, Mendez Pinto, and other travellers, whose generally veracious stories the Western world would not believe until very recently, when they could be verified.

<sup>2</sup> Lacouperie rashly argued on this sole ground that Battak writing "is undoubtedly a degraded type of Indian descent, through the old Kawi of Java" ("Beginnings of Writing," London, 1894, p. 93). But how did he know that the famous Kawi originated in Java, and was not on the contrary introduced thither from Sumatra, undoubtedly the stepping-stone through which Indian civilization reached Java? Battak writing may therefore be, not the degenerate type, but the fossilized prototype of the Kawi which afterwards attained so perfect a development in Java (and perhaps, before that, in Sumatra itself). What survived in the mountain fastnesses of the Battak country is very likely the embryonic form of that writing, as employed in the remotest days all over Sumatra. This, owing to the comparatively isolated condition of the Battaks, could continue to be handed down unchanged, from generation to generation, amongst them, whilst undergoing steady improvement in the lowlands nearer the seaboard. As to the Battak being acquainted with this system of writing from a very early period there can be no doubt for their magic-books, written on bark and recording various stories and events, are very ancient. A system of writing similar to theirs seems to have been in favour all over the Archipelago. The Tagals in the Philippines employed fifteen characters, of which twelve were consonants and three vowels, that served as five, and wrote from top to bottom "on canes [bamboos]." See De Morga's "Philippine Islands," London, Hakluyt Soc.

And now we come to the most essential point for us Diodorus refers, always following Iambulus, to a large kind of grain growing on the island where the latter resided. This grain Ramusio's Portuguese informant thought to be either Indian corn or a large variety of millet used as an article of food in the East Indies. We thus have, I think, in Iambulus' statement, the oldest link—dating from the end of the second century B.C.—in the chain connecting the notion as to the existence of a large kind of grain on Sumatra with the spurious etymology contrived in order to account for the name *Java* or *C'haud* of the race that inhabited it, and with Ptolemy's consequent explanation of the term *Iabadiā* or *Jard*, *Yara-dēpa*, as 'Island of Barley.' The falsity of that derivation is clearly shown from the fact of Ptolemy having also put on record the alternative designation *Sabadiā*, from which we may legitimately infer that although the fictitious etymology *Yara-dēpa*, with the legend attached to it, was already current in his time, the real name *Java*, *C'haud*, of the island (derived from that of the race that held supremacy over it) was, on the other hand, by no means unknown.

I trust, therefore, to have conclusively proved that the names *Java*, *Yara*, etc., with the various stories, partly genuine and partly invented, connected with them, were peculiar to Sumatra (especially its northern part) long before they became localized in Java, whither they were imported from the former island. Sumatran civilization, brought about by Indū influence, is, beyond doubt, far older than the Javanese. Not only is there evidence as to Sumatra having been already known, and perhaps settled, by the early Phœnician traders at a no less remote epoch

1868, pp. 294-5) The Rhimas of Sambawa wrote, it appears likewise Prinsep (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1837, vol. vi, p. 476) found Iambulus' description of the writing in his mysterious island exact and true Lacouperie ('Beginnings of Writing'), who at first (p. 94) doubtfully suggested Ceylon as its location, inclined in the end (p. 197) "in favour of Sumatra-Java, which, as known at present were not separated in antiquity" [?]. And he winds up by declaring that "at the end of the second century B.C. the Greek Iambulus described rather accurately, as a writing of that island, the Kawi syllabary originally from India."

than five, if not more, centuries before the Christian era;<sup>1</sup> but all indications concur in showing that the civilization

<sup>1</sup> See Park Harrison's note on "Phœnician Characters from Sumatra" in the *Journal Anthropological Institute*, April, 1875 (vol iv, No 2), pp 387-388, where the writer compares Rejang writing on ancient bamboo tablets, such as is still in use in the districts of Rejang, Lamba, and Pasumah, with Phœnician characters, finding an identity in form in nearly the whole of the letters. Both in Java and Sumatra—he proceeds to say, on the authority of Raffles ("History of Java," p 85) and Marsden ("Sumatra," p 3, note, 2nd ed.)—"written traditions, mixed with fable refer to the arrival of ships in remote times, and at two different epochs, from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf—in the one case at a time when vessels still coasted round the Bay of Bengal in the other, in the age of Alexander, who is said to have built a bridge 'in the sea,' which may mean that ships commanded by some of his officers arrived direct from India. Three of his descendants are also said to have become kings of Palembang, etc. The ships would have been manned principally by Phœnician sailors." Lacouperie ("Beginnings of Writing," p 77) did not seem to believe in a connection between Rejang and Phœnician characters. The question, however, was revived almost immediately after his death, in "Archæologia Oxoniensis," part vi (1895), pp 297-302, where the Rejang characters are declared, on the evidence of specialists such as Renan and Professor Sayce, to be not only clearly Phœnician in form but presenting marks of adaptation that point to Greek influence, such as might have been exerted on Tyrian epigraphy during the course of Nearchus' voyages. Dr Neubauer is stated, in fact, to consider the shapes of the letters as those of the fourth or fifth century B.C., which would synchronize closely with the destruction of Tyre and the deportation of the Tyrian sailors to India. Some of the vessels built by the Phœnician shipwrights who were deported to the Indus for that purpose it is surmised, may have proceeded southwards, in which case it would seem not unlikely that the Tyrian crews of some of them may have seized the opportunity of regaining their freedom, and either themselves have followed the old trade route to the East, or, if they arrived there in ships commanded by Greek officers, may have deserted and acquired a new home in Sumatra, and so the Phœnician characters would have been introduced in the districts now perhaps inhabited by their Malayo Polynesian descendants. It is further urged that after the successful voyage of Nearchus and Onesicritus in ships built by those Phœnician shipwrights, from the Indus to the mouth of the Tigris, and the narration by the former of his adventures to Alexander at Susa (end of February, B.C. 324), a long interval elapsed (15 months), during which both captains disappear entirely from the scene. They are heard of again shortly before the death of Alexander, who, according to Plutarch (confirmed by Quintus Curtius), was met by Nearchus on his approach to Babylon, and on the second day of his fatal illness heard from him the history of his voyage on the ocean, from which it is said, he had returned. Quintus Curtius writes in fact (lib x ch 1) in a brief allusion to the meeting, that Alexander had ordered Nearchus and Onesicritus to proceed on a more distant voyage, and this is what Nearchus or both of them, related to their sovereign just before he died (June, 323 B.C.). Although Dean Vincent supposed this to refer to the coasting voyage, it is possible that a second voyage is alluded to the inducement to which may have been supplied by an account of an Arab pilot met with, as we know, by Nearchus on the coast of Gedrosia, and who rendered him important services in navigating his ships.

See also *Geographical Journal*, 1896, p 659, and *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January 1896, pp 202-3 for reviews and notices. Burnell's "South Indian Paleography," 2nd ed., pp 3, 7, 9. *Journ Roy Asiatic Soc*, January, 1897, p 60 etc for sundry remarks and allusions.

I am however of opinion that Phœnician navigators were acquainted with the north coast, at least, of Sumatra even long before the time of Alexander,

introduced into the Archipelago from Southern India travelled on to Java by way of Sumatra, so that this latter was, so to speak, its first centre,<sup>1</sup> and acted as a stepping-stone to its further progress towards the more outlying islands. Even as regards the Kūwi (or Kūvi) alphabet, acknowledged on all sides to have originated from Southern India, its Sumatran types have been recognized to be slightly archaic as compared with those of Java,<sup>2</sup> a fact arguing that they must have been adopted in Sumatra before reaching Java.

The "San-ts'ai T'u-hwei" (by Wang K'i, pub. 1607) has preserved to us an account of a Sumatran State called

although the characters in question (which include Cypriote forms found in inscriptions at Citium, their introduction being accounted for from the fact of there having been Cypriotes among the crews of Nearchus' fleet) may have really reached Sumatra later on through some one or other cause. Burnell (op cit, p. 3) is disposed to concede that the Phœnicians who voyaged for Solomon came to Southern India at least, and dates their commercial intercourse with India from the seventeenth century B.C. (p. 9), adding that it must have ceased, in a direct way, full five hundred years B.C., if not more (p. 9). I go still further, and have good reason to maintain that *Achōh* or *Dacheh*, the *Ta-shih* of the Chinese, so often confounded by them with *Tōjāh* or Arabia, was almost undoubtedly, if not exactly the Biblical *Tarsūsh*, at any rate a Phœnician settlement named after it, the famous *Ophir* lying not very far away, to wit, on the Malay Peninsula (*Khryssē*), or near the northern shore of the Gulf of Martaban (*Khryssē Khōra*, with its city Sabara, the *Sucanabhum* of Buddhist fame). Again, in the name of *Pani* or *Pānei*, east coast of Sumatra, we may have a relic of the terms *Punt*, *Punt*, *Pani*, *Puni*, *פוֹנִי*, transplanted here by the *Pani* or Phœnicians themselves. I cannot afford space to enter here on the long discussion that the treatment of such a question would entail, hence I propose to deal with it separately elsewhere. Suffice, however, to have thrown out the hint and foreshadowed a novel probable solution for the *Ophir* problem. *Jobāh*, *Javan*, and *Shrōa*, or at all events counterparts of them created by the Phœnician settlers in Further India can easily be detected in *Jaba* (North Sumatra) and *Saba* or *Shō-p'o* (Malay Peninsula and Burma), while in Malacca, if the name, as we have previously noticed, is really ancient as it seems we may have the toponomastic indication of an ancient Phœnician settlement named after (or for the same reasons as) *Malaca* on the coast of Spain. And with this we must stop for the present.

*Fo-lo-an*, 佛囉安, which could be reached by sea in four days' and nights' sailing from *Lin-ya-sz*, 凌牙斯, and also by land.<sup>1</sup> In this country were two brass statues of divinities which had arrived there by flying (probably aboard some ship), one having six arms (*Avalokiteśvara*?) and the other four (*Visnu*?), and whose birthday took place on the 15th of the sixth month. Whenever outlanders wished to come in order to steal the pearls and jewels in the temple of these divinities, a violent storm and waves arose as soon as they arrived at the mouth of the river, so that their ships could not enter it.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Schlegel identifies the two statues with *Kṛān-yin*, the *Avalokiteśvara* of India, till this day represented with

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned also by Chao Ju kua, see *Young-Pao* for 1901, p 130, and *Journ Roy Asiatic Soc*, 1896, p 478. Its neighbours were, according to Chao Ju kua —

- (1) *P'eng feng*, 蓬豐 (Bangbang, Bung gung), very likely the *Monggong* of the *Pawa* chronicle (Marre, op cit, p 75) on North Sumatra although the Chinese spelling suggests something like *Bangong* or *Bung gung*. The Chinese map of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips (*Journal China Branch R A S*, vol xx, 1885) has a *P'ing feng* mountain, 屏風山, a little east of *Nan iu-li* (*Lambi*), north coast of Sumatra, which may be the same place as *P'eng feng*, for, although the spelling differs, the pronunciation is practically identical.
- (2) *T'eng ya néng*, 登牙儂, identified by me with absolute certainty with *Trieng gading*, north coast of Sumatra, a little to the west of Samalangan.
- (3) *Chia-chi-lan lan* (Kakilantan), 加吉蘭丹, may be *Gigieng*, between Beureuleung and *Trieng-gading* but more likely some toponymic (such as *Kaki lontar*, *Kaki lintang*, *Kaki lintar*) that has disappeared, or is not recorded on the as yet incomplete maps of North Sumatra.

<sup>2</sup> See *Young Pao*, vol ix, p 402. Here we gather the important information that *Fo-lo-an* stood on the banks of a navigable river, which it is well to remember. Professor Schlegel appears to have forgotten this fact when he (op cit, p 404) suggests two insignificant places named *Puluan*, lying very far inland (one in the southern portion of Palembang, and the other in the Semangka district near the southern extreme of Sumatra), which sea going vessels could certainly not reach except by flying, like the statues in the legend related above. Our identification of *Fo-lo-an* is, it will be seen, far more justified, it being besides corroborated by that of its neighbouring district *T'eng-ya-néng*, which is undisputably *Trieng-gading* as suggested above.

a triple head. His birthday tallies exactly with that of *Ma-tsu-p'o*, "Our Lady of Births," the Chinese patroness of sailors, "who herself is again identified with *Kwan-yin*, the legend of whose birth in the southern seas is thereby strikingly confirmed. According to this legend . . . the father of Kwan-yin had a kingdom extending westwards to India, northward to *Siem-lo* (Siam), eastwards to *Fo-ch'i* [*Bhoja* or Palembang, if not Pāsai], and southward to *T'ien-chên*, 天眞 [Indrapura?]"—in other words, including the northern half, if not the whole, of Sumatra.<sup>1</sup>

Kwan-yin is often represented with a horse-head surmounting the triple crown he wears; and in the form of a magic horse is fabled to have saved Sunhala, said to have been the original king of Ceylon, from shipwreck when he first sailed thereto from Southern India. Kwan-yin's birth-place is further located at *Fo-ch'i* (Bhoja),<sup>2</sup> whence we may infer that this divinity must be connected with the sea-horse of the Arabic legend, as well as with the hippocephalic form assumed by Viṣṇu in the sea of the Archipelago of Indū myth.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Schlegel is at a loss to identify *Fo-lo-an*, and suggests a few unacceptable equivalents. But I have scarcely any doubt that it is *Beruan* or *Baruan*, mentioned in the chronicle of Pāsai<sup>4</sup> as lying on the north

<sup>1</sup> *T'oung-Pao*, vol. ix, pp. 403-404.

<sup>2</sup> See De Groot's "Fêtes annuelles," vol. I, pp. 188-189, and *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, p. 177, also Estel's "Handbook," 2nd ed., pp. 23 and 154, for the legend.

<sup>3</sup> See below, in the section treating of *Argyrē*. As regards the marine horse of Arabic legend, see p. 559, where Ibn Khurdadīh (A.D. 864) is cited as locating it in the neighbourhood of the island of *Dhūfāl*, which we have shown to be very likely Riau or Bintang. Kazwīnī (1263-75) again describes it (see *Journal Asiatique*, 1905, pp. 230-231, note). In the Malay Chronicles it is called *Pais-si-Bahrī* (Pārasū-si-Bahrī), and represented as the progenitor of that marvellous steed named *Semberūnī*, which, both in the "Sejarah Malāyu" and the chronicle of Pāsel, is represented as a universal Pegasus, fit for either aerial, terrestrial, or marine journeys (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," p. 17, and Marre's "Hut des Rois de Pāsey," p. 69). Evidently the myth has been derived from the above legends of the marine horse, current from the remotest times in the Archipelago, and not from Arabic sources, for it does not appear to occur in Arabic folklore.

<sup>4</sup> See Marre, op. cit., p. 21.



coast of Sumatra towards Achēh. It is now probably represented by Beureuleung in the Segli-Pedir territory.<sup>1</sup>

As regards statues of Indian provenance or imitated from Indū models, it should be pointed out that there is no lack of them in Sumatra, and more will come to light when the country is thoroughly explored.<sup>2</sup>

Further, as to the antiquity of Sumatran civilization. The annals of the Chinese Liang dynasty ("Liang-shu," bk 54, compiled early during the seventh century and embracing the period 502-556 A.D.) tell us of a Stato

<sup>1</sup> There is also a *Belawan* River, with an island and a promontory (Ujong Belawan) near the mouth of the Deli River, east coast of Sumatra, a little below 4° N lat. Further, a Kota *Benuwang* (ruined) on the Rakan River, 1° 33' N lat.; and a *Pelalaican* River and village on Kampar River. As, however, *Lin-ya-sz* (which I make out to be *Langsar* or *Langksa* River below *Pirlak*, although it may be also *Langkat* near Deli, 4° N lat., or even *Ringat* in Indragiri, 0° 30' S lat.) is located at four days' and nights' sailing from *Fo-lo-an*, I think the identification I have suggested in the text is the most probable, also because *Lin-ya-sz* is stated to lie at six days' sailing from *Tan-ma-ling*, 單馬令, which may be the *Tambalang* River on the east coast of Sumatra, lat 2° S, just above the Palembang River. We would thus get the distances —

- (1) From Beureuleung (= *Fo-lo-an* = *Beruan*) to *Lin-ya-sz* (*Langksa* River), four days' and nights' sailing, actual distance 180 miles, or about 45 miles a day
- (2) From *Lin-ya-sz* (*Langksa* River) to *Tan-ma-ling* (*Tambalang* River) six days' sailing, actual distance 580 miles, or about 95 miles a day, which would seem excessive, although not improbable

However, it is possible that *Tan-ma-ling* may have been some other place further to the north of the location assumed by us of which there is now no record. On the other hand, the discrepancy in the rate of sailing per day between the places above referred to may be due to some slip on the part of the writer who recorded it, or to the fact of two separate estimates having been adopted based on the rate of sailing speed of differently rigged crafts. The name *Tan-ma-ling* certainly suggests, rather more forcibly, either *Temeling* or *Tembeling* Cape at the mouth of the Kwantan River above Pahang, or the *Tembeling* River itself (also called *Temelin*, and *Tembelang* in various Malay works) in Pahang territory in which case *Lin-ya-sz* might be even *Langat* on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula above Malacca, and the distances Beureuleung-Langat and Langat-Tembeling (or Temeling, *alias* Tembeling, Cape) would be about equal, viz 380 miles. But Chao Ju kua appears to say that communication between *Fo-lo-an*, *Lin-ya-sz*, and *Tan-ma-ling* existed also by land, which statement, if correct, prevents us from locating the last two places away from Sumatra. He, on the other hand, tells us that *Tan-ma-ling* could be reached in ten days' sailing from *Chen la* (Kamboja), a peculiarity that would suit well the territory about *Temeling* or *Tembeling* Cape in the northern part of Pahang.

<sup>2</sup> "In the State of Jambi, which borders on Palembang, Hindu images, identical with those of Java in all respects except that the material is granite instead of trachyte, have been discovered" (Dennys' "Dictionary of British Malaya," p 219)

called *Kan-t'o-h*, 干陀利, situated on an island in the southern sea, whose kings, devoutly Buddhist, sent envoys with presents to China as early as A.D. 455 to the then First Sung Emperor Hsiao-wu, and renewed their homage in 502, 510, and 520. The history of the First Sung dynasty also mentions the earliest embassy of A.D. 455, spelling the name of the State 斤陀利, *Chin-* [or *Kim-*] *t'o-h*.<sup>1</sup> Neither T'ang nor Later Sung annals breathe a word about the now forgotten State, and so on until the Ming dynasty, when all of a sudden the historiographers of that period burst forth with the discovery that the old *Kan-t'o-h* of the First Sung and Liang was no other than the *San-so-ch'i* (i.e. *Sarabaza* or Palembang) of their days. This late identification looks, I need not say, exceedingly suspicious, especially in view of the fact that we have more than once caught Chinese authors at fault in this sort of game; and last, but not least, because there was and still exists a *Khanthuli* or *Kanturi* district on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula,<sup>2</sup> which may very well be the old *Kan-t'o-h*

<sup>1</sup> See Groeneveldt, *op cit*, pp 185-187 and 192. *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, pp 122-125, and Ma Tsun-hu *op cit*, pp 451-453.

The names recorded for the kings who sent these various missions are — A.D. 455, *Shih-p'o-lo-na lin t'o* = Śrī Pala (or Bala) Narendra, A.D. 502, *Ch'ü-t'an Hsu-pa-t'o-lo* = Gotama Subhadra, A.D. 519, *P'i-ch'u-hue Ts-mo* = Visamisa (or Vaisya) Varman, son and successor of the preceding, who was still living in 520, when he sent a new mission.

<sup>2</sup> At some 15 miles above Chaya (Jaya) as the crow flies, and 14½ northwards from Lém Su (the Lém Sio of the Admiralty charts), the northern extremity of Bandou Bight. There is no mention of it in the "China Sea Directory," 4th ed., 1899, vol. II, and in Admiralty chart No. 989 the term has been perverted into *Kantre* "Lem Kantre" (meant for *Khanthuli Promontory*), being the only name marked there. However, the mouth of the stream debouching here is more correctly entered as *Pak Kantoke* in the Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society's map of the Malay Peninsula, 1887, while it is mutilated into *Pak nam Tu-lee* in the new edition of that map published in 1898, and the stream marked *Kig Kantre* (for *Khlóng Khanthuli*) in McCarthy's map nothing but *Paknam Tuli* appears, taken, of course, from older sources. The *Kanturi* Hills are first mentioned in an article intitled H. A. (— Henry Alabaster) in the *Bangkok Calendar* for 1873 p. 114. The correct name is, as I found out on inquiry, *Khanthuli* (*Ganduli* so written in Siamese), which is applied to the river, to a village near its mouth, and to the hill range running closely parallel to the coast at that point. The original name may have been Malay *Kanduri* = 'rat' in that language (in Khmer *Kundur*, *Kendor*), although the way it is spelled in Siamese suggests a derivation from the Sanskrit *Ganduli* (through *Gandula* = 'bent', 'crooked'), a qualification probably applied to the river, which thus may have become known as *Ganduli-nadi*. *Kanduli* is the Bengali name for *Cosmelina nudiflora*, called *Kendru* in other districts. *Kandari*, meaning a grotto or cave, is another possible etymology.

of First Sung and Liang periods.<sup>1</sup> The idea that any such confusing of historical geography had taken place would, of course, be dispelled if we could certainly know that the Ming historians had something substantial to go on in the shape of trustworthy old records or traditions for asserting the identity of the two places; or at least if it could be shown that their *Kan-t'o-li* or *Kin-t'o-li* is etymologically connected in name with *Andalas* or *Indalas*, اندلس, the ancient denomination borne, according to the "Sejarah Malāya," by the *Paralembang*, now Palembang, district in south-eastern Sumatra.<sup>2</sup> But who can tell that the same mistake did not happen in this case as with the old name *Jakola* of Malacca, which led the Chinese literati to connect it with *Ch'ung-ka-la* or *Sangar* in Sumbāwā?<sup>3</sup> That is to say, may not the historiographers of the Ming period, on hearing from their seafaring countrymen that Palembang had been known at an earlier date as *Andalas* or *Indalas*, have jumped to the conclusion, on the mere ground of similarity in names, that

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I notice, in Mr Parker's paper in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p 128, two more references to *Kan-t'o-li* belonging to later dates. One is an allusion to certain *Kan-t'o-li* cures or drugs occurring in a Chinese medical work during the seventh century, found by Dr Bretschneider (i.e. the "*Kan-t'o-li* Chi-kui-fang," of the Sui period, 589-618, see *Journal China Branch R A S*, vol xvi, 1881, p 93). The other reference is still more direct and positive. A celebrated anti-Buddhist statesman, Hsiao Yu, exiled to serve at the modern Swatow as penance for his iconoclastic zeal, mentions in a private letter, dated about 820, Mr Parker tells us, the fact that "Champā, Kamboja, and *Kan-t'o-li* are amongst the countless States beyond the seas." This, I am afraid, finally disposes of the theory that *Kan-t'o-li* was the old *San-fo-ch'i*'s territory. For if *Kan-t'o-li* was still the name of a State in A.D. 820, it could not be the same as Palembang, then called, for at least 150 years, *Shih-li Fo shih* or Śrī-Bhoja. *Kan-t'o-li* must then be *Klanthuli* on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, as we have suggested.

<sup>2</sup> See Leyden's "*Malay Annals*," p 20. Valentijn, who misspells the name *Andalis*, and Dulaurier (*Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p 120) took this as an ancient designation for the *sekolé* of the island of Sumatra. Even if the form *Indalas* occurs in Malay literature, as Dulaurier seems to imply, this '*Indalas* Island' would merely mean the tract of the Sumatran coast comprised within the limits of Palembang territory, and nothing more.

<sup>3</sup> See p 519. It is interesting to notice that the author of the "*Kwang-tung T'ung-chih*" (published 1693), of *Ch'ung-ka-la* memory, states precisely that the *San-fo-ch'i*'s or *Sarba*'s kingdom is the old *Kan-t'o-li* (see *T'ung-tao* for 1901 p 125), whence we infer that it is probably from this dilettante of historical geography that the identification emanated and was adopted in Ming history (which was not concluded until A.D. 1724). If such is the case, then the identity of Palembang with the ancient *Kan-t'o-li* territory may be rejected at once as unworthy of credence.

this was the ancient *Kan-t'o-li* referred to in the records of the First Sung and Liang dynasties? As a matter of fact, we shall see presently that the term *Andalas* had such origin as to preclude almost every possibility of its connection with the name *Kan-t'o-li*; and other reasons militate against such a name ever having existed for the territory of Palembang.<sup>1</sup> We are, therefore, unable, until further evidence is forthcoming, to accept the identification hit upon at the last hour by the Ming annalists.

However, we can do very well without the highly suspicious and scanty details about *Kan-t'o-li*, and turn to a far more trustworthy and older source—I mean the account left us by Fa-Hsien. Of course, after our conclusive demonstration of the identity of the Ptolemaic *Iabadiū* or *Sabadiū*, as well as of the Arabic *Zabey*, with Sumatra, it would be the height of absurdity to maintain any further that Fa-Hsien's *Fa-p'o-t'i* (*Jabadir* or *Yaca-dêš*) is the island of Java, as has been hitherto almost unanimously asserted. And independently of the reasons that have led us to establish that undisputable identity, there is the fact that the itinerary itself described by Fa-Hsien, when examined in the light of sound judgment, and not wilfully perverted and misconstrued as has hitherto been done, leads to the conclusion that the *Fa-p'o-t'i* he touched at in the early days of the year A.D. 415 was the east coast of Sumatra, and not Java at all. Let us take a glance at it.

Fa-Hsien left Ceylon, according to what can be gathered from his account, in either September or October, 414, bound for China by the usual route through the Archipelago.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although Buddhism flourished in Palembang during I-tsing's time (A.D. 671-695), the glowing description drawn of the prosperity of that faith in *Kan-t'o-li* appears to suit better a State on the Malay Peninsula. Compare, in fact, the similar accounts in Chinese records that relate to *P'an p'an*, *Lan ya-hsin*, and *P'o-li*, which—significant particular—Ma Tuan-lin enumerates in a course with *Kan-t'o-li*.

<sup>2</sup> This was rather late in the season, and the ship on which Fa-Hsien took passage must have been one of the most belated among those which usually did that journey. Mas'udi speaks of vessels leaving the coast of Oman for the East even as late as the month of Tirmah (21st June to 20th July), but adds that these were but of little value, and chanced it, so to speak, against the risks of navigation at that season.

Astern of the large merchant vessel on which he took passage, a small one was fastened as a provision in case of distress. With such an arrangement progress must have evidently been slow; say, two miles an hour or fifty miles a day on the average. Having got a fair wind they sailed *eastward*—mark this well, as it shows the unmistakable direction of their course straight for the Nīkobārs—for two or three days (say 100–150 miles),<sup>1</sup> when they encountered a cyclone, and the ship sprang a leak. This untoward accident compelled them to jettison a part of their cargo and personal effects. The storm lasted thirteen days and nights, when they arrived at the shore of an island (unnamed), and, on the tide going out, they found the place of the leak. Having forthwith stopped it, they resumed their voyage. Owing, however, to the weather keeping yet cloudy, they could not take bearings for many a day. At last they were once more able to shape a correct course [*eastward*, naturally, see above], and went on, reaching *Ya-p'o-t'* after about 90 days' sailing [say, early in January, 415]. Here, having stayed five months, Fa-Hsien took passage on another large merchantman for China [*i. e.* in May, with the setting of the south-west monsoon], reaching at last the coast of Shan-tung, after having weathered a violent storm, in three months [*i. e.* probably in August, 415].

It will be seen from the foregoing epitome that the island where Fa-Hsien's ship tarried to stop the leak, after 15 or 16 days' jolting and tossing at the mercy of the elements, cannot have been very far remote from Ceylon or the coast of India.<sup>2</sup> In September and October south-westerly winds

prevail, it is true, between Ceylon and the north coast of Sumatra, which would favour the passage from the former to the latter; but at the same time cyclones are frequent, especially about October, in the southern half of the Bay of Bengal, which move either westward or north-westward. In such cases the ships exposed to their influence experience very bad weather and sea, with rain and wind of hurricane force<sup>1</sup> Now, this is exactly the weather Fa-Hsien's ship encountered; the storm he describes as a 大風, *Ta-fêng*, i.e. a typhoon, and moreover he speaks of rain, a characteristic of the October cyclones in those parts<sup>2</sup> There can consequently be no doubt that his ship was blown back on the east coast of either Ceylon or India, and the island at which the leak was stopped may have been some sandy islet on that coast. The mention of pirates in the sea thereabouts<sup>3</sup> may help to better fix the locality. Thence Fa-Hsien's ship must have proceeded eastward to Malacca Strait by the usual route at that season, passing southward of the Great Nikobār Island, thence through Bengal passage, sighting Pulo Butong, and proceeding about midway between the Sembilan Islands and Pulo Jarak; then by the Aroas and the Great Kerimūn<sup>4</sup> to either Sūbong or Durian Strait, through which it would easily reach either the Indragiri, Jambi, or Palembang Rivers, according to the site then occupied by the capital of the Java or Yava kingdom. Here, changing ship—as his countryman I-tsing did two and three quarter centuries later at Śrī-Bhoja when proceeding from India to China—Fa-Hsien would, in due course, resume his homeward voyage.

Koulum or Qulon. Chao Ju-kua (circa A.D. 1240) states the distance from *San fo shā's* (Palembang) to *Nan p's* (Malabar) to be a little more than a month with the monsoon. (See *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1896, p. 483.)

<sup>1</sup> See the "Bay of Bengal Pilot" 2nd ed., London, 1901, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See Legge's "Record of Buddhist Kingdoms," Oxford, 1886, p. 112.

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It would manifestly be absurd that Fa-Hsien, in order to go to China, should take the roundabout route by way of Java, especially as there is no evidence whatever as to such a remote and difficult route, requiring considerable skill in seamanship, ever having been used until the advent of European navigators in the Archipelago. I-tsing, who mentions several itineraries to and fro between India and China, never speaks of passages through Sunda Strait, nor does any Arab or Chinese author or traveller, even up to the days of Chao Ju-kua and Ibn Baṭūṭa.<sup>1</sup> It is only when we come to the oft-quoted Chinese chart of about 1399 published by Phillips, that we find a route marked through Sunda Strait and thence along the whole length of the west coast of Sumatra to Aceh or Lambri, unaccompanied, however, by any sailing directions, which is a proof that it was as yet but imperfectly known and seldom used. On the contrary, the real and only route from India and Ceylon to China is laid down on the same map through Malacca Strait. I have accordingly come to the conclusion that no ship ever proceeded from India to China via Sunda Strait until the advent of the Portuguese in the eastern seas. Ptolemy's route from Ceylon to the China coast is, more or less, the one that was followed for fully thirteen centuries after him by either Arab, Persian, or Chinese vessels, with the exception that with further improved methods of navigation it became possible to

<sup>1</sup> And I should have added in so far as Arab navigation is concerned, of the "Maḥi" (A.D. 1554). The Turkish admiral who is the author of that work on medieval navigation of the Indian seas, based upon Arab, Persian, and Indian writings, cites many itineraries but the only one he gives for Further India, the twenty-seventh in his list, is laid through Malacca Strait, and the route he describes turns to E. N. E. after Ceylon, advancing considerably into the Bay of Bengal, when a course is steered for one of the Nikobars called *Saryat*, probably Ptolemy's *Khalinā* or *Salinā* (see p. 406), and thence for the Sembilan group in Malacca Strait (see Reinaud's Introduction to the Geography of Abulfeda pp. 436-437). Reinaud probably misled by his contemporary Sinologists' identification of Fa-Hsien's *Ja-p'o-ti* with Java, seems to have conceived an idea of great superiority of Chinese navigation over that of the Arabs, and understood the Chinese junk to have followed the Sunda Strait route from a very early period, for in the same work, p. 413, he states that "les navires Arabes, à la différence des jonques chinoises, passaient au nord de Sumatra et traversaient le détroit de Malaka." Such blindness to facts has wrought much mischief and retarded our knowledge of historical and geographical science.

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cross the Bay of Bengal and the Nikobars, instead of further to the north between the mouth of the Ganjam and the Arakanese coast. It may, therefore, be safely held that the identification of Fa-Hsien's *Pa-p'o-t'* with Java is but the outcome of imagination such as we have encountered so frequently in the preceding pages<sup>1</sup>

As regards the length of the passage, 90 days, it should be remembered that the weather was far from favourable, and that the cyclone encountered during the first part of the journey may have blown Fa-Hsien's ship far into the Bay of Bengal, thus increasing the distance to be travelled. It is well, moreover, to remark that I-tsing records  $15 + 15 + 30 + 2 = 62$  days for the passage

from *Shih-h Fo-shih* (Palembang) to Ceylon, passing by Nāgapattan, under favourable weather.<sup>1</sup> And further that it took the embassy from *Chu-lien* (*Chola* or Koromandel)<sup>2</sup> to China in A.D. 1015, 209 days, or nearly seven months, to get from thence to *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang).

The information that Fa-Hsien gives us of *Ya-p'o-t'i* is tantalizingly meagre, such as we would never expect from one who, like him, had resided in that country for fully five months. It does not amount to as much as two lines: "In this country heretical Brahmans flourish, but Buddhism hardly deserves mentioning"<sup>3</sup> From this we may gather that Buddhism was already practised there, although it may have been by a few people only. This is exactly what seems to have been the case in Sumatra at the period in question, judging from the ruins so far explored, and from the traditions connecting its

<sup>1</sup> See p. 527

<sup>2</sup> Here, again, I regret having to point out, by the way, that the identification of *Chu-lien* with Orissa, suggested by Dr Hirth in the *Journal of Asiatic Soc* for 1896, pp. 483 seqq., is hopelessly wrong. I cannot afford to enter here into a detailed discussion of the subject, but while reserving the full demonstration of my contention for an early opportunity, I shall merely point out that *Chu-lien*, according to the result of my inquiry, so far from being Orissa, the empire of the Kesarī dynasty, as Hirth thought is incontestably and far more properly *Chola*, the *Chūliya* country, of which Orissa became a mere dependency on or about A.D. 1015-1020. This, I may add, is made absolutely certain from the fact that I have identified the *Chu-lien* king *Lo-ch'a-lo-cha*, 羅茶羅作, named by Ma Tuan lun (op cit., p. 574) as having sent an embassy which reached China in A.D. 1015, with Rajaraja the Great, or Rajakesarivarman, of Chola, said to have reigned from 985 to 1002. The mission was probably sent by his son, Rajendra-Chola I or Parikesarivarman, who may also, though not so far as known, have borne the title *P'garaja* otherwise the Chinese historiographers may, through some misunderstanding, have mistaken the deceased father's name for that of the reigning son. Further, the king who sent a mission in A.D. 1033, whom Hirth was unable to identify, is Rājendradeva or Śrī Rajendra Chola, and that named *Ti-wa ka lo* in 1077 is Kulottunga Codadeva, or *Kula-dera*, his name being anagrammatized into *Deva-Kula* (Ti-wa-ka-lo) by the Sung annalists. Inability to grasp these matters has misled Dr Hirth into vainly looking for the capital of the kingdom and its thirty-two districts all over Orissa, whereas the territory of Chola proper and that of the countries immediately adjoining it would have better rewarded his efforts.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "Buddha's Law not sufficient to speak of" (Groeneveldt, op cit., p. 131). Dr Legge translates (op cit., p. 113), "various forms of errors and jātmanism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of."

territory with Vishnavite myths, and its original colonizers with descendants of the Indū Yādavas. It is true that two and three-quarter centuries later on (A.D. 671-695) I-tsing speaks of Buddhism being then flourishing at *Śrī-Bhoja* (Palembang), the king whereof, as well as those of the neighbouring States, favoured it. But then he tells us of the Ārya-mahāsaṅghika school having been but very shortly before his time introduced into the country, which is a sign that the latter was still passing through a phase of transition as regards the adoption of the various Buddhist tenets, which had probably begun not long before, and was just in its initial stage at the time of Fa-Hsien's visit.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to guess with anything like precision where the capital or principal seaport of *Ya-p'o-t'i* stood at the time of Fa-Hsien's visit. It may have been on either the Jambi or Indragiri river, or even further up the east coast of Sumatra, judging from the fact that the Pāgar-rūyung inscription, where the *Yava* kingdom is mentioned in A.D. 656, occurs at the headwaters of the Indragiri, and that a district bearing the name *Tanah Jāva* exists to this day in the upland part of Bātu-bāra (3° N. lat.). I am little disposed to think that the centre of power was then already so far south as Palembang, for until I-tsing's time we do not find its ancient name, *Śrī-Bhoja*, mentioned in any document or record, which fact is probably an indication that although the name may have

<sup>1</sup> The course of religious evolution in Java seems to have run in a contrary direction. Javanese ruins are, in fact, well-nigh entirely Buddhist, and it is only in the central part of the island, to the north of Pekalongan and at an altitude of 6,500 feet on the slope of the mountain Prahū, that remains of Śaiva temples have been discovered, dating at the very best not later than the seventh or eighth century. These, in Groeneveldt's opinion, point to a settlement of Śaivas in that neighbourhood on the northern coast of the island (op. cit., p. 134). On Sunda Land, the western part of the island, on the contrary, Sanskrit inscriptions, Vajrayāna in character, have been found which are considered to date from A.D. 400 to 600. They are, in my opinion, a connecting link with ancient Vishnavite worship in Sumatra, from which the territory where they rise is merely separated by Sunda Strait. Perhaps they may be due to the earliest Indu or Indianized settlers who first crossed the strait from Sumatra and put their foot on Sundanese soil. These who followed a century or two later on, when Buddhism had already acquired a firm footing in Sumatra, evidently brought that faith to the northern coast of the island, which has thus remained principally Buddhist ever since.

been introduced into that district from a very early period, it had not as yet attained any prominence so as to attract attention. It must have been only shortly before the time of I-tsing's first visit to it (A.D. 671) that *Śrī-Bhoja* became the capital of the *Java* or *Zaboj* empire; for from his account it follows quite plainly that *Bārūs* (*P'o-lu-sz*) on the west coast of Sumatra was part of *Śrī-Bhojan* territory, so that the latter must have comprised the whole or nearly so of the tract north from the Palembang River, corresponding practically to Ptolemy's *Iabadiū*.

Having thus finally disposed of the questions connected with the location of those two difficult geographical puzzles—Ptolemy's *Iabadiū* and Fa-Hsien's *Ya-p'o-t'i*—we must for a moment turn our attention to the no less perplexing meaning and derivation of the terms *Fo-shih* or *'Shih-li Fo-shih* and *San-fo-ch'i*, employed at different periods in the Chinese records to designate the kingdom, as well as its principal district and capital. The equivalent *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja* suggested by our predecessors in this line of research for the first term is very probably correct, although no plausible explanation as to why such a name came to be given to the country in question has been, within my knowledge, so far given; while all attempts to grapple with the meaning of the second term, *San-fo-ch'i*, have completely failed. We shall try to throw further light on both from the evidence we have collected.

As regards the term first mentioned in point of time, *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja*, it has already been traced by us in the *Andāmāns* in connection with Ptolemy's mention of them under the name *Bazakata*, which, we have pointed out, very probably represents the Sanskrit toponymic *Bhojakata*, originally a city near the Narmadā River, founded by a brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa. We have not omitted on that occasion to call attention to the possible connection between the name *Bōjig*-[*ngūida*] or *Bōjin*-[*gūi*] of one of the most prominent *Andāmānese* tribes with *Bhoja* and *Bhojaka*, both well-known tribal names of

Western India, and to suggest that a kinship may have existed between the so far unsatisfactorily explained term *Andimān*—which we have found in at least one instance spelled *Antlōman* (*Andhūman*)—and *Andhalā*, the name of another Western India tribe closely related to the *Bhojas*. We then also hinted that such *Bhoja* and *Andhaka* tribes are doubtless those from whom the adventurers and colonists who first introduced the names *Bhoyakata* and *Andhāman* into the *Andāmūn* group issued, and the names *Bhoja* and *Andhalās* or *Andalas* (probably a corruption of *Andharāstra*?) into the territory of Palembang<sup>1</sup>. They must have been a great seafaring race, as were afterwards the natives of Palembang civilized by them, for we can probably trace relics of their name all the way from India to the remotest parts of the Archipelago, through the *Bōjys* of the *Andāmūns*, the *Bhojas* of Palembang, and the *Bayau* or *Bayu* of Borneo, Billiton, and extreme *Wayu* in Celebes<sup>2</sup>. Likewise we probably have the name borne by the *Jayau* tribe in Little *Andāmūn* repeated in succession in the *Sarauca* or *Sarauti* nation of Western Palembang—which, we have seen, the Chinese called *Hsien-hu* or *Ser-rui*—the *Sarauca* district in Borneo, and the *Charau* or *Chrau* savages of South Cochin-China. That these are not haphazard coincidences in nomenclature is evidenced by the fact of such names occurring together in different places situated along the sea-route to the Far East. I have, therefore, no doubt that if Palembang territory was called *Bhoja* and *Andhalās* or *Andalas*, it must have been for the reason that it was first colonized by settlers from those Western Indian tribes<sup>3</sup>. An important point

<sup>1</sup> *Ide* p. 393 note 3 and p. 395 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See also p. 279 for another *Fo shih* or *Bhoja* country on the Annamese coast in A.D. 1607. It might have been originally a foundation of Palembang. For the *Bayaus* and their connections see pp. 366, 395, 503.

<sup>3</sup> The *Bhojas*, *Andhalās*, *Yemās*, and *Akuras* are all branches of the *Yādava*s and kindred tribes originally settled in the Indus Valley and later on on the Gujarāt peninsula at and about *Dvaraka* whence they dispersed all over India owing to the destruction of part of them by *Kṛṣṇa*. They are to be found even on the *Ganges* and in the *Dakhan* but with greater frequency along the *Vindhya* chain. The *Ramayāna* mentions them among the nations of the

not to be lost sight of is that while *Bhoja* in *Bojakata* is rendered *Ba a* in Ptolemy's *Bazakata* so is *Bhoja* in *Sri Bhoja* transcribed *Baza* in *Sarbaza* by the Arabs. Hence we may rest perfectly assured that *Sarbaza* really represents *Sri Bhoja* (i.e. Palembang) and nothing else. As regards *Shih li Fo shih* the second part of it, sounding *Föl shai*, *Föl ch i*, and *Fut sei* or *Futsz -ei* in the various dialects may represent some form (perhaps *Bhojaka* or *Bhojal*, *Bhojila*) of the term *Bhoja* more closely approaching to its Andāmānese corruption *Bojig*. I cannot, however, get behind the impression that *Fo shih* is as likely as not, a transcript of *Vasai* or *Basai*, a toponymic which we find surviving to this day, in the slightly modified form *Pasei* or *Pasai* in its very territory.<sup>1</sup> I tsing's spelling *Shih li*

*Fo-yu*, 宝利佛遊 (*Föt-yau, Fot-yuu*), which he sometimes employs, points to some corrupted form *Bhoya* or *Bayu*, *Bayau* (*Baju, Bajau*).

After the first half of the eighth century the name *Shih-li Fo-shih* disappears from T'ang history, to reappear in the second half of the tenth in the annals of the Sung under the form *San-fo-ch'i* (*San-Föt-ts'ai, San-fut-zai*), which has, in its turn, proved a crux to our predecessors. However, no corresponding change appears to take place in

foundation was christened. There can be no doubt, I think, that in *Si-Pasai* or *Sri-Pasai* we have a revival, or survival, of *Sri Bhoya*, *Si-Bhoyik* (*Bhoyika*), or *Sri-Basai* (or *Fasai*)?, the ancient name of the famous kingdom on the Eastern Sumatran coast. The anecdote about the king's dog and its name would thus appear to be merely one of those usual yarns invented *ad hoc* in order to explain toponymies the origin of which proved puzzling to the later native inhabitants of this region. It would be interesting to find out whether the place name *Fasai*, now better known under the form *Bassein*, on the west coast of India near Bombay, is etymologically traceable to the *Bhoya* nation. We have already noticed its transplantation thence, undoubtedly through the agency of Indian traders and colonists, to the neighbourhood of Cape Negrais in the Bassein there (*supra*, pp 48-49), and here we have very likely a repetition of the process in *Pasai* or *Bási*, that becomes *Pacem* (a close approach to *Bassein*) with the Portuguese, and, may be, *Bassa* with Marco Polo. The moot point still remaining is whether this term *Pasai* or *Fasai* was transplanted here from India directly, or else indirectly, through its older prototype *Bhoya*, *Bhoyik*, *Bhoyai* of the *Sri Bhoya* kingdom. I need not say that, in view of the evidence adduced above, I am in favour of the latter alternative. For even the form *Pasi* or *Fasi* itself of the term seems to be very old, apart from the probable *Fasi* of the Chinese transcript *Fo-shih*. We have, in fact, a place or State *Po ch'i*, 波濤 (*Basai, Vasai*), in the "Southern Ocean," mentioned as early as A.D. 655-700 in Chinese literature (see *Journal R.A.S.* for April, 1903, p. 370).

The only early reference to *Pasai* in Chinese history seems to be that mentioned above (A.D. 1309, *Chronicles of the Yuan dynasty*). A very possible one, much later, is that pointed out by Parker in the *China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 102, where it is stated that, according to Ming history (325, 20, 24), "in 1521 *Pieh-tu lu* (*Pestrello*), having failed in China, 'went for' 巴西 [*Pa si*, in Cant. *Pa sei*]. Again, from *Pa si*, Malacca, to Luzon, they swept the seas" etc. The *Pieh-tu lu* alluded to here may be Botelho, Pereira, or any other Portuguese ship captain of the time, but more likely Prestello or Prestrello (*Rafael*), who is known to have had connections with China from 1616 to at least 1620. He had even been for a time a prisoner there in 1616. In 1621 he sailed from Cochín bound to China, but stopped on the way at Pedr, and took part in the subsequent 'demonstration' on *Pasai*, where he loaded pepper (see *Correia's "Lendas da India*, vol. ii, pp 474, 643-645).



contemporary Arabic literature; for Edrīsī, as we have seen (p 571), in A.D. 1154, still writes *Sabaza*, and so later on does Yāqūt (A.D. 1218). Of course, Arab authors are, on such matters, doing little more than servilely copying each other from the ninth and tenth centuries downwards; but all the same, since their seafaring men kept up an active intercourse with the Far East until at least the twelfth century, it seems passing strange that they should have ignored a change in terminology that the Chinese had not failed to notice and to duly put on record. The inference is that either no change at all took place in the name *Śrī-Bhoja* for Palembang, the Chinese variant *San-fo-ch'i* being due entirely to a freak or a misunderstanding of the right pronunciation of the term *Śrī-Bhoja* on the part of later Chinese writers; or else that a change really occurred, but so slight as to be scarcely noticeable. On the latter supposition I would submit that the name of the State was changed into, or replaced at times as an alternative, by the term *Scayambhoja*, which in time-honoured Indū tradition is held to be synonymous with, or, better still, a mere variant of, *Bhoja* and *Bhojaka*.<sup>1</sup> In such a case the contracted form *Sambhoja* of *Scayambhoja* may have come into use, and in the course of time it may have gained favour over its prototype as well as over *Śrī-Bhoja*, the original name of the country.

On the other hand, if a radical change really did take place, then it consisted in the adoption of the term *Śambhu*, a name of Śiva, as a basis for a compositum of the form *Śambhu-jā*, 'the race of Śambhu,' or *Śambhujay* (*Śambhujaya*), 'the victory of Śambhu,' on the lines of *Kambu-jā* (*Kamboja*), which is held to mean 'the race of Kambu,'<sup>2</sup> and *Kambu-jay* (*Kambu-jaya*), 'the victory of Kambu,' applied to Indo-Chinese *Kamboja*.<sup>3</sup> The late Rev. S. Beal's suggested form

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Hall's ed. of Wilson's "Viṣṇu Purāṇa," vol. iv, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> The form *Kambujay* or *Kambujaya* may be deduced from the spelling 坎 巨 夷, *Cham-p'u-ehai* (in Cantonese, *Kan-pou-eh'ai*), made use of from the Wan li period (A.D. 1373-1619) to designate *Kamboja*. Several chronicles and encyclopædias have inadvertently printed the first character in the name

*Samibhoja*, which would mean 'the united Bhojas,' as well as the quite untenable explanation by the well-known Professor Schlegel to the effect that the derivation of the term is from *Semboja*, the Malay word for the *Plumeria acutifolia*, which in the modified form *Kemboja* also gave the name to Kamboja,<sup>1</sup> are, of course, all guesswork; as,

東, *tung*, instead of 東, *chien*, *Kan*, thus giving rise to a teratological form, *Tung-p'u-chai* or *Tumbujaya*, which has never existed in reality (see *China Review*, vol iv, p 64, and *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi, 1902, t ii, pp 126-127) I have, nevertheless, often thought that *Tung-p'u-chai* (in Annamese *Dông-p'ư trãi*) might be a clumsy transcription of *Udong-m'ean-chai* (*Uttama-m'ân-jaya*), the name of the city that became the capital of Kamboja in A D 1618. If references to *Tung-p'u-chai* in Chinese literature do not occur further back than this date, my conjecture is likely to prove correct.

<sup>1</sup> See "Merveilles de l'Inde," p 174, and *T'oung-Pao* for 1901, pp 175 176. Crawford tells us ("History of the Indian Archipelago," vol i, p 438) that it is in Java that the *Kamboja* plant (*Plumeria obtusa*) is called *Samboja*. Forbes Watson, in his "Index to the Names of Indian Plants," London, 1868, does in fact give *Kamboja* as the Malay and *Samboja* as the Sundanese names for *Plumeria acutifolia*. Such being the facts of the case, how does the highly imaginative Professor explain that, *Kamboja* being the local Palembang name for the *Plumeria acutifolia*, the natives should style their country *Samboja* after the Sundanese name of the plant? This could only happen through subjugation of Palembang at the hands of the Sundaese or Javanese in the tenth century or earlier, an event of which there is not the slightest evidence. The same authority (absolutely worthless as a rule in matters concerning the ancient geography and history of the Archipelago and Further India) again uniquely draws upon his inexhaustible imagination when he tells us (op cit, p 176) "Now we know that the latter form of *Kembodja* or *Kambodja* [sic] was given by the Malays ['!'] to the well known country between Annam and Siam." How and from what sources he came to know this, the worthy Professor does not, of course, choose to disclose. What we really do know for certain is, on the contrary, that the claim to descent from a *Kambu Sayambhued* was put forward by the kings of Kamboja since A D 947, and at that pretty early date the country is said to have been named 'Land of *Kambu*' after him (see p 204). And note that such a descent is claimed retrospectively for kings of the country reigning since about A D 600 or earlier, so that the tradition as to the derivation of the name of the country from *Kambu* must go back to at least the period just stated. (See the more probable derivation of the term that I have suggested on pp 156 157.) Further, the name *Kamboja*—more frequently spelled *Kambuja*—appears in both Cham and Khmer inscriptions since the ninth century. It has been traced as far back as A D 817 in that of Pô-Nagar at Na trang, and it may yet be discovered in still older dated epigraphic monuments by and bye. Under such circumstances, we must argue that Professor Schlegel must be the unique depository of some as yet unknown documentary evidence, earlier than say the eighth century A D, proving that 'the Malays' have given the name '*Kembodja*' to the country we now call '*Kamboja*.' If so the Professor would do well to at once produce such evidence before the public, otherwise this latter will be entitled to take it, as many, including my humble self, already have done, that the evidence in question only

indeed, it is as a rule what has dropped from the pen of both these hard-working Sinologists anent the geography of Farther India and the Archipelago. Guesswork like this without the slightest shadow of evidence is bound to bewilder by its boldness, though convincing nobody.

Here is, then, my proof for the derivation from *Sambhu*. The Chinese chart of about A.D. 1399 published by Phillips<sup>1</sup> marks an island 三佛嶼, *San-fo Hsü*, i.e. 'San-fo [or Sambhu] Islet,' opposite the mouths of the Jambi River, and between these and *Lung-ya Mèn* (Linga Strait and Island). This *San-fo* islet, left, naturally, unidentified by Phillips, may be the island now called *Singkep*, from a village on its eastern shore, but more likely the far smaller one to the south of it, known as Pulo Berhala, which gives its name to Berhala Strait between it and the Sumatran coast of the Jambi district.<sup>2</sup> No doubt the form that the

exists in the Professor's imagination. In the meantime I may refer him to Leclere's "Cambodge, Contes et Légendes," Paris, 1895, where he will find, pp. 301-303, that the advent of the Malays in Kamboja is first recorded to have taken place on its west coast at Kampot, some 500 years ago, say, about A.D. 1400. They hailed from Sumatra.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> I infer this from the fact that on the coast of Sumatra, opposite *San-fo* Islet, the chart shows a river marked 巨港, *Pi-pi* (Pak-pit, Ba-bi, etc.), which can be naught else than the *Berba* or *Jambi* River (a corruption of the Sanskrit *Pura* = 'old'). Below it is noted the name 舊港, *Chiu-chiang* ('Old River,' or lagoon), which Mr. Phillips, perhaps too rashly, has taken to mean Palembang. This may be correct in the sense that Jambi was part of Palembang territory, but not certainly in the sense that Palembang city is meant to be represented here, for further to the right (i.e. southwards) we find three branches of a single river shown, marked respectively *Hsi-chiang* or 'Western River,' *Chiu-chiang* or 'Old River,' and *Tung-chiang* or 'Eastern River.' These seem to be the principal arms of the Palembang River, now known as the *Asin* (or *Pontiang*), the *Sungsang*, and the *Upang* (or *Saleh*). The one after which Palembang became best known in later times to the Chinese was therefore the central of them, i.e. the *Chiu-chiang*, *Ku-chang*, or 'Old River,' corresponding to the actual *Sungsang* (or to either of its lateral branches, the *Falang* and *Upang*). We may gather from the above that the old local name of this river was probably *Berba*, of which *Chiu-chiang* is but the Chinese translation. It is not clear, in fact, whether the name *Chiu-chiang* marked below the *Pi-pi* or *Berba* (Jambi) River in the map is meant as a translation of the common name of this stream, or else as a hint that here commences the jurisdiction of the other *Chiu-chiang* State, which is Palembang. In the first case, we would have two districts equally called *Chiu-chiang*, i.e. 'Old River,' by the Chinese, viz., one on the *Berba* or *Jambi* River, and the other on a deltatic branch of the Palembang River, which branch was probably known also as *Berba*, *Tua*, *Lina*, or something

term *Śambhu* or *San-fo* locally assumed was, as usual, *Śambhor*.<sup>1</sup> Originally some *linga* or other monument dedicated to *Śambhu*, i.e. *Śiva*, may have stood there, whence the island became afterwards known by the generic designation *Pulo Berhala*. But its specific name was unquestionably *Śambhor*, for the strait or straits near it and leading from it to the *Rhio-Linga Archipelago* were styled, as put on record in the "*Sejarah Malāyu*," the '*Straits of Sambor*.'<sup>2</sup> Though this term has disappeared, unless still represented partially and in a corrupt form in the strait now called *Sabayoro*, west of *Singkep Island*, the record of it is quite sufficient to prove that *Śambhu* or *Śambhor*, the old designation of the straits leading to *Palembang* from the north, must have come to them from the name of their southern terminus, i.e. the *Palembang* district itself, which name must therefore have been *Śambhu*, *Śambhor*, or a derivative of it; say, *Śambhu-jaya* or *Śambhuja*. Through this the Chinese term *San-fo-ch'i* or *Sam-bud-zai* (*Sam-bhor-jay*) becomes thoroughly explained, for it must be remembered that the first two

to that effect (i.e. a word meaning 'oil') If so, the homonymy in question must have led to some confusion in the later Chinese records, although the mischief may perhaps not have been very considerable, owing to *Jambi* being then part of *Palembang* territory

<sup>1</sup> So e.g. in *Kamboja*, where there is an old city commonly called *Samdhor* or *Sambor*, but in the inscriptions *Samdhū pura*. I am at a loss to understand why *Aymonier* ("*Le Cambodge*," vol. 1, Paris, 1900, pp. 308-309) also accepts the alternative reading *Samdhapura*, which is defective, and entirely due to an oversight on the part of the lapicide in omitting the sign for the vowel *u* below the *dh*. In *Khmer* it is faultily written *Sambur* (= *Sampur*), thus making it look like a contraction of *Samdhū-pura*. But such is not the case, for, as shown by several inscriptions in *Kamboja*, *Samdhor* is a mere modification or inflection of the name *Samdhū*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Leyden's "Malay Annals,"* p. 31, where it is recounted that King *Sangasparbu*, having left *Java*, "set sail and traversed the sea till he arrived at a strait, when, enquiring the name of a hill which he saw in view, one of the guides answered, the hill of *Langga*, and that the galley had now arrived at the straits of *Sambor*. The news quickly reached *Bentan [Bintang]* that the raja . . . had now arrived at the straits of *Sambor*." *Devic*, in "*Légendes et Traditions historiques de l'Archipel Indien*," Paris, 1878, p. 47, prints *Samdon* (= *Samdhū*) in his translation of the same story. This is a proof as to the correctness of the view we have expressed. The strait may have been called both *Sambor* and *Samdhū*.

characters with which it is written are absolutely identical with those making up the name of *San-fo* Island. The truth of the whole matter may, after all, be that *Śrī-Bhoja* did not change its name at all, but that the Chinese navigators, accustomed to reach it through *Śambhor* or *San-fo* Straits, as they called them, came gradually to completely confuse this name with that of *Shih-li Fo-shih* borne by Palembang, thus perverting the latter into *San-fo-ch'i*. At all events, I trust to have made it sufficiently evident that the explanation of this puzzling term must be sought for in either of the two alternatives here set down. The second one has in its favour the fact, already noticed, that the Arabs always called that country *Sarbazā* down to the thirteenth century, thus giving us reason to infer that it never changed its old name *Śrī-Bhoja*.

Having now cleared up the mystery that has so far hung upon the onomatology of the Palembang State employed in both Arabic and Chinese sources, we are enabled to reconstruct, in its main lines, its history down to the period when it became a dependency of the Javanese empire of *Mājapāhit*. Such a reconstruction, possible only after the results attained through the foregoing inquiry, we offer in the subjoined sketch.

#### OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE PALEMBANG KINGDOM.

A.D.

671. *FO-SHIH* or *SHIH-LI FO-SHIH* kingdom = *Bhoja* or *Śrī-Bhoja*. Its capital, *Bhoja*, situated on the *Bhoja* (Musi) River, is the chief trading port with China, a regular navigation between it and Canton being conducted by a Persian merchant. Large sea-going vessels anchor at the mouth of the river. The king of *Bhoja* owns ships, probably for commerce, sailing between India and *Bhoja*. He favours Buddhism, and his capital is a centre of Buddhist learning in the Archipelago, there are more than a thousand *bhiksus*. Gold is fairly abundant. Dependencies of the kingdom are: (1) *P'o-lu shih* (Bārūs, west coast of Sumatra); and (2) *Mo-lu-yo*, 15 days' sail away (*Malayu* kingdom, on the Old Strait of Singapore and southern end of the Malay Peninsula). I-tsung (Takakusu, op. cit., pp xxxiv, xl, xli)

- 670-673 King *Ho mi to*, 曷蜜多 (Gomeda, Harimedhas), of *Shih li Fo shih*, sends envoys to China ("Nan M'in Chuan")<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt this personage is the patron of I-tsang, whom he assisted by forwarding him on to Malāyu in A D 672 on his own ship
- 672 One of the king's ships, with I tsang on board, sails to India via Malāyu, Kertī (north east Sumatra), and the Nihobārs, reaching Tāmraliptī (Tamluk) in the spring of next year (673), after prolonged stays at Malāyu (two months) and Kertī
- 688-695 I tsang is staying at Bhoja, except for a brief period of six months in A D 689, when he takes a trip to China. (Takakusu, op cit, pp xxxiii-xxxvii)
- 713-741 At some time between these two dates King *Ho mi to* sends new envoys, presenting two dwarfs and two *Sing chih* slaves (dancing girls), as also singing and dancing masters ("T'ang shu")<sup>2</sup>
- ?700-800 At some time between these two dates, perhaps not many years before A D 802,<sup>3</sup> the mahārāja of *Zabey* (Java or Javaka, residing at or near Palembang) leads an armed expedition against *Āmār* (south west Kamboja) seizing and beheading the king thereof as a punishment for some slight inflicted upon him (Ibn Vahab, circa A D 880, apud Abū Zaid, Renaud's "Relation," t i, pp 97-101) As a consequence of this expedition Kamboja seems to have remained dependent (perhaps more nominally than *de facto*) on Srī-Bhoja until A D 802 or thereabouts (see p 546)
- 851 KALĀH BĀH (west coast of the Malay Peninsula) is a dependency (or part of the empire) of *Zabey* (Palembang) Sulaimān (see p 558)
- 864 Amongst the possessions of the mahārāja there is also *Dhāṅṅul* or *Berṅṅul* Island (= Bintang or Lian) *Kalah* Island (west coast of Malay Peninsula) belongs to the Indian *Jabak* prince Ibn Khurdādhbih (pp 556-558) The last

statement seems to mean that *Kalah* was ruled by some Peguan prince, but whether independently or not from Palembang it is not clear. From the next entry, however, it may be inferred that such a dependence existed

- 880-900 The mahārāja of *Zabey* rules over a large number of islands, among which those of *Sarbaza* or *Serboza* = *Śrī Bhoja* (Palembang district), *Ramī* = *Lambri* (north-west part of Sumatra), and *Kalah*. Abū Zaid (p. 559)
- 904 *SAN FO CH'Ū* sends envoys with tribute to China ("Sung-shih," bk. 489)<sup>1</sup>
- 943 The empire of the mahārāja is continuous with India (extra Gangem, i.e. probably Pegu is meant). His palace is built by the edge of the 'Gold bars Pond,' wherein tradition says he causes a gold ingot to be thrown every morning. *Serira* or *Sarirah* is one of the islands (districts) constituting his possessions, others being *Zany* or *Zaney* (*Zābey*?), *Rumū*, etc. Numerous Chinamen have settled on such islands (especially in the Palembang district) owing to disturbances in their country (in A.D. 878?). Mas'udi (pp. 560, 561)
- 955 *SERIRAH* (= *Siri ratthā* or *Sirawī*) lies on a large fresh watercourse forming a wide estuary, penetrating some 120 miles towards the interior. There are many streets and creeks, and the dwellings are partly on shore and partly floating houses. The waters swarm with crocodiles, which, however, are said to be harmless in consequence of a charm. Lately a king named *Ser Nutukalah* was the ruler of *Zābey*. Captain Bozorg (pp. 564, 578)
- 960 King *Hsi li Hu ta hua li t an* (Gupta hīrita, or something similar) of *San fo ch'ū* sends an envoy with tribute to China ("Sung-shih," bk. 489). See pp. 578, 579, where I have identified this ruler with the one referred to in the preceding entry
- 961 King *Hsi li Hu ta*, etc., renews his attentions to the Chinese Court (op. cit.). His envoys relate that the kingdom of *San fo ch'ū* also bears the name *Hsien liu* (Ma Tuan lin, op. cit., p. 562). This is the equivalent of the term *Serirah* used by Arabic writers (see preceding entries). His embassy only reaches China this year, but he seems to have died in the interval, probably towards the close of A.D. 960. (See remarks on pp. 579, 580)

<sup>1</sup> For this and following references from Chinese literature see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 188 et seqq. and Ma Tuan lin, op. cit., p. 561 et seqq.

961. Towards the end of this year a new mission arrives at the Chinese Court from King *Shih-li-U-ya* (= Śrī Oja?), who has just succeeded to the throne of *San-fo-ch'i*. Ma Tuan-lin (op cit., p. 562) calls this ruler *Li-hsi-lin-nan-jih-lai*, 李 斤 林 男 達 日 來 (= Rsi Rananjaya, or Rṣi-Raṇaṅga-rāj?).
962. The same king sends three envoys with tribute. ("Sung-shih," loc. cit.)
971. A new mission is despatched to the Chinese Court by the same ruler, with a tribute consisting of rock-crystal and petroleum<sup>1</sup>
972. The homage is renewed.
974. New envoys are sent with a tribute of ivory, olibanum, rose-water, dates, and flat-peaches, white sugar, finger-rings of rock-crystal, glass bottles, and coral-trees.
975. Another mission reaches China.
980. King *Hsia-ch'ih*, 夏 池, or 遐 子, *Hsia-ch'ih* (= Harsa, Gādhi?), sends an envoy. In the course of the same year it is reported from Ch'au-chou that a foreign merchant from *San-fo-ch'i* has arrived in that port with a cargo of perfumes, medicines, drugs, rhinoceros horns, and ivory. ("Sung-shih," loc. cit.)
983. King *Hsia-ch'ih* despatches a new mission with a tribute of crystal, cotton-cloth, rhinoceros horns, perfumes, and drugs. (Ibid.)
985. The master of a ship from *San-fo-ch'i* reaches China and presents products of his country. (Ibid.)
988. A new envoy arrives in China with tribute (Ibid.)
990. *San-fo-ch'i* is invaded by *Shi-p'o* (*Saba* or *C'hara* State on the Malay Peninsula; see p 547), and war rages apparently until A.D. 992, if not later. Tidings of these hostilities reach the envoy of 988 while returning from the Chinese capital in 990. This personage, after waiting one year at Canton, sails in the Spring of 992 to Champā, but hearing no good news he returns to Canton to ask for an imperial decree in order that his country might follow his

<sup>1</sup> Fire-oil, 火 油, *Huo-yu*, evidently petroleum obtained from Sumatra, was sent at about the same time (A.D. 954-989) as tribute by the King of Champā. It is described as capable of burning in water with redoubled vigour (See Ma Tuan-lin, op cit., p 545)



lead<sup>1</sup> The governor of Kwang-tung forwards his request to the Chinese Court, which grants it (Ibid)

950-1000 **SARBAZA** (= Śrī-Bhoja) or **SERIRAH** (= Sirī-rattha, Saravi) is the island (read 'district') on which the mahārāja resides Faras (see p 567)

1000 The island of **SERIRAH** is a dependency of China Muhallabi (see p 567) From the preceding entries it may be seen, at any rate, that Śrī Bhoja used to send regular missions (doubtless diplomatic as well as commercial) with presents to China

1003 Two envoys arrive with tribute at the Chinese Court from King *Sz li Chu lo u u ni Fu ma t'iau hua*, 思離朱囉無尼佛麻調華 (Śrī Cūda manī Bhūmya deva, or *Bhupadera*) They relate that in their country a Buddhist temple has been erected, and that they come to solicit a name and bells for it as marks of the emperor's benevolence The name is granted for the temple by an imperial decree, and bells are cast in accordance with the envoys' request<sup>2</sup>

1008 King *Sz li Ma lo p'ü*, 思離麻囉皮 (Śrī Maruvi, Mallavi, or Maruppiya?) sends three envoys with tribute

1017 King *Hua ch'ih Su u u ch a p'ü ni* 霞邊蘇勿叱蒲達 (Adhi Su Bhoja bhūmi), sends envoys with presents of pearls, ivory, Sanskrit books, folded fan like between boards, and *K'un lun* slaves (see p 507)

1028 King *Sz li Tich hua*, 室離疊華 (Śrī Deva), despatches a mission with tribute

1077 An envoy from *San fo-ch* arrived in China He is one of the great panjandrums in that country, and the emperor honours him accordingly He must have met at Court the mission from *Chu lien* (Choja) that arrived there this same year (See following entry)

ie from A.D. 1178 to 1370 Part of this gap may, however, be filled from information left us by Chao Ju kua from whom we cull the following items, referring to the period between —

1205-1240 Fifteen States are subject to *San fo ch*; viz —

1 *Tan ma ling*, the capital of which is surrounded with a palisade 6 to 7 feet in width by over 20 in height strong enough on the top for the purpose of warfare (see *T'oung Pao* 1901 p 128) The country produces camphor etc, and manufactures gold and silver ware Perhaps the *Tambalang* River east coast of Sumatra lat 2° S (see p 601)

2 *Li ya r* which can be reached in six days' sailing from *Tan ma ling* but there is also a road by land Products camphor rhinoceros horns ivory etc It pays yearly tribute to *San fo ch*: (op cit p 129) Probably the *Langksa* or *Langsar* River below Parlak, if not *Langkat* near Deli *Ringat* in Indragiri or *Rigas* west coast of Sumatra (See p 599)

3 *Pung fng* a neighbour of Nos 4 5 and 7 (op cit p 132) Perhaps Mong gong North Sumatra (see p 599) If not *Bu bun* district near Malabu west coast of Sumatra (4° 20' N lat).

4 *Teng ya néng* a neighbour of Nos 3 5 and 7 (ibid) Undoubtedly *Trieng gading* or *Tringading* North Sumatra (ibid.)

5 *Chia chi lan tan* or *Ka ki lan tan* a neighbour of Nos 3 4 and 7 (ibid) Possibly *G gieng* or *Giglen* North Sumatra (ibid)

6 *Hsi lan* (op cit p 133) 細蘭 (*Sai lan* *Se lang*) Most likely *Chalang* or *Chellang* near Rigas Bay west coast of Sumatra Otherwise it may be the River *Silan* forming the boundary between Asahan and Batu bara (3° 10' N lat), or else either the *Penu-siran* River (in Jambi) or the *Besilan* in Langkat Professor Schlegel speaks (*T'oung Pao* 1901 p 133) of a *Silan* tribe in Deli but this is probably *Silan* and not *S lan* There is moreover a *Selan* River and district on the west coast of Bangka (2° 24' S lat)

7 *Fo lo an* lying at four days sailing from *Lin ya r* from which it can also be reached by the land route (op cit

pp 130 and 134) Either *Berian*, north coast of Sumatra, *Bela can* near Deli east coast or *Benuwang* on the Rakan River (See p 600)

8 *Jih lo ting* 日羅亭 (op cit pp 128, 134) Gold and silver wares manufactured Very likely *Jelatang* on a small stream a little to the south west of the present Jambi town in 1° 42 S lat

9 *Chien mai* 潛邁 (op cit pp 128 135) Gold and silver wares manufactured I take this to be *Semau* or *Semau* *vulgo* *Semoj* on the homonymous bight the *Telok Semau* بلي سماوي, Celestial Bay (or Harbour) into which debouches the Paser River North Sumatra The dialectal pronunciations of the above Chinese characters are *Ts'ym mai*, *Sen mai* etc

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11 *Chia lo hei* or *Ka lo hei* 加羅希 (ibid) A very puzzling name Ma Tuan lin (op cit p 486) mentions (from Sung history under a date corresponding to A.D. 1116) a *Ki lo lei* or *Ka lo hei* 加囉希 very likely the same place as lying to the south of *Chén la* (Kamboja) but at what distance he does not state I have thought about the country inhabited by the *Clarau* tribes but this would not answer it being situated to the east of Kamboja Neither would the territory of the *Clarau* and *Chiri* which is in the south east We shall probably have to look for the name *Karagi* *Krahai* *Gargai* *Gargai* or *Galagi* either on the east coast of Sumatra or neighbouring islands On the east coast of Sumatra we merely have *Rauas* *Karu* or *Karau* *Kurinci*, *Gaju* and *Ala* or *Hala* on the north coast *Juru* in Malacca *Hala* and *Gargau* in Kedah Finally we have *Chagalelegat* the Mantaw islanders off the west coast of Sumatra The last term which is at the same time the one that answers best on linguistic grounds especially in its possible contracted forms *Chalegat* or *Calegat* unfortunately belongs to tribes situated too far away for our purpose Gold and silver ware is

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- 1077 At this period *Chu lien* (Chol<sup>7</sup>, Koromandel) is stated in Sung history to have been already tributary to *San fo ch'i*, hence a reply is sent to the *Chu lien* king on strong paper with an envelope of plain silk, instead of on gold flowered silk, etc, as done with independent kingdoms. This subordinate position of *Chu lien* in respect of *San fo ch'i* is said to be still enduring in 1106. (See Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 586 )<sup>1</sup>
- 1078 Envoys from *San fo ch'i* reach Chin<sup>7</sup>, bringing silver ingots, pearls camphor oil olibanum and other products of the country
- 1080 A great dignitary from *San fo ch'i* arrives at Canton, saying that he had the direction of affairs in his country. He brings a letter from the king's daughter to the superintendent of

trade written in Chinese characters, and presents of Bārūs camphor and cotton cloth

1082 Three envoys arrive at the Chinese Court bringing golden lotus flowers containing pearls, Bārūs camphor, and other rarities

1088 Three other envoys come with presents

1094-1097 Between these two dates they once again make their appearance

1106 On the occasion of the reception of envoys from *P'u lan* 蒲蘭 (*Bukam* or *Pagin* capital of Burma), the president of the Board of Rites submits to the emperor that '*Chu lien* is a vassal of *San fo ch' :*' Ma Tuan lin op cit, p 586 (See entry above under date 1077)

1156 King *Hsi li Ma hsia lo she* 悉利麻霞囉蛇 (Śrī Maharaja) sends envoys with tribute

1168 A new ruler (son of the preceding) succeeds to the throne of *San fo ch' :* (See entry under date 1178)

1172 The king of *San fo ch' :* solicits from the Emperor the authority to purchase copper for shipment to his country and to engage Chinese artisans to convert this metal into tiles wherewith to roof his own residence (after the fashion of the Emperor's palace in China) The Emperor grants the request, but with the express condition that it be not renewed (Ma Tuan lin, op cit p 566)

1178 New envoys from *San fo ch' :* arrive with tribute The Emperor, finding that the presents he usually gives in return for this tribute are rather expensive directs them not to come to Court any more but to make an establishment at *Ch'uan ch'ou* (i.e. *Zastun*) in *Fuh kien* province On this occasion the king of *San fo-ch' :* has information conveyed to the Chinese Court that he has succeeded to his father's throne in the fourth year of the period *Ch'ien Tho* (A.D. 1168) Hence the investiture is accorded him (Ma Tuan lin op cit, p 566)

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manufactured also in the State of *Ka lo hei*, according to Chao Ju kua. After all, the place in question might be *Jaralu*, *Jalot*, or *Julak*, a petty State on the east coast of Sumatra above Perlak and immediately below the Arakundur River. The *Kia lo lei* lying south of Kamboja may be a distinct State perhaps *Kalakah*, an old district of West Borneo.

12 *Pa lin feng* or *Pa lin p'ing*, 巴林平 (op cit, p 136). Probably *Berembang* in Deli, 3° 42' N lat, and not Palembang the name of which is spelled *Po lin pang*, 諤林邦, by Ma Huan A.D. 1416 (Groeneveldt, op cit, p 197).

13 *Hsin to*, 新拖 (ibid). Barbosa's *Zunda* kingdom South West Sumatra, corresponding to the present Indrapura district (See above, pp 450 seqq.)

14 *Chien pi*, 監篋 (op cit, p 138), or *Kam-pi*, *Kam pei*. "A revolting colony of *San fo ch'i* with a warlike population probably Malays carrying on a trade in tin ivory, and pearls' (*Journ Roy Asiatic Soc*, 1896 p 487). Not likely to be *Kampar*, the name of which is spelled 甘巴, *Kan pa* in the Chinese map published by Phillips, nor *Jempa* or *Jumpa* in Pasangan North Sumatra. There is a *Kampi* promontory at the north point of entrance to the Banju Asin, and a *Kumpas* island at the north east end of Aru Bay, either of which may be the place intended. *Kumpas* is however, in the Chinese map just alluded to, spelled 甘杯, *Kan-pe* which fact condemns the latter alternative. From the fact of tin being an article of trade in the country, some district on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula may be meant (Ghirbi).

15 *Lan wu li* or *Lam bu ri*, 藍無里 (ibid) — *Lambri*. Sends yearly tribute to *San fo ch'i* (*Journ Roy Asiatic Soc*, 1896 p 482). See the treatment of this toponymic in the next section, devoted to *Argyre*.

Besides, Chao Ju kua tells us the following interesting details — China collects together the gold and silver wares manufactured and sold at *Tan ma ling*, *Jih-lo ting*, *Ch'ien mai*, *Pa ta*, and *Ka lo-hei* (Nos 1, 8, 9, 10, 11 above), and offers them to *San fo-ch'i* (*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, p 128). Every year ships go from *San fo ch'i*, *Chi to* (*Kat to* = Telok Krut, West Sumatra?) and *Chien pi* (*Kampi*, Ghirbi?) to *Nan p'i*.

(Malabar) Products are carried from *Nan p'* to *San-fo-ch'* and *Chi lo ta lung* (= *Kuala Terong*, or *Tiong*, on the Pêrak coast?), (*Journ Roy Asiatic Soc*, 1896, p 486) This explains the influence that the *Zabey* empire had succeeded in creating for itself in Southern India For other countries in Sumatra producing pepper, see above, pp 450-451

1250 Malays (*Javakus*) undoubtedly from the *Zabey* empire, Sumatra, led by prince Candrabhanu, attack Ceylon, but are after some difficulty repulsed (See p 624)

1270-1275 A second invasion of Ceylon by the same people, but with the assistance of Tamils from the Southern Indian mainland takes place between these two dates (Ibid)

1274 SARIRAH is the largest of the *Zabey* islands (read 'districts') The sovereign the Maharaja, is one of the richest potentates of [Further] India He has his residence on the largest of such islands [i.e. *Sarirah*=*Sarba a*] (Ibn Sa'îd) (See p 572)

Here intervenes a gap of well nigh a century in all records Both Marco Polo and Odoric seem never to have heard of *Sri Bhôja*, or else they forgot all about it

1371 Having been summoned to allegiance by the newly established Ming dynasty, King *Ma la-la cha Pa la pu* 馬哈刺札八剌卜 (Maharaja Prabhu, or Furba?), sends envoys with presents This monarch may be the Samsapurba of the 'Sejarah Malayu,' who reigned for some time over Palembang (See Leyden's *Malay Annals*, pp 23 seq)

The country now becomes split up into three principalities, each with its own chief

1373 King *Tan-ma sha na a* 但麻沙那阿 (Dharma sena?), sends envoys with tribute This is principality No 1

1374 King *Ma na ha Pau lin pang* 馬那哈寶林邦 (Manuha Pralamba Balambang), despatches, in his turn, a mission with presents This is principality No 2 and the term *Pau lin pang* in the King's name may, as Groeneveldt suggests (op cit, p 193) stand for Palembang

1375 King *Sang chia lie yu lan*, 僧伽列字蘭 (Sangahura?), sends tribute This is principality No 3

have ruled over any other part of the country. But quite apart from this there seems to be no question that, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the capital of the country must have stood in the early days, and maybe even during later periods, on the Jambi River. First of all we have the evidence of the ancient remains (images, etc.) to which we had occasion to call attention (p. 601), on that stream. Then various circumstantial indications, among which is the fact that gold for which the Śrī Bhoja State became so famous is almost exclusively found, at any rate in largest quantities, in districts situated on or about the upper tributaries of the Jambi River namely, Limun, Bitang-Āsee Pangkalan Jambu, Kurinchi. Further, the peculiarity that the name itself of the stream, *Tambesi*, is not very dissimilar from the Chinese transcript *San fo ch* : or *Sam bu-tsi*, to which it may, as likely as not have given origin. And, last but not least the statement though by no means absolutely reliable of the Ming historians that at a later period the place where the first chief of the country (had) lived was called *Chan pei* (= Jambi?)<sup>1</sup> If this identification is correct this would be the first instance in which the name *Jambi*, جمبي, appears in Chinese history, unless we consider the same toponymic to be alluded to several centuries earlier in what is represented in Sung annals to be merely a title for the kings of the *San fo ch* : country.<sup>2</sup> Apart from this still doubtful point it seems strange that the name of a district which was like Jambi so important a centre of trade and civilization, should have been suffered to remain unrecorded for so long a period not finding even a place in the detailed list of the fifteen districts subject to *Sa fo ch* : drawn up by Chao Ju kua. There is of course some justification to be found for this silence in the argument that Jambi from its lying in such close proximity to Palembang was likely to be confounded with the latter but the real reason seems to be that the connection between the two States was very probably far more intimate than it has

<sup>1</sup> See Groeneveldt op cit., p. 196

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 188

Starting first with Ptolemy's Iabadiu or Sabadiu, there can be no doubt that these terms represent the vernacular Indū forms *Yaba-diu* and *Saba-diu* of, respectively, *Yaya-dipa* (or *Yaya dipa*) and *Saya* (or *Jaya*)-*dipa* (or *-dipa*)

Fa-Hsien's *Ya p'o t'i* (*Ya ba dei*, *Ja-ba dai*, *Ya-ba-che*) stands for either *Yaba diu*, *Jabadiu*, or *Yaya-des*, *Jaya des*. In the last syllable *t'i*, *di*, *che* of the compositum, we already detect traces of a softening tendency towards a palatal *ji*, *je*, *ja*, if not of a guttural *g* or *h*, which we shall find later on in *Zabey*, *Dabag*, and *Jaraku*

We next come to the Arabic *Zabey* (Sulaimīn, A D 851), which should perhaps be more properly read *Zabay*. This may represent either *Jaiaya*, *Jaiaju* (the *Jaya* race or people), or *Jaraka*, a derivative of the collateral prototype *Daraka* or *Daraka*, known since at least the fourth century A D,<sup>1</sup> which became in later ages exemplified in the Syriac *Dabag*<sup>2</sup> or *Zabag*, the Persian *Jaiaka*, and the Sinhalese *Jaraku*. Of the absurdity of the suggested connection between *Zabey* and *Sri Bhoja* I have already spoken, it absolutely cannot be entertained.

It is with Ibn Khurdībīh (A D 864) that we arrive at the fairly correct spelling *Jābah*, lost since Ptolemy's time. His example is followed later on by Edrisī (A D 1154), Ibn Sa'id (A D 1274), and others. Yākūt (A D 1218), Abū l Fedī (A D 1321), and Ibn Batūta (A D 1345-1346), however, go still further and present us Sumatra under the name of *Jāwah*, which had already been made known by Marco Polo (1292), under the form *Jaya* (the Less).

But it is not only in foreign literatures or traditions that we meet with such names for the island of Sumatra and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> The term *Dabag* occurs in the Syriac MS published in the Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementina Vaticana by Joseph Simon Assemanus vol iii pp 99-100 with a Latin version. The MS was written in A D 1533. It is therein stated that in 1503 the Patriarch Elias charged four Fathers to proceed to the country of the Indies and to the islands of the sea that are within *Dabag* and *Yan* and *Masra*. There can be no doubt that *Dabag* here stands for *Daraka* or *Jaraka* i.e. the ancient *Zibey* or *Zabag* empire centring in Sumatra.

In Rashīd-u-d Dīn (A D 1310) occurs the form *Zi bāy* (= *Daraka* *Dāraka*), which we probably find exemplified in Sarawak (W. Borneo) and which is in any case a modification of al Bīrūnī's *Zibag* or *Zibay* (A D 1031).

the chain of circumstantial evidence proving that, of all the islands of the Archipelago, Sumatra was the first one to bear the name *Java*, and the only one properly entitled to be recognized under such an appellation in all the accounts of the ancient travellers down to at least the end of the thirteenth century. The last links in the chain just referred to we are now going to give as a conclusion to our inquiry. They are the evidence of the population itself of Sumatra, as well as of their neighbours; the voice of over half a dozen nations and tribes, who unanimously bear witness that Sumatra was the original, the true *Java*, and that it was so even long after the present Java had borrowed

[they] came also unto other called *Ayauue, Cambaba, Solor*" (Haklurt, iv, 423) Here a cedilla has doubtless dropped from *Cambaba*, which should thus read *ſambaba*, meaning Sambawa. Hence it is possible that Barbosa's *Ambaba* may stand for *ſambaba*, i.e. Sambawa

1521 — Pigafetta, after mentioning Sumatra and Java Major, states

JAVA MINOR lies at half a league from Java Major, and is as large as the island of *Madera* (Madeira). Hence, either Madura or Bali is meant here. (Ramusio, op cit, fol 369 recto)

1576 — Girolamo Porro, in the map attached to Porcacchi's book, p 189, marks

1 Sumatra, which he does not name, although making it easily recognizable from the various kingdoms mapped there, viz, *ſamatra*, *Pedir*, *Pazer* (*Paeu*), etc

2 JAVA MAJOR = Java

3 JAVA MINOR = Borneo (*Burna* = Burnei, Brunai, is marked on it). This he makes smaller than *Gilolo*, owing to his following, I believe, Masamuhano Transilvano's views (see Ramusio, vol 1, p 351) — Porcacchi's "*L'Isola piu famose*," etc, Venetia, 1576

1595 — Prevost, quoting authors of the period, says the island usually called Java is sometimes styled the *Great Java*, in order to distinguish it from a neighbouring island termed the *Little Java*, or Bali — "*Hist gen des Voyages*," vol viii, Paris 1750, p 154

It will thus be seen that the terms *Great Java* and *Little Java* have been indiscriminately applied to different islands at various times, according to the views of the several travellers, or, putting the results in formula shape, we obtain

1 GREAT JAVA = Java (M Polo, 1292) Borneo (Conti, 1440, and Fra Mauro, 1450) Java (Barbosa, 1516 and Pigafetta, 1521)

2 LITTLE JAVA = Sumatra (M Polo 1292) Java (Conti, 1440, and Fra Mauro, 1450), Bali, Madura, or Sambawa (Barbosa, 1516, and Pigafetta, 1521), Borneo (Porro, 1576), Bali (1595)

It is not at all exact, therefore, to say, as Corder sweepingly puts it, that "*tout le monde sait aujourd'hui qu'il y a eu deux Java, Java mineure cette meme Sumatra, et Java majeure, Java meme*" ("*L'Extrême Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan*," p 42) This is simply misleading for "*tout le monde*" hence, the reason for the above little enquiry, which, though by no means exhaustive, will throw some light into this dark corner of mediæval geography

from it her name, along with the traditions attached thereto. Here, then, is the evidence in question, which, for facility of reference, I subjoin in a tabulated form —

THE 'MALAYS' OF SUMATRA ARE CALLED	BY WHOM	AUTHORITIES
<i>Ja ye</i> (= <i>Jau yin</i> , plural of <i>Jau</i> )	Themselves	De Barros Decada in lib v, ch 1 (A.D. 1553)
<i>Jau</i> (= Java)	The Battak	Van der Lath, "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 233
<i>Da ca</i> (= <i>Data</i> )	The natives of Nias	
<i>Jaraku</i> (= <i>Javaka</i> )	The Cerlonese	Sinhalese chronicles (circa A.D. 1270-1280)
<i>Chréa</i> (C h a v a, Java)	The Khm̄rs	{ Leclère Contes et Légendes Paris 1895 p. 306 and other writers on Kamboja
<i>Chréa</i> (= <i>Javaka</i> )		
<i>Chá rá</i> 拏吧 (C h a v á Java)	The Annamese	{ B n e t s ' D e t o n n a n c e Annamite Française Paris 1899, t. i p. 66 and others
<i>Chá ryá</i> , 拏吧 (J a v a, Java)		
<i>Chá ri</i> (Java)	The Siamese	Khūn I āng Hawat's chronicle p. 153 (circa A.D. 1768) and other Siamese records

I may add, moreover, that the Malays of Menangkabau, Central Sumatra, are termed *Chréa krabei* by the Khm̄rs, whereas those of the Malay Peninsula are called, as with the Siamese, *Malayū*,<sup>1</sup> which is, as we have seen, the proper name of the territory they inhabit.

And the Javanese, it will now be asked, the fortunate inhabitants of the 'true Java' so dear to the imagination of Sinologists and Arabists, what are they designated? Well, I am sorry to say that until a very recent period the Indo-Chinese nations had no name for them, nor for their island either—a most ominous sign that they had not the honour, until very lately, of becoming acquainted with either the one or the other. It is only from the last two centuries or so that the Khm̄rs had to invent for them the distinctive designation of *Chréa Yavá*.<sup>2</sup> As regards

<sup>1</sup> See Leclère's "Contes et Légendes" Paris 1895 pp. 297 n. and 306. In Siamese records *Malay* in Lady Nobun's Memoirs (fourteenth century) and *Malay* in Khūn I āng Hawat's chronicle p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Leclère, op. cit., p. 306.

their delightful island, all they learned were the names of some of its paramount States, such as, for instance, Kalāpā (= Sunda-Kalāpa district), Jakatra (= Jakarta), later on Batavia, founded 1619, and Mataram.<sup>1</sup> Intercourse between Champā and Java commenced somewhat earlier (*circa* A.D. 1380-1390),<sup>2</sup> but it is very doubtful that the Chām ever knew that island under any other name than that of the State—Mājapāhīt—with which those relations were established. In conclusion, I trust to have made it pretty clear that the Island of Java and the Javanese did not become known, if at all, to the neighbouring nations on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula until the end of the thirteenth century and later; and then not under the names of *Jara* or *Jara* people, but under those of the Javanese kingdoms to which they belonged. Further, that the terms *Jaja*, *Jajaka*, *Dara*, *Daraka*, *C'hawā*, etc., have always been understood, not only by the people of Sumatra or of its borderlands, but by all nations of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and even Ceylon, to mean the Mōū-Khmēr descended inhabitants of Sumatra—the so-called 'Malays'—and, by analogy, the Island of Sumatra itself, which, even by the Malays on the opposite coast of the Malay Peninsula, was, for that very reason,

<sup>1</sup> Jakatra is first mentioned in the form *Jakatra* in the Siamese chronicle of Khōn Lūang Hawat, p. 128 (date about 1750), as being then in amicable relations with the country. This was, of course, already the period of Dutch rule there. Mataram, the realm in the south-east of Java, is referred to a century earlier, A.D. 1653.

No mention of the former mighty empire of Majapahit occurs in either Siamese, Khmēr, Peguin, or Burmese records, although, as we have seen, the Javanese poem "Nagara kretagama" of the fourteenth century tells us how that State was then in friendly relation with Ayutthia, Ligor, Kamboja, and other kingdoms on the Indo-Chinese continent. There may be a good deal of poetical fiction and exaggeration in this statement, although some measure of truth no doubt underlies it. All the same, the intercourse in question must have been very slight, since it left no trace in the history and traditions of these peoples. These last, no doubt, confused in their minds the Javanese with the Jawas of Sumatra. As regards Siam, however, rather close relations must have existed between at least her possessions on the Malay Peninsula (Ligor, etc.), if not her capital Ayutthia and Majapahit. For in 1397 China invites Siam to use her influence with Java (Majapahit) to induce the latter to keep her newly acquired vassal *San so-chā* (Palembang) quiet. (See Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195.)

<sup>2</sup> See Leiden's "Malay Annals," p. 202. The date is my own rectified one.

called the 'Country of *Jāwa*.'<sup>1</sup> To this day a Sumatra wind is called an *Angin Jāwa*, i.e. 'Jāwa [= Sumatra] wind,'<sup>2</sup> by the Singaporeans and the natives of the Straits generally; and benjoin, which is certainly not a product of Java, but of Sumatra, is accordingly termed *Lubān Jāwa*.<sup>3</sup> We thus see that from Ptolemy's days down to very modern, nay, even recent times, the name *Jāwa* for Sumatra (but more properly for the race that very early settled on it from the Indo-Chinese mainland, can be traced in an almost uninterrupted sequel. It now remains for those who, after a perusal of the overwhelming mass of evidence we have adduced above, still hold a brief for that "Pearl of Islands, Java," to prove their own thesis—not by mere airy speculations, but by substantial and well-authenticated evidence, as we have been doing throughout the preceding pages

Having thus endeavoured, to the best of our ability, to throw as much light as possible on the principal and perhaps most ancient appellation of Sumatra, it would seem to us to be guilty of an unpardonable omission were we not to say, by way of conclusion, a few words on the names after which



either the island itself or the most noted parts of it have been known at various times to its own people, as well as to the neighbouring Malays on the opposite coast of the Peninsula and to foreign nations, including those of the Western world. Such names, for the first notice of which the date could be ascertained, will be given hereafter chronologically arranged in a tabulated form; here we shall deal first with those the birth-date of which is so far either undetermined or but vaguely known.

The following are the designations applied by the Malays on the Peninsula to the various parts of Sumatra —

1. **TĀVAH JĀWĪ**, تڤاڤ جاوي = the 'Country of Jawi' (Kedah Annals, ch. 13), a name, if not for the whole of the island, at least for the northern half, or more, of it. Date, circa fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.
2. **PULU ANDALAS**, قُلو اندلس, 'The *Andhala*, *Andhala*, or *Andhra* Island', or, simply, *Andilas*, *Indalas* (see p. 612) ("Sejarah Melayu," and Leyden's Malay Annals" p. 20) Date, about fourteenth century. This is said to have been the name then, or before that, applied to the territory of *Paralembang* or *Perlambang* the present Palembang, بکری قلمبڠ.
3. **PULO PERCHA**, قُلو پرجا, the 'Guttapercha (or, more correctly, *Getah Percha*) Island', from *فرجا*, *Farcha*, *Fercha*, the Persian word for a rig, a remnant of stuff<sup>1</sup> (Dulaunier, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p. 125) Date, unknown.<sup>2</sup> Newbold ('Straits of Malacca,' London 1839 vol. II, p. 222) identifies *Pulo Percha* with the Jambi district.

<sup>1</sup> On the still much discussed etymology of the term *Pulo Percha* Dr. Rost appends the following editorial note to p. 83 of the *Essays* relating to Indo-China "1st series vol. I. 'According to Van der Tuuk (Malay Dict., 1880) *Pulo Percha* the gutta percha island' according to the Abbe Favre and Professor Pijnappel in their Malay Dictionaries *percha* is 15 *martyn* 'the inhabited world.' This opinion was first propounded by Van der Tuuk in his 'Bataksch Woordenboek' (1881), s.v. *morsa*.' Colonel Low in the *Journal of the Malay Archipelago* vol. III adheres to the first view, and adds that *Pulo Percha* is the name still applied by the people to the eastward to Sumatra.

<sup>2</sup> The name *Pulo Percha* (for apparently the northern part of Sumatra) first appears to my knowledge in a Malay MS. on the kings of *Pulo Percha* in the possession of the Sultan of Indrapura (south west coast of Sumatra) from which Sir Stamford Raffles compiled the account published in the "Malay Miscellanies," vol. II. Bencoolen 1822. The same name also occurs in the chronicle of Paser (see Marre's transl., pp. 99-100) where it appears to apply to the territory of Menangkabau. The Kedah Annals (ch. 2), however, speak of "Acheh on the sea coast of *Pulo Percha*."

- 4 **PULO MAS**, **قُلو أمس**, the 'Island of Gold,' and not 'Golden Island' as it has been lyrically suggested in order to identify it with the classical *Surarnadvīpa*, which, we have shown, is far more probably the Malay Peninsula. This designation must refer in particular to the Jambī district, the most noted for the precious metal. Date, unknown.<sup>1</sup> Newbold ("Straits

<sup>1</sup> I tsing (A.D. 671-695) twice refers to *Śrī Bhōja* (Palembang or Jambī or both) as *Chin ch'ou* 金洲, the 'Island of Gold' and not 'Gold Isle' as it has been hitherto assumed (see Chavannes, op. cit., p. 37, note p. 181, n. 2, and p. 186). His commentator Kaśyapa (eighteenth century) identifies *Chin ch'ou* with 金州, *Chin ch'ou* (Kan lan) or *Chin ch'ou* 全陳 (*Kim chin*), the silver producing country situated at some 2,000 li (circa 400 miles) to the west of *Fo nan* that we have shown (p. 164) to correspond very probably to *Hwēn tsang's* *Kāmalanā* and to be therefore situated on the upper part of the Malay Peninsula. I should not think after all that Kaśyapa is right in his suggestion for I tsing refers unquestionably to *Śrī Bhōja* by his term *Chin ch'ou* and not to *Chin lan* with which he was acquainted as evidenced by the fact that he mentions it by name (see Takakusu op. cit. p. 17). We must accordingly conclude that Palembang more probably Jambī was already known in I tsing's time i.e. the seventh century A.D., by some name meaning the 'Gold bearing District' or 'Island of Gold'. The question is now to find out what such a name was like. Was it *Pulo Mas*? I hardly think this designation had already sprung up into being then although it is possible. My impression is rather that the term *Andala Andira Andhra* or something similar which we are told was the old name borne by that district is what means—or was taken to mean—'Gold bearing District' or 'Island of Gold'. Let us remember that Conti distinctly states (circa A.D. 1440) *Anda sa a* (or Andaman) to mean the 'Island

of Malacca," London, 1839, vol II, p 215) states that according to Malay tradition *Pulo Mas* means the Menang-kabau empire situated in the heart of Sumatra

- 5 SEBRANG, سبرڠ (Säbrang, Säbärang) = 'On the other side,' 'Across the Straits', commonly applied to the part of the east coast of the island lying opposite the Malay Peninsula Date, unknown (See Swettenham's Malay-English Vocabulary, London, 1887, p 101 )
- 6 MENANG-KABAU (or *Kerbau*), مڠ كرو, the country of the 'Vanquished Buffalo' This only applies to the Menangkabau State, the name being given to it in memory of a combat between a buffalo from Majapahit sent to challenge its congeners in Menangkabau, in which the Menangkabau came off victorious' This must have occurred in *circa* 1377-1380 A.D. The former names of Menangkabau are stated to have been successively *Tanjung Bunga*, تڠج بوشا, the 'Cape of Flowers' and *Pagar ruyung*, فڠر رويڠ, the 'Fence of Ruyang (trees)'
- 7 TAKONG-BÄPIS? (Tékong b ?), a very doubtful one given by Leclère (op cit, p 297), without quotation of his authority, said to be applied to Sumatra (more probably part of it) because "it emerges [or emerged?] from the sea"

8. *TĀVAH PALMBAHO*, so called by the Javanese according to Crawford ("Hist. Indian Arch.," p. 323). This name, however, can only imply the Palembang district

We must now turn to the term *Sumatra*. About the origin and first employment of it as a general name for the whole island there still exists no little misconception.<sup>1</sup> It is beyond doubt that such a term sprang into being with the foundation of the city of *Sumatra* or *Samudra* in circa 1270 (see p. 613),<sup>2</sup> which stood on the left bank of the Krung Pāsai (or Pāsai River), at some five miles from the sea (Telok Semāwī Bay). The derivation of the name given in the "Şejarah Malāyu" from *Semūt-rajā*, سموت راج,

to identify with the *Pien-t'ou* or *Pun-t'ou*, 邊斗, 班斗, and *Tu-k'un*, 都昆, or *Tu-chün*, 都章, referred to in Sui history (see Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit., p. 511) as being situated across the *Chin lin* Bay in a southern direction and at 3,000 *li* (circa 600-700 miles) from *Fu-nan* (Kamboja), and therefore on the east coast of Sumatra. See for further remarks *infra*

<sup>1</sup> Misconception undoubtedly, when in such modern and scholarly works as e.g. the "Essays relating to Indo China" we find (2nd series, vol. II, p. 50, n.) passages like the following: "*Samudra*, the ancient name of *Pasey* [!], which occasioned the whole island to be called by the Portuguese [sic], who sailed with Arabic pilots, *Sumatra*, a name with which the natives, not used to mix with Europeans, are not acquainted." It must be admitted that this is distinctly misleading, for not only *Samudra* was not the ancient name of Pāsai (which was founded after it), but the name *Sumatra* is recorded for the whole island, nearly three quarters of a century before the advent of the Portuguese, by Nicolo Conti, who states that the island "is called by the natives *Sciannuthera* [*Shamudara*]." (See Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century," part II, p. 8.) Reinoud says (Intro. to the Geogr. of Abulfeda, p. 409), but without quoting his authorities for his statement that it was the Arabs who extended the denomination *Sumatra* to the whole island after Sumatra city had been founded. In the absence of evidence to that effect we must regard this as a mere guess.

<sup>2</sup> As we shall see directly, Sumatra State already appears in the history of the Chinese Yuan dynasty, under the names *Su mu ta* and *Su-mu tu-la*, with the date A.D. 1282. The city must have, accordingly, been founded some years before that, say, circa A.D. 1270. It must be remembered, in fact, that, according to the chronicles, after Sumatra city had been founded Islamism was introduced into the country. Then the king wedded the daughter of the Perlak ruler and had a son by her (i.e. Sultan Malik-ul-Zaher), whom he set up in due course to reign in Sumatra city. But soon afterwards the old king founded Pāsai and transferred his son to rule over Pāsai. Thus, an interval of at least twenty years must have occurred between the foundation of Sumatra and that of its sister city Pāsai. Now, if this is the *Basma* heard of by Marco Polo while at Sumatra (Samadra) in 1292, we get the date A.D. 1270 circa for the foundation of Sumatra city, which date must be a very close approach to the truth.

a 'Large Ant'<sup>1</sup>—from the legend of an extraordinarily big representative of the Formicidæ family having been discovered there by the famous hunting dog of Marah Silu, the founder of the city, who, in duty bound, made a meal of it,—must, as a matter of course, be classed along with the other fanciful 'etymologies' of Eastern invention, of which we have already found so many edifying examples. It is perfectly certain that the true derivation is from *Samudra*, the original name being very likely *Samudra pura*, as we have noticed in Kamboja (p 220). Of such a term, meaning the 'Oceanic' or 'Sea city,' *Samundar*, *Samundra*, *Samundara* are dialectal corruptions (occurring in the Urdū, or Hindūstānī, and Telugu *Samundar*, *Sumundur*, *Samundri*, *Samundari*), which explain the forms *Samadra*, *Shamuthera*, *Su mên ta la*, etc., met with in the Western as well as Chinese literatures of the time<sup>2</sup>.

With these premises we may now proceed to give, chronologically arranged in the subjoined table, the principal forms of the name *Sumatra* met with in local as well as foreign literatures, exhibiting the process of its successive transformations, adding also the other names applied to the island at various times since the foundation of Sumatra city

# CHRONOLOGICAL ONOMATOLOGY OF SUMATRA CITY AND ISLAND SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF SUMATRA CITY

(circa A.D. 1270)

A.D.

- 1270 *circa* SAMUDRA, سمدرأ (Samadru), city, founded by Marah Silu, مرد سلو, a fisherman from Pasīngan, نساڠس (lying about half way between the Pāsai River and Samalāngan) ("Sejarah Malāyu," ch vii pp 70-71, Singapore ed, and Chron Pāsai)
- 1270-1275 SAMUDRA DAR L-SALĀM, دار السلام, the name assumed by Sumatra city upon the introduction of Islamism King Marah Silu becomes a convert to the Muslim faith and assumes the title of Maliku l Sāleh, ملك الصالح. Shortly afterwards he weds the daughter of the Perlak, قرلى, ruler Ganggang Putri by name, by whom he has two sons the elder being named Sultan M l iku-l Zaher, ملك الظاهر. ("Sejarah Malāyu" and "Hikayat Raja raja Pāsai")
- 1282 SU MU TA (= Samudra) State sends a Minister to Quilon, who meets a Chinese envoy there and is persuaded by the latter to despatch, on behalf of his master, Takur envoys to submit an address and to offer presents to the Chinese Court (History of the Yuan Dynasty, E H Parker in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, pp 131-132)
- 1282 SU MU TU LA, 速木都剌 (Sū muk tu la = Samudara), State, visited on his way home by the Chinese envoy above referred to, who persuades the chief of the country *Tuan Puti* (a mere title meaning the 'Lord Ruler,' important, however, in this connection as showing that Islam had not perhaps as yet obtained a foothold in that territory) to send to China two envoys named Hassan and Sulaiman (Ibid, p 132)
- 1285 } SU MU TU LA sends an envoy to the Chinese Court (Ibid)
- 1286 }
- 1286 SU MĒN NA (evidently a contraction of *Su men ta na* see below, sends envoys) (Ibid)
- circa* 1290 The kingdom of Perlak being invaded by the enemies opposite (from the Malay Peninsula) its people take refuge in Samudra Sultan Māliku l Sāleh sets up his elder son Māliku l Zaher, as ruler in Samudra Then he builds Pāsai city ناسى, and installs him as king there ('Sejarah Malāyu' ch vii and Chron Pāsai)

1292. JAVA MINOR, island (= Samatra).
1292. SĪMARA or SAMARCHA (= Samudra; or else, Samakuruk district on the Pāsai River, south from Samudra; or Samāwī Bay?); and *Basma* or *Basman* (= Pāsai, Bāsaim) kingdoms. (Marco Polo, bk. iii, ch. 9.)
1293. SU-MU-TU-LA, 速木都刺 (*Suh-mu-tūra* = Samudara); an envoy sent there from China to renew its allegiance. (Hist. Yuan Dyn., bk. 162; Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 155.)
1294. SU-MU-TU-LA, id. Its envoy, who had been detained in China awaiting the result of Kūblai's war with Java, is sent back with presents. (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, loc. cit.)
1309. PAH-SIH (= Pāsai). A special envoy despatched there from China. (Ibid., see also p. 614.)
1310. SŪMŪTRA (= Samudra) Rashīda-d-dīn (Elliot, "History of India," vol. 1, p. 70).

have to alter its date to A.D. 1320-1330, that is to say, at some fifteen to twenty years before Ibn Batūṭa's visit

- 1323 *circa* SUMOLTRA (= Samundra, Sumundri), or ΣΜΟΝΔΡΑ, ΣΥΜΟΝΔΡΑ, SUMMOLTRA The people, whether men or women, tattoo their face and other parts of the body,<sup>1</sup> they are in constant war with those of *Lamory* (Lambri) which is an island (read 'district') to the north of it (Friar Odoric, Ramusio, 1583 ed., vol. II, f. 247 *verso*, De Backer, "L'Extreme Orient au Moyen-Âge," Paris, 1877, pp. 105-106 and 477-478)

- 1345 ISLAND OF JĀWĀH حَبْرَةُ الْجَاوَةِ, or COUNTRY OF JĀWĀH سَمَلَرَةُ (= Sumatra) with the capital SAMĀTRA, سَمَلَرَةُ Its seaport, which is a large village on the seaside, lies at four miles from the city, and is called *Sarḥa* or *Sarhi*, سَرْحِي (This, hitherto unidentified, must be *Terlet*, which in the chronicle of Pāsaī is always mentioned as the anchorage, see Marre's "Hist. des Rois de Pāsey," pp. 32-62 etc.) The Sultan's name is *Maliku l Zihir*, مَلِكُ الظَّاهِر (This must be a mistake for his son *Maliku l Mahmud* for the particulars related by the author about the former apply to the latter and *Maliku l Zihir* could hardly be still alive at this time since he was already of age at the time of the foundation of Pāsaī, in *circa* 1290, see above, see also Marre, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45, n.) (Ibn Batūṭa "Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah" Paris, 1858, pp. 224, 229 *seqq.*)

- 1346 (Oct-Nov) Ibn Batūṭa returns to Sumatra from China and stays there two months (*op. cit.*, pp. 306-309)

- 1375 ILLA TRĀPOBĀNA (for Taprobana = Sumatra Island), called *Magno Cauly* (= Menang Labau) On some of its mountains live giants twelve cubits in height very black and insane (i.e. the Batta tribes), they eat all the white strangers they can lay their hands upon. It is the last island of India, and

<sup>1</sup> Face tattooing is mentioned in Chinese records as being practised in *Na ku êrh* a small State in the mountains to the west of the Sumatra kingdom. The people there says Ma Huan in his *Ying yai Sheng lan* (A.D. 1416) tattoo their faces with three pointed green figures and for this reason the ruler is called the king of the *Hra me*, (Tattooed Faces). Fei Hsin states later on, in his *Heing ch'a Sheng lan* (1436) of the same State. The men tattoo their faces with representations of flowers and animals. (Groeneveldt *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219). Professor Schlegel translates part of the former passage thus: "all tattoo upon their faces triangular blue figures as a distinctive mark." (*T'o ng Pao* 1901 p. 349). On face tattooing see our remarks above pp. 30-36. Of our identification of *Na ku êrh* we shall speak in the next section.



abounds in gold silver, and precious stones It contains seven cities —(1) *Melaro* (on south east coast = Mallaru Malayu?), (2) *Dinloj* (= Deli?) (3) *Menlay* (on north east coast = *Wen la*, *Malai Ferlec Periak*?),<sup>1</sup> (4) *Horniar* (on north coast = Ghuri or Haru Samara?), (5) *Leroa* (on north west coast = Lide Lubok Lameri, or Lambri?) (6) *Malao* (in the centre = Malabu?)<sup>2</sup> (7) an unnamed city deserted on account of snakes (on west coast = Telok belong?) Catalan Map (Cordier's L'Extreme Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan de Charles V, pl. 11)

1375 *ILLA IANA* (= Java *Jana Zanej* = Sumatra or Borneo, Island?) It produces eagle wood and camphor spices galanga nutmegs cinnamon as well as maces *Regio Feminarum* (north coast)<sup>3</sup> and cities of *Malao* (north coast = Marudu Bay, the *Malatu* of Captain Bozorg's 'Ajaib' vide *infra* Appendix II), *Auzul* (west coast) *Semesera* (on west coast = Semerahm one of the old districts? or else Sarawak Samarcha Samara?) Catalan Map (op cit pl. 1)

circa 1377 *IASAI* conquered by the armies from Majapahit (Java) The then reigning Sultan Ahmad takes to flight nobody knows where (Pacai Chronicle See Marre op cit pp 91-92 As regards the date it can be deduced from that of the Javanese conquest of Palembang which took place at

about the same time, i.e. in A.D. 1376 or 1377, according to the Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 324, see Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 193.)

1383. 須文達那, 須文達那 (Sumundala, Sumundara), State. Sultān *Ma-lē Wu Ta-sen*, 麻勒兀達勝 (*Ma-līk-wul-Tat-sen* = Māliku-l-Zāher),<sup>1</sup> sends an envoy named *An-pa-trh*, 俺八兒 (Yam-pat-i, Am-bal-a), to the Chinese Court with presents. The report of the audience granted him by the Emperor remarks that *Hsu-wēn-ta-na* is the same as *Su-mēn-ta-lā*, the name being changed to the latter form in the reign of Hung Wu (A.D. 1368-1398). ('Pien-i-tien' section of the "T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng" cyclopædia See *Young-Pao*, 1901, pp. 341-342; also *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 135. The proper names have, however, more solito, been mangled there, and their identifications are our own.)

- circa 1399. *SU-MĒN-TA-LA*, 蘇門答刺 (= Sumundara = Sumatra city and State), marked on the Chinese map published by Phillips (*Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, 1885, p. 221, and map) This is the first time this spelling—introduced, as noticed in the preceding entry, during the reign of Hung Wu—occurs in documentary evidence to hand; it first appears in history in 1405, the date of Chêng Ho's initial visit to Sumatra

1403. *SU-MĒN-TA-LA* (as above). The Chinese eunuch Yin ch'ing, being sent on a mission to Java (*Chau-ra*), also calls, by instruction, at this country, as it lies on his route. Its ruler, *Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting*, 宰奴里阿必丁 (= Zeinu-l-Ābidīn, زین العابدین),<sup>2</sup> sends envoys along with Yin-ch'ing

<sup>1</sup> Our identification is corroborated by the fact that *Zāher* or *Dhāher* is actually pronounced *Flāher* by the Malays (See Marre's "Hist des Rois de Pasey," p. 43, n)

<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt as regards this identification, which is my own entirely. Schlegel, loc. cit., suggests *Aur-Ab-eiddin* or *Aur-el-abidin*, and Parker *Senur Abu'din*. And yet the Chinese characters clearly read *Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting*, or *Zai-nu-li-a-pi-ting*, so that a mistake is impossible—except to a Sinologist. It may interest both Professor Schlegel and Mr. (now also Professor) Parker to know that there reigned at least one Sultan Zeinu-l-Ābidīn, if not at Sumatra city itself, at any rate at its sister foundation Pasey. His story is given in the "Sejarah Malayu," ch. iv (see Leyden's "Malay Annals," pp. 212-219). It briefly is as follows. This ruler had a younger brother who, supported by the populace, rebelled and supplanted him. Sultan Zeinu-l-Ābidīn thereupon fled to Malacca, where Manjur Shah was reigning. This prince sent an armed expedition to reinstate him at Pasey, which country was conquered by the Malacca men, the usurping raja running away to the woods. No sooner had, however, the

to go to Court and carry presents The Emperor bestows on the prince the title of 'King of *Su mén-ta la*'—Hist Ming Dyn, bk 325, *Toung-Pao*, 1901, p 343 (Groeneveldt, op cit, p 211, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Jan, 1900, p 135, for a cursory hint only)

1403 *SU MÊN TA LA* (as above) Envoys sent to this country in the beginning of the reign of the usurping emperor Ch'eng Tsu (A.D. 1402-1424), in order to inform its ruler of his accession and to summon him to Court—Hist. Ming Dyn, bk 325 (Groeneveldt, op cit, p 211)

1404 *SU MÊN TA LA* The Emperor of China despatches envoys to present the chief of the country with velvets silks, etc, and to bring him to the imperial Court—Id (ibid)

1405 *SU MÊN TA LA* The eunuch Cheng Ho, being sent to the Western Ocean, calls at this country The father of the reigning king, having been attacked by his western neighbour, the *Na lu-érh* ('Country of the Tattooed Faces,' *Hwa mien*), was killed by a poisoned arrow The king's son being still young, the widow swore to marry the first man who would avenge her An old fisherman having thereupon taken up the cudgels in her favour, attacked the king of *Na lu-érh*, slew him and married the Queen—Hist Ming Dyn, bk 325, Ma Huan's "Ying yai Sheng lan" (Groeneveldt, op cit, pp 208-212) Parker, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p 136, makes an anachronistic jumble The king reigning at the time of Cheng Ho's visit was evidently the parvenu, and the ruler who had got killed in war was presumably Zeinu l 'Abidin.

1406 *Hsu WÊN TA LA* Envoys from Champā complain at the Chinese Court that Siam has been molesting her mission thither (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, No cit, p 135) The

Malacca fleet left for their own country than the fugitive raja returned and once more overthrew the rightful king Zeinu l 'Abidin These events are placed, as it has been seen, under the reign of the Malacca ruler Mansûr Shah which, according to the native chronology extended from A.D. 1374 to 1447 It is notorious however that such a chronology cannot be relied upon and that the reign of Mansûr Shah must be altered to between 1458 and circa 1480, for in 1459 he is mentioned as having sent tribute to China and received his investiture (See History of the Ming Dyn bk 375 in Groeneveldt op cit, p 251 *Wang su Sha = Mansûr Shah*) It is therefore scarcely possible that the Zeinu l 'Abidin of 1403 is one and the same person with the king of the same name deposed in Mansûr Shah's time The latter was probably a grand child of the former All the same, it will have been now conclusively proved that our identification of the name in the passage referred to above is correct

grievance really is that some ships from Champa (apparently bound for Sumatra State) having drifted over to Pahang the Siamese authorities there had detained and molested them. Sumatra State also complains to China of Siamese violence and pretensions to exclusive sovereignty (*China Review* vol xxiii p 256). See above for Siamese conquest of Pasai under the date 1300 1300 Siam very probably still claimed suzerainty over that State.

- 1407 *SU MEY TA LA* Its ruler Sultan *Ha: nan a pi chen* 罕難阿必鎮 (= Handal Abidin? this being evidently the old fisherman) sends his minister *A li* 阿里 (- 'Ali) to the Chinese Court to offer products of his country. Tribute is now being brought regularly every year — *Ming yi lun chih* (Great Geogr of the Ming Dynasty) and *Kuang tung Tung chih* (Gen Topogr of the Canton Prov) for the date of the embassy (*Young Pao* 1900 p 344).
- 1409 *SU MEY TA LA* The quondam fisherman arrives at the Chinese Court with presents and is favourably received by the Emperor — *Ying yai Sheng lan* (Groeneveldt op cit p 208).
- 1412 The parvenu returns to Sumatra when the son of the former king having now grown up secretly leagues with the nobles kills his stepfather the fisherman and takes the throne. A nephew (another account says a younger brother) of the murdered fisherman *S: lan la* 蘇幹刺 (= Sikandar Sekander) by name having assembled his followers with their families runs away into the mountains and fortifies himself there after which he soon begins attacks with a view to revenge the death of his uncle — *Ying yai Sheng lan* and *Hist of the Ming Dyn* bk 325 (Groeneveldt op cit pp 208-9 and 212). The *Hist of the Ming Dyn* bk 304 however gives a somewhat different version stating that a pretended son of the king had killed that prince and put himself on the throne being aware that he got no share of Cheng Ho's presents he collected soldiers and attacked the Chinese army but he was beaten and pursued as far as Lambri where he was taken prisoner with his wife and children (see Groeneveldt op cit p 169). There must have been some oversight here on the part of the historiographer.
- 1412 Envoys are sent to the Chinese Court. II (ibid p 2-1).
- 1414 15 *SU MEY TA LA* The eunuch Cheng Ho arrives there for the second time with his fleet. Sikandar dissatisfied he d

not get a share in the imperial presents attacks the Chinese, but is routed, pursued as far as Lambri, taken prisoner and sent to the Chinese Court where he is condemned to death — "Ying yai Sheng lan," which puts the date of Cheng Ho's visit in 1415, and Hist of the Ming Dyn, bk 325, which puts it as in 1414 (Groeneveldt op cit, p 209 and 212)

1414-15 The king sends envoys to present his thanks to the Chinese Court (Op cit, p 212)

1416 *SU MEN TA LA* The anchorage lies opposite a village on the sea coast called *Ta lu man*, 答魯漫 (= Truban, Trumun? perhaps *Terlet*, see Ibn Batuta above) Thence going south east for about ten *li* (circa two miles) one arrives at the city, which is not walled There is a large brook running into the sea (i.e. Pasai River or Krung Pasai) — 'Ying yai Sheng lan' (Groeneveldt op cit, p 208)

1417 *TAPROBANA MINOR* (= Sumatra Island *Taprobana Major* being applied to Ceylon) — Planisphere in Palazzo Pitti Florence (Santarem's Hist de la Cosmographie," etc, vol II)

1426 Envoys reach the Chinese capital with congratulations for the accession of the new emperor — Jen Tsung 1424, or Hsuan Tsung 1425-1435? (Loc cit)

1430 Cheng Ho being sent out to the Archipelago and other countries, visits Sumatra State for the third time (Loc cit)

1431 *SU MEN TA LA* sends out envoys twice to bring tribute to China (Loc cit)

1432 An armed expedition from China calls at *Su men ta la* on its way outwards to Ormuz — Chuh Yun ming's Chien wen-chi (*China Review*, vol III p 329)

1433 The same expedition calls at *Su men ta la* on its way homewards to China — Op cit (ibid. p 328)

1433 *SU MEN-TA LA* forwards a tribute of dragon's blood

1434 *SU MEN TA LA* The king's younger brother *Ha-li* (= Ali?, having gone on a mission to China dies at the capital Peking (Loc cit)

1435 *SU MEN TA LA* Wang Ching hung Cheng Ho's colleague, having called there the king sends on another brother, *Chih-han* or *Ha ni el é han* = 'Ali Jahan (?) to go with him to

Court<sup>1</sup> This envoy states that the king is already old, and desires to abdicate in favour of his son, called *A pu sai*, 阿卜賽 (evidently Abū Zaid), who is accordingly appointed king of the country From this time tribute to China becomes gradually more rare —Hist Ming Dyn, bk 325 (Groeneveldt, op cit pp 212-213) Parker (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, No cit, p 137, has *A-pu sai yih ti* for the name of the king's successor, which makes it evident that Abū Zaid is the name intended

circa 1440 SCIAMUTHERA (Shamuthera = *Slamatrah Samudara*, see below, under entries dated 1520 and 1602), the island TAPROBANA, so called by the natives There is a fine city The men are cruel and their customs brutal The ears of both men and women are very large in which they wear earrings ornamented with precious stones In one part of the island called *Bateck* (= Battak) the inhabitants eat human flesh, and are in a state of constant warfare with their neighbours They keep human heads as a valuable property, for when they have captured an enemy they cut off his head, and having eaten the flesh store up the skull and use it for money —Nicolò Conti (See Major's 'India in the Fifteenth Century' pt II, pp 8-9 and Ramusio 1563 ed, vol 1, fol 339 verso)

1486 SUMELVATA LA (Sumatra State) Envoys from this country reach Canton, but not being favourably received no more missions are sent out —Hist Ming Dyn bk 325 (Groeneveldt, op cit, p 213) Parker says (op cit, p 137) that this mission was apparently a 'bogus' one

January 1497 SUMATRA ISLAND, very large —Gerolamo da Santo Stefano (Ramusio vol 1 1563 ed f 345 verso)

1503 ZAMATORA ISLAND (= Samudara) also called TAPROBANA, king of *Pazs* (= Pase Pasai) —Giovanni da Empoli (*De Gubernatis 'Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani'* Livorno, 1875 p 114)

1505 SUMATRA ISLAND, anciently called *Taprobana* —Barthema (Ramusio vol II f 166 verso)

<sup>1</sup> Parker in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1900 p 137 says 'In 1434-35 the King sent his brother (? brothers) Ha l du han (? and) Ha ni ché han to Court—it is not clear whether there were one or two men However from the account we follow above it seems pretty clear that the brothers sent were two of whom presumably one was *Ali* and the other *Jahan* by name

1506. The first Portuguese land on the Island of Sumatra, Achin is the leading State —Kollewijn's "*Peknopto Geschiedenis*," etc (*Anatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1900, p 137)
- 1507 ÇAMATRA, noted for fine long pepper (Correa's "*Lendas da India*," vol 1, p 739)
- 1511 PACEM "Porto do *Pacem* [= Pāsai, Bāsaim], que he o principal da illa de *Çamatra*" Diego Lopez de Sequeira calls there to demand that *Melagia*, a refugee from Malacca residing with the king, be handed over to him, but the request is refused (Op cit, vol. II, p 216)
- November, 1511 PACEM The king, having heard of the Portuguese conquest of Malacca, makes friendly overtures to the viceroy there (Ibid, p 267)
- 1511 SAMOTRA, SAMATRA, ISLAND Anonymous letter written by an Italian from Lisbon on the 31st January, 1513, telling how he had been at that island in 1511 (De Gubernatis, op cit, pp 374-375)
- 1513 ZAMATHI, LAVANNI (= Javanese?), GORES (= people from Ghury, غوري—in Malay *Ngrī*—Ghore or Hāru, Āru, east coast of Sumatra, and not 'Guzerati,' as De Gubernatis slovenly explains), nations trading at Malacca —Letter dated from Lisbon, 6th June, 1513 (De Gubernatis, op cit, p 386)
- March, 1514 PACEM Jorge d'Albuquerque calls there, the king again assures him of his loyalty to the Portuguese (Ibid, pp 381-382)
- 1515 SAMOTRA ISLAND, so called from an emporium on the same —Valentin Moravia (De Gubernatis, op cit, p 391)<sup>1</sup>
- 1516 SUMATRA ISLAND and PACEM, seaport —Barbosa (Ramusio, vol II, p 318 verso)
- July 21st, 1520 SHAMATRAH, شامطرا (= Samudra) Letter in Arabic written by Zeinu d din, Lord of this city,<sup>1</sup> to the Portuguese Captain Diego Lopez —João de Sousa's "*Documentos Arabicos para a historia Portugueza*," Lisbon, 1790, p 127 (Milhes, op cit, p 62)
- September, 1520 PACEM "que he na Ilha de Çamatra" Antonio Miranda de Azevedo builds a fort there with the king's consent and remains in command

<sup>1</sup> These two extracts prove that the city and emporium of Samudra still existed, although the Western travellers henceforth only speak of Iasai. Very likely the capital was removed thither after 1520

1521. *Semara Island*, anciently called *Tarzonava* — *Pigafetta* (*Ramusio*, vol. ii, f. 356 *verso*). *Ibid*, pp. 611-613.
1521. *Pacem*. Attacked by *Jorge d'Albuquerque*, who carried with him one of the princes of *Pacem*, who had been, on a former occasion, deposed and expelled, when he submitted to the King of Portugal. The ruler in possession falls shot through the forehead, and the Portuguese being joined by the King of *Aru*, his followers are completely routed. Thereupon, the rightful prince is restored in great state and made tributary to the King of Portugal. (*Danvers' "Portuguese in India,"* vol. i, p. 318.)
1521. *Pacem*. *Antonio de Brito* and *Rafael Prestrello* arrive there in a ship such to load pepper. They find that the king has died, and that his son, yet of tender years, is wholly in the power of a tutor, *Meluquyadyr* (i.e. *Māliku-l-'Adl*), who has been harassing *Miranda*, the commander of the fort, with vexatious requests. Thereupon the new Portuguese arrivals prepare to attack the city, which lay *two leagues* up river, but the king sues for peace, and things end smoothly. (*Correa*, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 624-625 and 613-615. See also p. 613 for the mention of *Pa-si* this year in Chinese records.)
1522. War having broken out between the kings of *Achīn* and *Pedir*, in which the former is victorious, the latter seeks protection from the Portuguese at *Pacem*. Accordingly, the King of *Achīn*, 'Alī Muḡhūyat Shāh by name (said in the Malay chronicles to have been the first Sultan of *Achīn*, 1507-1522), attacks the Portuguese fort at *Pacem*, overruns all the country with fire and sword, and enters the city of *Pacem* with 15,000 men. (*Correa*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 768; *Danvers*, loc. cit.; *Millies*, op. cit., p. 71.)
1524. *Lopo d'Azevedo* arrives at *Pacem* and dismantles the fort there, the Portuguese having decided to abandon this trading station on account of the hostility of the *Achīn* king. This potentate, having made himself the master of all the territories of *Pacem* and *Arū*, the King of *Pacem* takes refuge at *Malacca*, where he is promised assistance in the recovery of his lost realm. (*Correa*, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 780, 790.)

<sup>1</sup> In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1900, p. 138, *Parker* turns his former 'Pestrello' into a vulgar and far too common 'Pedro,' and somewhat doubts that the *Pa-si* mentioned in this connection in Ming records really is *Pasei*, rather than *Pasir*, *Pasig*, etc. I think, however, from the evidence collected above, that there can scarcely be any more doubt as regards the identities of *Pa-si* with *Pasei*, and *Preh-in-lu* with *Rafael Prestrello* or *Perestrello*.



1573-1619 *SU MEN-TA-LA* During this period the reigning family is twice changed, and at last their king is a quondam slave. Having slain the rightful king and put his own master on the throne, he ultimately murdered him also, taking his place. This slave king is very cruel, he kills people and washes his body in their blood, in order to prevent disease. After the murder of the king, the name of the country was changed into *A ch i*, 亞齊 (*A ts'e*, *A che* = Acheh, i.e. Achin)—Hist. of the Ming Dyn., bk. 325 (Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 214). This is the last notice of Sumatra State in Chinese dynastical history. Apparently, *Su men ta la* is here already meant for Sumatra Coast, i.e. the northern portion of the island, and the events related apply to the kingdom of Acheh, of which the Sumatra district was after 1522, a dependency. This will be made clearer in the next entry.<sup>1</sup>

1602 *SAMMUDARA* نكري سمندر (*Negri Sammudara* = Nagara Samudra) Letter of authority to trade given by the King of Acheh to an English captain (perhaps Sir James Lancaster, who was in charge of the first voyage to the Eastern Archipelago undertaken by the English East India Company, and visited Acheh in 1601-2). In this document the king states that he holds the throne of the kingdom [lit. 'capitals'] of Acheh and Sammudara" ("Negri Acheh, dan Negri Sammudara," نكري اچه دان نكري سمندر), thus evidencing that he had united on his head the two crowns and that the 'State of Sumatra' was not, even at this period, as yet an empty name, as our predecessors in the treatment of this subject have pretended. Hence, very likely, the confusion made by the Chinese historiographers of the period between Sumatra and Acheh. This is the last authentic mention I have so far come across of the State and city of Sumatra in local documentary records. (See for the text of the letter in question *Journal Straits Branch R. A. S.*, No. 31, July, 1888,

pp 117 seqq) In a later letter from the Sultan of Aceh to King James I of England, dated A.H. 1024 = A.D. 1612 and published in the same number of that Journal (pp 123 seqq) mention is made of Iedir Samarang Lasangan Pasa Perlak and many other places on the Sumatran coast but no further reference to Sumatra city or State occurs. We must therefore conclude that from this date the role played by the famous city in local history ceases nothing remaining of it except the shadow of its name although it is quite possible that the village of *Samudra* still situate on the left (western) bank of the Krung Lusa (or Pasa River) at about three miles from the sea (*vide* Groeneveldt, op cit p 215) represents the last surviving remnant of that city and of its long declined glory



**Argyre, the capital of Iabadiū or Sabadiū (No 127)**

We must now close this long discussion on Iabadiū with a few remarks on its northern coast, where Ptolemy locates the capital *Argyrē* (*Ἀργυρή, μητροπολις*). We are here confronted by the same name as that which we had to face in treating of Arakan (*Ἀργυρᾶ χώρα*). But the curious feature is that most names given to places on this coast correspond to those of places on the Arakanese seaboard. Among such I may mention the following —

- (1) Lambri *Rāni* or *Ramni* = Rambri Ramri, Rama barı
- (2) Java Toba = Jaba, *Daba Darāka*, and Bakkara = Pokkhara (Puskara) Bokbīrī *Bacala*
- (3) Perlak = Plaksa or *Pral* = Perak, etc
- (4) Rakan actually written *Arakan* by Valentijn, Arakundur River
- (5) Katrei Kerti Kerti (= Karti pura?)
- (6) Pasai, *Pacem* = Vasai Basaim Bassein
- (7) Cape Sedu or Sidoh = Sada, Sedoa Sandoway
- (8) Cape Dahvai = Davai Tavoy
- (9) Chalang Chellang = Chalang Salang (Ujong Salang Junkceylon)

The list might be continued for a good while yet. This correspondence in toponymics between the Achinese and

Arakanese coasts would cause one to believe at first that there must have been not only a very close intercourse between the two countries but an actual immigration into Achin from Arakan. But, as a matter of fact, Arakanese colonies seem not to have extended in the Malay Peninsula below Tavoy, though from the remotest period Arakan and the Malay Peninsula, as well as Sumatra, were settled by branches of the Mōñ-Khm̄r (*Ch'eng Cheh*, or *Jara*, *Javana*) race, as is well shown by the language of the Achinese, in which distinct Mōñ or Khm̄r words can be detected in good numbers even at present. This early branch of the *Ch'eng* race may have brought down to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago the name *Jara* or *Dara*, and even its form *Cheh*, which may, for all we know, survive in *Acheh*, but not, seemingly, other characteristic toponyms which arose here from the same or analogous causes as in Arakan, and under the influence of a similar Dravidian element from Southern India.

First of all we have in Sumatra, as in Arakan, a legend as to the Rāksasas having been the aboriginal inhabitants. In neither of the two countries, above all in Arakan is now any trace of a Negrito element to be found, but we may well take it for granted that both were originally peopled by such a race as well as the other maritime countries of India and Indo China<sup>1</sup>. A tradition to this effect has been discovered by me in the Burmese account of the life and travels of Gavampati therā already referred to in the opening sections of this paper<sup>2</sup>. In "Dīpavamsa," i, 67-79,

<sup>1</sup> We have them at all events both in pure and hybrid forms on the opposite coast of the Malay Peninsula (Semangs of Perak and Panggang of the Malacca uplands). As regards Sumatra it is not yet quite certain that the Negrito element has wholly disappeared for marked traces of it seem to exist in the Lubu tribes while the Kay-dwarfs heard of from Siak on the east coast and Kroco on the western coast likely will prove to be its legitimate representatives.

<sup>2</sup> I have omitted to mention in my previous brief account of this work (p. 114) that Gavampati the subject of the story is represented as being the son of Govindasattipi a rich citizen of Sūtharmavati or Suddhammanagara (Satiom or Thahtun) in the country of Ramannā (Pegu) but he is evidently the personage referred to in Mahāvagga i. 9 as being one of the companions of Jāsa and belonging to one of the richest families of Benares. He was ordained soon after Jāsa and thus early became one of the principal disciples of Buddha whom he followed afterwards in all his real as well as supposed

and "Mahāvamsa" ch. 1 it is stated that when Buddha visited Lankā for the first time in order to expel from it the Yaksas, he "then caused the delightful isle of Giriti (Giri-dvīpa) to approach for them. As soon as they transferred themselves thereto he restored it to its former position." No explanation is given as to the whereabouts of this island except that it was not far from Lankā and most similar to it, probably also in size ("Dīpavamsa" i. 67-72). But a commentator's note appended to the book of Gavampati in referring to the same legend, gives the name of the island as "*Samudra (or Sumātra) giri dvīpa*," wherefore I gather that the island in question was supposed or stated in some legendary tradition to have been Sumatra or at any rate its northern coast, where the city of *Samudra* afterwards arose (so name I perhaps in deference to that legend?). This is not unnatural since no other large island, sufficient to contain the enormous host of Rākṣasas alluded to, lies near to Ceylon. Another tradition is to the effect that Ravana the Rākṣasa king of Ceylon, conquered some islands in the Indian Archipelago from the Nīgris and established his son Mahiravana to rule over them. We finally have the legend of Ājīśaka referred to above in corroboration of the tradition of Sumatra having been originally peopled by Rākṣasas. The name of *Rakṣa*, *Rakhangā*, or Rākṣasa Land may thus have arisen in this part of Sumatra in the same way and from the same causes from which the name of Arakan is said to be derived, and Argyre as well as Acheh or Achin may be but corrupted forms of the local designation employed for Rākṣasa. If not so it can scarcely be accounted for otherwise than as in Arakan a modified rendering of *Balakṣa*, *Plakṣa* or *Barakṣa* a term which would be represented here as we pointed out in the name of the Perlak district.<sup>1</sup> It would thus have here as

peregrinations.—Since writing the above I have noticed that our friend Gavampati and his disciples in legu have been mentioned quite recently in the *Sasanavamsa* (ed. Mabel Bode Pal Text Society pp. 36-37 text) to which therefore I refer the reader desirous of further particulars.

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese map of the fourteenth century published by Phillips in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* vol. xx would seem to corroborate to a certain

in Arakan passed through the same modifications *Balaksa*, *Baraksa*, *Arlusa*, and *Aralsa* or *Alsa*, whence Argyre and Acheh. This opinion appears to receive further support from the fact that Ptolemy (lib i, ch xiii, p 1, and lib vii, ch 1, p 10) places on the coast opposite the northern part of Ceylon a bay which he calls Argaric Gulf and on its shores, a city which he terms Argeiru or Ankheirū (*Ἀργεῖρον*, *Ἀρχεῖρουπολις*) believed to be the same as the *Argalu* of the 'Periplus'. It was celebrated for a manufacture of muslin adorned with small pearls. Fra Paolino<sup>1</sup> calls it *Arguropolis* and identifies it with Arampalli, adding that "it was formerly in high repute on account of its cotton stuffs which were partly manufactured on the spot and partly brought thither for sale". The term may, of course, in the cases both of the Arakanese and Sumatran Argyre be traced besides to *Ksarjura* = 'silver,' or *Arjara* = 'Silver Country' (perhaps simply 'White Country,' i.e. *Balaksa*, *Plaksa*), which would amount to the same thing.<sup>2</sup> These names similar to those given by Ptolemy to Arakan and Achin well indicate I should imagine, the place from which the early colonists and civilizers of these countries came. The connection of the people of Koromandel and Drāvida with Arakan is already amply demonstrated by other evidence based upon coins and medals,<sup>3</sup> as to that with Achin, I am confident it will become capable of demonstration as soon as thorough archaeological exploration in that

extent the view for at the north western end of Sumatra and at about the spot where Achin is. I see noted 白土 (*P t u*) which means 'White Earth' (or Land = *Arjara*?) unless it stands for Pulo Batu just oppos to

<sup>1</sup> Voyage to the East Indies (London 1800) pp 56 110. Brandt *apud* McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy p 331 identifies it with Appakkarai (pronounced nowadays Atrakkarai) at the mouth of the Vagai.

<sup>2</sup> Silver mines, as we have seen (p 562) are known to exist in the interior of Sumatra. Masuli locates them in the neighbourhood of Serai (Palembang district) and Ibn Khurdadbeh mentions silver in the mountains of Balas Island (Barus).

<sup>3</sup> See Sir Walter Elliot's *Nusantara Orientalia* vol. ii pt 2. Coins of Southern India pp 131 135.

unsettled district will have been rendered possible<sup>1</sup> Several other names of places, etc., on the Koromandel coast deserve notice; for instance, those of the Rūmnād district; of the island of Ramisseram (Rāmeśvara); of the Marava race in the extreme south of India, which seems to be represented here in the denomination of the *Marui* of the Bānyak Islands; and, finally, of Ptolemy's "Country of the Batoi," a name apparently identical with that of the *Battas*, in Northern Sumatra<sup>2</sup> Among such names, those of

<sup>1</sup> Ethnic affinities between the Achinese and the natives of the Koromandel and Malabar coasts have recently been noticed by Dr Van Leent, who is therefore inclined to regard the Achinese as Malays (read *Jawas* or *C'haucos*), with a mixture of Indian blood. This statement corroborates the views I have expressed in these pages as to the racial nature of the populations of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Stamford Raffles ("Memoirs," p. 427), Dr Leyden ("On the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations," reprinted from the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x, in "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. 1, p. 113), and Newbold ("Straits of Malacca," vol. II, pp. 371-3), in describing the custom of the Batta tribes of eating their own relations when aged and infirm, have sought to connect them with Herodotus' *Padaioi* or *Padaians*, who, as the 'Father of History' tells us (bk. III, ch. 99), were addicted to similar practices. Herodotus, it is true, locates the *Padaians* on the easternmost borders of India, but that is no sufficient reason for taking them to be exactly the *Battas* of North Sumatra. Hence I am inclined to the view that if any connection has ever existed between the *Batta* and other tribes on the mainland, it must have been with those branches of the so-called 'Indonesian' race from which the *Battas* seem to be descended, and among which the very identical form of cannibalism has subsisted until recent times, if indeed it does not even now sporadically survive. The ethnical branches just referred to are now confined to the wildest parts of central and northernmost Indo-China or, to put it more precisely, to the upper valleys of the Salwin and Iravati, although it is very probable they formerly occupied a far wider area, extending especially still more towards the south. It is then within such a compass that we must look for the seat of the *Padaioi* and perhaps also for the ancestral home of the *Battas*. The tribes within this area of whom the iniquitous practice above referred to has been recorded are, above all the *Kachins* or *Singphos* (*Chingpos*), and the *Wah* or *Lawa*. The former, however, seem to be comparatively new immigrants into Burma, whither they came, apparently, from the headwaters of the *Iravati* if not from other Central Asian countries lying further to the north. In such a case they may have learnt and adopted the practice from offshoots of the old *Massagetes*, *Kallantians* or *Kallantians*, and correlated or neighbouring tribes of whom Herodotus records the same horrible custom of feasting upon their aged relatives (see bk. I, ch. 215, and bk. III, ch. 38). Megasthenes, according to Strabo (xv, 1, 56) ascribes the same iniquitous practice to the tribes inhabiting the *Kaukasos* range (*Hindū-Kūsh*). As regards the *Wah*, Sir J. G. Scott considers the graphic stories told of them to that effect as mere inventions and only admits head hunting as the only *Wah* foible in that respect ("Upper Burma Gazetteer" pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 498). It may be, and we sincerely hope it is, quite true that this people have now abandoned that nefarious practice but as to their having followed it in the past there can scarcely be any doubt. For the same story now told on the page of the 'Gazetteer' just referred to as coming from so-called 'Shan' sources, I had related with surprising

Rāmanīd and Rāmeśvara deserve special notice, since we find them transplanted to Arakan in the island of Ramri

correspondence in details in the oft quoted book of Gavampati (lib 1 fol 2), which is of Pagan origin and dates from at least a couple of centuries ago. The only difference lies in the fact that the scene is placed on the Yunnan borders (which amounts to the same thing although the Wab are not named), and the story is told in connection with a supposed visit of Buddha there in consequence of which it is added the people became converted and abandoned the practice. As regards the substance of the remainder it is identical with the story collected by Sir J. G. Scott, so I may give it in his own words. When their parents become old and feeble so the tale runs, 'the children tenderly and lovingly help them to climb into the branches of a tree. Then they shake the boughs until the old people fall down. 'The fruit is ripe let us eat it' they say and proceed to do so' of course after having either boiled or roasted the flesh. It goes without saying that the conversion of the Wab and neighbouring tribes on the Yunnan Indo Chinese borders although ascribed to Buddha's intervention must have taken place at no very ancient date. The very fact of the reference in Gavampati's book to the cessation of such a practice is, in my opinion fairly good evidence that it must formerly have been in favour. Barbosa A.D. 1516 (in Ramusio vol 1 1563 ed f 317 verso), mentions cannibalism exercised upon deceased relations as being prevalent in a pagan kingdom subject to Siam and situated inland toward China by which evidently the Wab country is meant. Those people justify themselves with the plea he adds, that nowhere could the authors of their being find a grave so suitable and honourable as their own insides. Comparing now the above story with those told (1) by Captain Feuton of the Kalang and Ksmōn or Kama branches of the Kachin tribes (Upper Burma Gazetteer vol cit. p 436) (2) by Sir Stamford Raffles and Dr Leyden of the Battas (3) by Friar Odoric of the natives of Dondin, Dondin or Dadin in the Archipelago (Ramusio vol 11, ff 243 verso and 244 recto) (4) by Barthema of those of Java (op cit, vol 1 f 168 recto), and (5) by Barbosa of the Wab (undoubtedly the *Chung* *hia* of Kwei chow would be too far away and then this people like the Issedones of Herodotus only ate men after they had died see *Journal China Branch R.A.S.* 1899 1900 No 2) it will be seen that the correspondence is surprising. So surprising in fact as to argue an original connection, if not exactly racial, at least social as regards intercourse, customs etc., between all these peoples. For as we have seen this very form of cannibalism can be traced almost uninterruptedly and through fully twenty four centuries all the way from the Archipelago to Upper Burma the seat of the present Lawa and very probably of the ancient Paduans and thence to the original Kachin country and to the Central Asian homes of the old Kallatians or Kallantians and Massagetes or *Ta Yueh chih* of Herodotean and Sinological fame. The line along which we have traced the custom in question very probably marks also the track followed in the inverse direction by the parent stream of emigration from which most of the above named tribes of the Indo Chinese mainland and Archipelago are descended or at any rate with which they have become blended. It should be remembered that as regards the Kachins at least a Tartar origin seems pretty well certain. Their traditions point to a first home somewhere south of the desert of Gobi and their movements have been always towards the south. (Upper Burma Gazetteer pt 1 vol 1 p 396) In view of these facts their original proximity of homes and social intercourse with the forbears and relatives of the Massagetes and Kallatians can hardly be questioned.

Of the Semang tribes in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula Newbold says. The Malays have an idea that when a Semang dies the body is eaten and nothing but the head interred a custom which if it exists reminds us of one prevalent among the Issedones, a tribe of ancient Scythians, who after feasting

or Rambri and on the seaboard opposite it, to Pegu under the form *Ramañña-deśa*, to the Malay Peninsula as *Rāman*<sup>1</sup> and *Ramenia* (*Rāmañña*?) Point, and, finally, in Northern Sumatra under the forms of *Rāmi*, *Rambri*, or *Lambri*. A comparison of these terms, coupled with the knowledge of the source whence they were derived, enables us to easily identify names of places mentioned by ancient writers, which have proved hard nuts to crack for previous inquirers. Thus we can see, for instance, that Sulaimān's kingdom of *Rahmī*, رَحْمِي, which Mas'udi calls *Wahman* or *Rahmī*, and others spell *Rahman* or *Rahma*,<sup>2</sup> can hardly be any other country than *Rāmañña* desa or Pegu, with its seaboard extended, perhaps, as far up as the old *Rāmavati*, opposite the island of *Ramri*, and we would never dream of locating it, on the mere strength of a coincidence of names, at *Rāmnād*, or, like Renaud and Cunningham, at *Vizapur* (*Bijapūr*) and *Dhāranikōta* respectively. But it is especially in Sumatra where we can reap the best results from the observations made above. Here we have a country which the Arab navigators called *Ramī* or *Ramni*, the Chinese *Lan li*, *Lan iu li*, 藍里里, *Nan-iu li*, 南巫里, or *Nan p'o li*, 南浮利 (*Ram ri*, *Lamburi*), the "Sejarah Malyu" *Lambri*, لَمْبَرِي, or *Lamiri*, لَمِيرِي, and Marco Polo, after them, *Lambri*. It is clear that *Lambri* and *Ramī* or *Ramni* represent the term *Rambri*, meaning 'Rāma's

on the body of the deceased preserved the head carefully removing the hair" (*Straits of Malacca* London 1839 vol. i p. 379). Of the *Uda* he states that the Jakuns "accuse them of devouring their own dead" (op. cit. vol. ii p. 387). Thus in origin the *S'mangs* and *Uda* were probably cannibals of the same type as the tribes referred to above.

<sup>1</sup> Shortened form of *Pumanna* although modified by the Malays into *Pūhman* رَحْمِي, or *Rah mān* so as to suit Muhammedan tastes. In Siamese it is spelled *Kāman*. It is a district in the southern part of the State of Patani tributary to Siam.

<sup>2</sup> See Renaud's *Relation* etc., t. i p. cii and Mas'ud's *Précis* l. Or. trad. B. de Meynard t. i pp. 384-386-387. After *Pahmī* Mas'ud places *Firanj* or *Furanj* الفرج, which in a MS. is spelled *Fatuh* فَوْح (op. cit. p. 403). Perhaps the true reading should be فَوْح, *Fakuh* in which case it would prove identical to *Fugo*, *Fegu* and *Rān*: would turn out to be I start



country,' met with in Arakan, which is in its turn a corruption of *Rāma-bai* or *Rama-bari*, the form it would assume in Southern Indian vernaculars. How was this term introduced from the Koromandel coast into Sumatra and applied to its north-western seaboard? Evidently by emigrants from Rāmnād and Ramisseram. If we peruse the accounts of Chinese travellers, we shall see that the portion of the Indian Ocean stretching between the northern coast of Sumatra and the Koromandel seaboard was termed the Sea of *Na-mo-h* or *Na-mu-ri*, 那沒梨, 那沒黎, i.e. *Lamuri*, *Lambri*.<sup>1</sup> The Arab navigators called it the "Sea of *Herlend*" or *Harkand*, هرکند.<sup>2</sup> Both these terms have never hitherto, as far as I am aware, been satisfactorily accounted for and explained. It will now appear evident, however, from the certain identity we have established of *Lambri* with *Ram-bri*, or *Rāma-vari*, *Ramabari*, that the "Sea of *Lambri*" means either the "Sea of *Rāma*" or the "Sea which bathes *Rāma's* Land", which was so called on account of *Rāma* having, according to the Indū tradition, crossed it on the legendary jetty (*Rāma's* Bridge) in front of the island of Ramisseram, when he marched his motley army into Ceylon. The term *Herlend* or *Harkand* is, I believe, but a synonym for *Rāma*, and can be traced to *Harī-lānda*, *Harī-kamta*, or some similar epithet given to *Rāma* on account of his being a portion or an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*.<sup>3</sup>

When we read, therefore, in Abu Zaid's account of

<sup>1</sup> See Groeneveldt, op cit., p. 220, art. "Lambri." Phillips, *Journal China Branch R.A.S.*, vol. xx, p. 211, and T'oung-Pao, 1901, pp. 355, 357, 358, Chinese text.

<sup>2</sup> Reinand, op cit., t. 1, pp. 4, 8, 11. No possible doubt can exist as to the identity of the Sea of *Harkand*. Sulaiman states (op cit., p. 8) that the island of *Ramri* (*Lambri* or North Sumatra) is bathed by two seas, viz. those of *Harkand* and *Sheluhef*. Captain Bozorg mentions in his turn, a passage from *Fansūr* (Barus), across the Sea of *Harkand*, towards Oman (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 10). Nowairi may mean the Sea of *Lamuri* or *Lambri* when he says that the *Lorewi* sea consists of the seas of *Kalah*, *Juwah*, and *Fansūr*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps also *Harī-candra* instead of *Rāma-candra*? The epithets applied to *Rāma* are so many and varied that it will not be difficult to hit upon the right one corresponding to the Arab *Herlend* or *Harkand*. I may suggest also *Harī-lunda*. Edrissi distinctly states *Harkand* to be a word belonging to the Indū language (op cit., t. 1, p. 63).

Sulaimān's travels, that the island of *Rāmi* or *Ramni* is bathed by two seas, those of *Herkend* and *Shelāket*, we understand at once that *Lambri*, the northern part of Sumatra, is meant, which is situated between the sea of *Rāma* or Indian Ocean and the *Śrī-Lohit* Sea, or Sea of the Straits (*Selat*, *Salahaj*); and statements which formerly appeared as insolvable riddles and have often been still more confounded by commentators and would-be elucidators of the past two centuries, become quite plain and acquire a much greater interest for ourselves<sup>1</sup>

I shall now conclude the discussion as to the names of Achin and of the surrounding territory with the etymology which I found in the book of Gavampati-thera. It is there stated that Buddha, when his second visit to Ceylon came to an end, proceeded by aerial flight, with his suite of twenty thousand disciples, to the island of *Samudra* (the commentary says *Sumatra*)-*giri-dīpa*, where he imparted instruction to the Yakṣa population. Having then ascended a mountain called *Kannḥa-sela-giri*,<sup>2</sup> a halo of six-coloured rays

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested ("Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 235) that the old *Lambri* may be represented to this day by the village *Lamreh* situated in the Aceh district, near Tungkub, in the XVI mukam. This is simply absurd, for the village in question lies entirely inland, and is inaccessible by any waterway. Surely, there are so many villages similarly named in that district, that it is a wonder Professor Van der Lath could not hit upon a more suitable one. In my opinion, if old *Lambri*, *Lamburi*, or *Rāmbri* still has a representative nowadays, this must be the respectable stockaded village of *LAM-BARIH*, which lies on the left bank of the Aceh River (Kah Aceh), not far above Kotaraja, the present capital, and no further than 22 to 23 miles (following the winding course of the river) from the river's mouth, that is to say, at a spot where the river is still navigable for small craft, and was perhaps yet more so in bygone days. The next important place below is *Lam-buru*, but as this term means 'New village' in the Achinese dialect, we must discard the place entirely. Whether the present *Lam-baruh* corresponds to the old *Lambri* or not it is almost certain that the latter must have borne the same or a very closely similar name. Of course, *Lam* in Achinese (as *Lang* in Cham) means a village, but I am of opinion that the original name was *Rama puri*, *Rāma ruri*, or *Rām bari*, which became in course of time, when the tradition of its origin was forgotten, corrupted into *Lam-buri*, *Lam-baruh*, *Lambri*, thus acquiring a totally different meaning, as would better suit native notions.

<sup>2</sup> Mountain of the *Kannḥa* or *Premna spinosa* shrub. I think it may be identified with Mount Abong-Abong, the well known lofty peak of Northern Sumatra. *Abong-ambong* is, in the Straits, the name for *Premna cordifolia*, Rox., and *Abong-abong* may possibly be a Sumatran modification of it. The fact of *Abong-ambong* not being the *spinosa* variety of the shrub cannot constitute a great obstacle to the above identification since the correct reading in Gavampati's book is probably (as in Mahavagga, v, 12, 13) *Seta kannḥa*, in which case it

emanated all round from his person The celestial and human witnesses of this prodigy gave vent to their

would be a question of a white-flowered variety of the shrub, and the *Premna cordifolia* might be meant Local inquiry in the Achin district is very likely to definitely settle the question as to which mountain the above designation applies to for certain. In connection with the legendary visit of Buddha to Achéh and to one of its mountain peaks, as referred to above, it should be pointed out that Chao Ju kua, in his account of *Lan uen li*, 蘭 輪 里 (*Lam mu ri*, *Lamori*, or *Lambri*, cited A D 1240), says "There is in this country a hill (or, an island) called *Hsi lun* (lit fine wheel), peaks rising over peaks (on the top of which) there is the imprint, over seven feet in length of the foot of a huge man, a like imprint being visible in the water within a distance of over 300 li [cited 60 miles] from that hill The trees in the forests of the hills whether high or low, all round are bent towards it (as if curt-eying)" (*Journal R A S*, July 1896 p 481) Dr Harth, the translator of this account, thinks there can be little doubt as to the identity of the footprint in question with that on Adam's Peak in Ceylon I am on the contrary, of opinion that there is no connection whatever between the two Professor Schlegel, in *Toung-Pao*,

unbounded admiration by shouting out: "*Acchēra cata!*" (for *Acchēram cata bho!* = Oh, wonderful!). These Pāli words, corrupted afterwards into *Acche* (*Achēh*), became henceforth the name of the country.<sup>1</sup> Buddha proceeded thence towards the north-east, alighting next on the Malay Peninsula at *Pallanka* (p. 114).

Though this explanation of the events that led to the country being named *Achēh*, *أچھ* (*Achīn*), is, of course, fanciful,<sup>2</sup> it should nevertheless be noticed that the word

highly interesting if local amateur archæologists would try and find out the exact spot where the footprint in question stood. Although every trace of it may have disappeared long ago, owing to Muhammadan intolerance, some tradition as to its whereabouts should be still extant among the natives.

<sup>1</sup> Van Duyl, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1897 (p. 98, note), expresses the opinion that *Achēh*, or, as he writes it, "*Atjēh*," seems to be the name of a tree only to be found in that country. This view must, I think, be classed along with those of Marre ("*Malakka*," Paris, 1874, p. 6, note) and others on the same subject and on the etymology of the names of Malacca, etc. Many places in the Archipelago, as well as in Indo China, have indeed been named after trees, shrubs, etc., found to be growing there, but in a number of instances their denominations possess a much more far-reaching meaning and interest than ascribed to them by ignorant natives, who have often altered those toponyms in order to adapt them to their fanciful notions of what they should represent.

<sup>2</sup> It is, nevertheless, worth remarking that the district of *Dala*, near *Rangun*, received its new name of *An gyi* in a surprisingly similar manner. The "*British Burma Gazetteer*" (vol. II, p. 61) thus narrates the event: "The old name of this tract was *Dala*. It was changed to *An-khye* ('wonderful,' 'admirable'), of which *An gyi* is a corruption, about fifty years ago when . . . the headman had sent to the annual boat-races on the Royal Lake at *Rangoon* a boat so named, manned by men from *Dala*, which won all the races in which it competed." This coincidence in the renaming of *Dala* is all the more surprising, as the term *An-khyi* is not very dissimilar in sound from *Achēh*. Since the above was in print I have come across the following passage in the *Journal Straits Branch R. A. S.*, No. 5 (June, 1890). The author, Mr. G. P. Tolson, after having pointed out how erroneous is the form *Achin* of the name *Achēh* commonly used by Europeans, proceeds as follows:—"Valentijn, however, writing as long ago as 1688, has exposed this misnomer. It is derived from the Hindustani word *Achai*, meaning fine, or lovely, and is so called on account of the exclamation alleged to have been uttered by the first visitors from India on sighting the coast in general, and *Kampong Pandei* [*N B Pandei*, *قند*]

= *Pandita*] in particular. This place, situated on the *Achēh* river, and not far from *Kota Raja* [the present capital], is remarkable for a grove of enormous trees of great beauty. In describing the land and what they saw, we may presume this epithet *Achai* was so repeatedly used that people came to speak of the newly discovered country as *Negeri Achai*. This visit must have been past centuries back, at any rate long before the Islam religion was introduced into the country, for we find the name recurring in the 'Undang Undang' or Laws and customs of *Mengakbau*, promulgated by *Purpiti Sibatang*, and collected and transcribed by Mr. Van Ophuyzen. In them mention is made of the marriage of one of the *Mengakbau* princesses with a royal prince of *Achēh*. . . . Another

*Acchēra* (*Acchariya*) given as the origin of that denomination, is remarkably similar to the term *Argyre* handed down to us by Ptolemy. We thus see Ptolemy's transcript confirmed from an independent source, and are thereby enabled to trace with greater confidence than hitherto the name *Acheh* or *Acchēra* to the ancient *Argari* and the *Argarie Gulf*, in the *Rāmnād* district of the *Koromandel* coast, whence it was undoubtedly introduced. Whether the various forms *Acchēra*, *Argyrē*, and *Argari*, *Argeirū* or *Ankheirū*, have their modern representatives in *Ārrankarai*, or *Ātrankarai*,

and Anai-karai (the ancient name of Rāma's Bridge),<sup>1</sup> on the Koromandel seaboard, or in some other old and forgotten place in that neighbourhood, it is not necessary for us to ascertain. Suffice it to know for the present that such toponymies once existed there and were thence introduced into both Arakan and Sumatra. But the essential point we should not lose sight of is, that those terms, or the original words from which they were derived, must have had the sense of 'white' or 'silver,' being thus connected with *balaksa*, *palaksa*, *parak* or *prak*, and other words for 'white' or the 'white metal,' such as, e.g., *Arjuna*, *Aryaia*, *Karjuna*, etc., which we have noticed in the preceding pages and met with in several parts of Indo-China as well as in Sumatra. For we hear on the one hand, for instance, of Arakhōsia being called by the Parthians 'White India';<sup>2</sup> and on the other of part of the Argyrē or Achēh territory being termed *Pē-t'u*, 白土, i.e. 'White Earth' or 'White Land,' by the Chinese travellers. The latter term may, it is true, be a simple transcript of the name of Batu Island (Pulo Batu), just off the southern entrance to Achēh harbour; but then we have on the northern coast of Sumatra the name Perlak once belonging to an important district, which seems to me undoubtedly connected with *parak*, *prak*, and *balaksa*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See McCrindle, op cit., pp 59, 60, and Appendix, note 3. There is an *Achare* on the west coast of India, but whether this name is etymologically connected with the above or not I am unable to say.

<sup>2</sup> According to Isidore of Kharax, quoted by McCrindle, op cit., p 319. The derivation suggested for the name of Arakhosia from Sarasvati (ibid., p 317) seems to me rather fanciful. A more probable one is, in my opinion, that from *Rakhsa*, which I find hinted at in Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India," 3rd ed., vol 1, p 128 s.v., thus: "In Hindu mythology it [Arakhosia] is the country of the Rakhas, with whom the immigrant Aryans came in conflict, and have been turned to the fearful Rakshasa of popular Hindu belief."

<sup>3</sup> Also the name of Rakan, a well known district further down the east coast of Sumatra which is, as we already remarked, actually noted down as *Arakan* by Valentijn. There is, further, a river Arakundur between Jambu ayer or Diamond Point and Perlak.

On the strength of the connection of *Parak* with *Arak*, I would suggest that the country of *Palakka*, or *Palakka* mentioned among the Southern Indian kingdoms conquered by Samudra Gupta (see *Journal R.A.S.*, Jan., 1897, p 28, note) may be Argari. I would also suggest while I am on this subject, that Pittapura, or Pittāpura, with a king or district by the name of

Already in Arakan and Burmā we have met with this term, which seems to have been probably introduced from *Balaksa* or *Badakshān*, that is from the precincts of the ancient *Baktra*. All evidence therefore points to the effect that there must have been a migration of the terms *balaksa* and *batta* or *baktia*, with their derivatives *palaksa* or *prah* and *araksa* or *arakha*, from the outskirts of the Pamirian plateau to the extreme south of India, and thence to Arakan and Sumatra.

As regards the legend of the peregrinations of the island *Samudra* (or *Sumatra*) *gn* to Ceylon, and back to its present position with a full cargo of Yaksas it is apparently based upon some old tradition of the separation of Sumatra from Ceylon through the subsidence of the so called *Lemurian* continent imagined by Sclater and believed to have once extended in unbroken succession from the Malay Archipelago to Ceylon and thence to Madagascar. If such be not the case, we might then assume that the legend referred to is simply an allegorical allusion to some emigration of *Rāksasas* (Negrito Dravidians) from Southern India and Ceylon to the northern coast of Sumatra. This version would appear to receive corroboration from the tradition of *Rīvana's* conquests in the Malay Archipelago, and should it prove acceptable, we must conclude that Sumatra was originally a colony of the *Rāksasa* empire. At all events the legend deserves consideration as indicating the source whence Sumatra received her early settlers, or, at any rate, colonizers.

The term *Argyre* applied by Ptolemy to the capital of the northern portion of Sumatra well indicates where the island of *Argyre* of the ancients is to be looked for. We thus understand how in the early maps this island was so often located close to that of *Khryse*, which I have in a former section (pp 78-80) identified with the southern part

and Anaiharai (the ancient name of Rāma's Bridge),<sup>1</sup> on the Koromandel seaboard, or in some other old and forgotten place in that neighbourhood, it is not necessary for us to ascertain. Suffice it to know for the present that such toponymies once existed there and were thence introduced into both Arakan and Sumatra. But the essential point we should not lose sight of is, that those terms, or the original words from which they were derived, must have had the sense of 'white' or 'silver,' being thus connected with *balaksa*, *palaksa*, *parak* or *prak*, and other words for 'white' or the 'white metal,' such as, e.g., *Arjuna*, *Arjara*, *Ksaryuna*, etc., which we have noticed in the preceding pages and met with in several parts of Indo-China as well as in Sumatra. For we hear on the one hand, for instance, of Arakhōsia being called by the Parthians 'White India',<sup>2</sup> and on the other of part of the Argyrē or Achēh territory being termed *Pé-t'u*, 白土, i.e. 'White Earth' or 'White Land,' by the Chinese travellers. The latter term may, it is true, be a simple transcript of the name of *Batu* Island (Pulo Batu), just off the southern entrance to Achēh harbour; but then we have on the northern coast of Sumatra the name *Perlak* once belonging to an important district, which seems to me undoubtedly connected with *parak*, *prak*, and *balaksa*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See McCrindle, op cit., pp 59, 60, and Appendix, note 3. There is an *Achare* on the west coast of India, but whether this name is etymologically connected with the above or not I am unable to say.

<sup>2</sup> According to Isidoros of Khvax, quoted by McCrindle, op cit., p 319. The derivation suggested for the name of Arakhosia from *Sarasvatī* (ibid., p 317) seems to me rather fanciful. A more probable one is, in my opinion, that from *Palaksa*, which I find hinted at in Ballour's "Cyclopædia of India," 3rd ed., vol. i, p 128, s.v., thus: "In Hindu mythology it [Arakhosia] is the country of the Rakshas, with whom the immigrant Arjans came in conflict, and have been turned to the fearful Rakshas: of popular Hindu belief."

<sup>3</sup> Also the name of Rakan, a well-known district further down the east coast of Sumatra, which is, as we already remarked, actually noted down as *Arakan* by Valentijn. There is, further, a river Arakundur between Jambu ayer or Diamond Point and *Perlak*.

On the strength of the connection of *Parak* with *Arak*, I would suggest that the country of *Palakla*, or *Palakla* mentioned among the Southern Indian kingdoms conquered by Samudra Gupta (see *Journal R. A. S.*, Jan., 1897, p. 28, note) may be *Argari*. I would also suggest, while I am on this subject, that *Pittapura*, or *Pittapura*, with a king or district by the name of



Already in Arakan and Burmā we have met with this term, which seems to have been probably introduced from *Balaksa* or *Badakshan*, that is, from the precincts of the ancient *Baktra*. All evidence therefore points to the effect that there must have been a migration of the terms *balakṣa* and *batta* or *bakṣa* with their derivatives *palāṣā* or *prak* and *arakṣa* or *arakha*, from the outskirts of the Pamirian plateau to the extreme south of India, and thence to Arakan and Sumatra.

As regards the legend of the peregrinations of the island *Samudra* (or *Sumatra*) *gū* to Ceylon, and back to its present position with a full cargo of Yaksas it is apparently based upon some old tradition of the separation of Sumatra from Ceylon through the subsidence of the so called *Lemurian* continent, imagined by Sclater and believed to have once extended in unbroken succession from the Malay Archipelago to Ceylon and thence to Madagascar. If such be not the case we might then assume that the legend referred to is simply an allegorical allusion to some emigration of *Rākṣasas* (Negrito Dravidians) from Southern India and Ceylon to the northern coast of Sumatra. This version would appear to receive corroboration from the tradition of *Rāvana's* conquests in the Malay Archipelago, and, should it prove acceptable we must conclude that Sumatra was originally a colony of the *Rākṣasa* empire. At all events the legend deserves consideration as indicating the source whence Sumatra received her early settlers, or, at any rate, colonizers.

The term *Argyre* applied by Ptolemy to the capital of the northern portion of Sumatra well indicates where the island of *Argyrē* of the ancients is to be looked for. We thus understand how in the early maps this island was so often located close to that of *Khryse*, which I have in a former section (pp 78-80) identified with the southern part

of the Malay Peninsula<sup>1</sup> Strange to say, the name under which Sumatra—together, perhaps, with the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> As briefly pointed out on p. 77 above, the island of *Khryse* has been mentioned by various writers before Ptolemy's time. So was the sister island of *Argyre*. Although no notice of either of them appears in what is left preserved in fragmentary form, of the "Iulika" of Megasthenes, it is very probable that the famous writer had spoken of these islands, for reference to them is made in a passage of Pliny (Hist. Nat., vi, 211, 8-23, 11), which is borrowed for the most part from him. Doubtless Eratosthenes had heard of them, although no allusion in that sense is likewise met with in the surviving fragments of his work. Iomponius Mela (circ. A.D. 42) only refers to *Chryse* Island (iii, 7), asserting it to be near *Tubia Promontorium*, but probably it was the more southern headland of *Tamariu* (Tumerao or Tebrin, the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula) he had in view. It is with Pliny (A.D. 77) that we get anything like a full account of ancient notions about the two mysterious islands. Here is what he says: "Beyond the mouth of the Indus are *Chryse* and *Argyre*, rich, as I believe, in metals. For I cannot readily believe what is asserted by some writers, that their soil is impregnated with gold and silver." The last sentence may be compared with that in the Chinese cyclopaedia "T'u shu-chi-ch'eng" about the extraordinary abundance of both gold and silver in the Kingdom of *P'o-lu-ci-lia-lu*, 婆賄伽盧 = *Phorungāra* or *Barakura* (Arakan, see above, p. 44). The "Periplus Maris Erythraei" (circ. A.D. 89), again, speaks only of *Khryse*, but, for the first time in history, in a double form, that is both as part of the Indo-Chinese mainland and as an island. After having told us (§ 60) that for voyages from the west coast of India and further, to the Ganges and *Akryse*, large vessels are employed called *Kalandiophonta* \* the anonymous author of that treatise proceeds to say (§ 63) "you reach the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east called *Khryse*." And then "Near this river [Ganges] there is an island of the ocean called *Khryse*, which lies directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. It produces the finest tortoise-shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythraean Sea [Indian Ocean]." This product we are elsewhere informed (§ 56), was sent to *Maziris* (Kranganur) and *Nelkynda* (Malabar coast), whence it was exported to the west. Here we already detect the influence of the sea voyages of Alexander and others of Ptolemy's informants to the Golden Khersonese and the South China coast,

\* Burnell ("South Indian Palaeography," 2nd ed., p. 126) explains the above puzzling term as derived from the two Tamil words *kulandi* (= 'hollowed') + *adam* (= 'boat'), but I am under the impression that the first part of the term must be somehow connected with *Kolā*, *Kollam*, *Kōlāica*, the names for Malabar and Koromandel (vide *supra* p. 103), and the second with *bedā*, *redā* = a 'boat', the whole thus reading *Kōlāica bedā* and, by dialectal corruption, *Kolāmdya bedā* or *Kolāmdya bundi*, i.e. 'Boat (or Ship) of the *Kolā* Country'. N.B. that in Iahang there is a boat called *koleh*, which is probably of the same style as the one called *kuli* (*rua kuli*) in Siamese. Again, *bedā* becomes *p'etra* in Siamese, and *buktera* in Malay. Hence, our interpretation stands a good chance of proving correct. I may further suggest, as an alternative interpretation of the first part of the term, *kalamudan* which in Malay means a 'trunk' or a 'box,' being thus synonymous with *kapa* which had originally the same meaning, but is now employed to designate a ship or large sea-going vessel. Possibly the hitherto unexplained terms *lanta* and *lanchas* both names for swift vessels in Further India and the Archipelago often recurring in the relations of the old travellers, are somehow survivals of the word which formed the prototype of *Kolāndiophonta*.

islands—is alluded to in the Purāṇas is *Kuśa* or *Kuśa-dīpa*, which is remarkably similar to *Khryse* or *Khryse*. The

which resulted in the final acknowledgment of the *Χρυσή Χερσόνησος* or Malay Peninsula by Marinus of Tyre first, and then by his illustrious successor Ptolemy. On Dionysius Periegete's vague conception of the island of *Chryse* we need not dwell, beyond noticing the particular passage in which he, a no mean poet, lets his imagination soar, and thinks it possible for a vessel in his time to anticipate Nordenskiöld's feat of sailing from Thulé, across the *Mare Primum* or Arctic Sea, as far as the island of *Chryse*. Solinus (cited p. 238) is, as usual, merely repeating Megasthenes and Pliny, hence there is nothing new in what he says (52, 6-17) about *Chryse* and *Argyre*, which, like his two model authors and in total ignorance of what Marinus and Ptolemy had written, he continues to locate "beyond the mouth of the Indus." Later on, the Golden and Silver Islands, together with that of Ophir, play a prominent rôle in many mediæval maps. Hence, probably, the Portuguese legend about the *Ilha do Ouro* in the Bay of Bengal, to which we have adverted in a former section (p. 393).

It seems to me, as I have suggested above (pp. 64-65 and 77-80), that "the extremity of the continent towards the east" called *Khryse* in the "Periplus" is no other land than *Sarawadham* i.e. Ptolemy's *Χρυσή Χώρα*, on and inland from the Gulf of Martaban, while the *Khryse* Island of the same treatise, and of Mela and Pliny, is what soon afterwards became with Marinus and Ptolemy the Golden Khersonese (i.e. the Malay Peninsula, the southern part of which, I have tried to demonstrate, was very probably detached at no very remote time, forming an island). The explicit mention in the "Periplus" of the finest tortoise shell coming from the Isle of *Khryse* well evidences that this cannot be Sumatra which is not at all noted for that article. The hawk's bill turtle (*Caretta imbricata*), which yields the finest shell, is known, in fact to inhabit only the seas round the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, Nikobars, Celebes, and Moluccas. As regards the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, the chief supply comes, according to Derrys ("Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya," p. 414), from the Dindings. With respect to the east coast, I know it from my own personal experience to be peculiarly plentiful all the way from C hump'hoon down to C harya and the neighbouring islands. All the Chinese records treating of Indo China and the Malay Archipelago do not speak of tortoise shell being produced elsewhere than in the Malay Peninsula and Eastern Islands. The countries referred to are *Sai-p'o*, *Po-li*, and *Ho-t'ing* (see Groeneveldt, op cit., pp. 144, 206, 139), all of which we have shown to lie on the Malay Peninsula, then, Malacca and Johor (ibid., pp. 245, 253-254) and finally Borneo, Karimata, *Kau-lan* (Gelang Island, south-west Borneo), *Ma-yi-tung* (Billiton), Java (where, however, the shell is not a local product, but comes from the Spice Islands, etc.), Sulu, and *Kau-yak*, a country near Sulu (ibid., pp. 230, 236, 202-203, 175, 225, 226). It is quite possible that in the old days tortoise-shell was brought for sale by the Bajau and Pagi from the eastern islands to the Straits, but then the chief market for it would be found on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula as they were in more modern times (i.e. at Malacca and Singapore, the latter being the present-day emporium for the article there, while Batavia and Manila are the actual markets for it in the eastern part of the Archipelago). Edrington (op cit., vol. 1, p. 63) mentions that the best tortoise-shell is found in the Sea of *Herkend*, meaning no doubt, the east coast of Ceylon, the Nikobars, and the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. *Khryse* Island cannot therefore be Sumatra, but the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, as we have suggested from the outset.

As regards the Silver or Silvery Island *Argyre*, I scarcely doubt it could be any other place than Arakan, out of which in after times Ptolemy made his *Ἀργυρά Χώρα*. The tradition as regards the two wonderful islands was not of Greek but of Indian origin, they, in fact correspond to the two islands *Suvarna* and *Papaya* mentioned in the Ramayana as thronged by gold (and, I think, also

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resemblance may, however, be purely accidental. As regards the name *Kūśa*, it can, I think, be explained only by referring it to its synonym *Darbha* or *Dabbha*, which may have been adopted as closely approaching in origin to the form *Daba* or *Dara* of the term *Jara*, by which the island, or the northern portion of it, was designated. The *Rāmāyana* (*Kiskindhā-k.*) speaks of a silver mountain by the name of *Ansumat* in the Ksiroda Sea, which may correspond to some summit of the northern part of Sumatra where the 'white' or 'silver district' was situated. It then distinctly refers to volcanoes existing in the Sea of Ghrta or Sarpis when it states that there is to be found a flame with a horse's head called *Badarānala*. In connection with this passage I have to remark that another name for this sort of volcanic fire is *Kaka-dvaya* ('Crow's Banner'), which is remarkably similar to the name of Krakatoa, the famous volcanic islet in Sunda Strait; it would thus appear that the latter is meant, its eruptive character having probably become notorious from the earliest period<sup>1</sup>. The *Bhāgavata Purāna* states that the object of worship in *Kūśa-dvīpa* is *Jatavedas*, 'Fire'; which is an allusion, I think, to the volcanic character of the Malay Archipelago, as well as to a form

silver) mines,\* and it is, no doubt, from such legends current in their age that Megasthenes and other Greek writers obtained their notions about them. In course of time, however, it is possible that, owing either to the southern part of the Malay Peninsula having ceased to be an island, or to the legendary lore relating to the north coast of Sumatra and Arakan having somehow got mixed up, the location of the islands seems to have been shifted further away from the mouth of the Ganges to Aceh and Jambi or Palembang respectively, so that the last named districts would become the Malay *Pulo Mas* and I-tung's *Chin-chow*. But that could not certainly have happened, in the case of *Elryse* Island at any rate, before the time of the "Periplus," for the reasons above stated.

<sup>1</sup> Krakatoa is known to have been in eruption in A.D. 1680, after which it remained in a state of comparative inactivity until the famous outburst of May 20th, 1880. Before this last cataclysm the island was about five miles in length and three in breadth. These dimensions are now reduced to three by one and a half miles.

\* N.B. that these two islands are, in that poem, *Kiskindha kanda*, mentioned in connection with the *Kaladala* or 'Sea of Kalala,' and before reaching the *Sona* or *Lohita* (*Srī lohita*) Sea, or Sea of the Straits. This circumstance well indicates that the two islands were then really considered to be Arakan and the southern part of the Malay Peninsula respectively.

of worship still obtaining in it to some extent, but which was probably more marked of old. It is well known, in fact, how religiously up to this day the natives preserve the fire procured from volcanoes, and in what high veneration they hold the mountain peaks that yield it<sup>1</sup>

Corresio, in his translation of the Bengal recension of the Rāmāyana, has a passage in which the water of the Ghrta Sea is stated to be of a green colour<sup>2</sup>. I should think, then, that we have here the reason why Ptolemy terms Green Sea the southern part of the Indian Ocean stretching westward from the Malay Archipelago to the African coast. In the Suppāraka Jataka (No. 463), it should be observed, mention is made of a green and grassy sea called *Kusa māla* or *Kusamali*, which I take undoubtedly to be the sea encompassing *Kuśa dvīpa* as the connection is only too evident. I cannot afford to enter here into a minute discussion of the geography of *Kuśa dvīpa* as laid down in the various Purānas, as it more properly belongs to a later period than the one treated on in the present volume, and would besides, carry me to greater lengths with not always certain results. But I am satisfied as to the identity of *Kuśa dvīpa* with, at least, Sumatra as proved by the correspondence of several names of districts and tribes. Among topographical names we have, besides *Kuśa* or *Darbha* already noticed,<sup>3</sup> those of *Vasu Vasudana* and *Lambana* which I take to represent, respectively, the long puzzling Chinese name *Po s* applied to some place on the north coast of Sumatra (perhaps the

<sup>1</sup> D mshki (see Maehren op cit p 213) mentions an island *Kē d t* (5 x parasangs in length by four in width) with a volcano in eruption producing spices and other aromata and peopled by a fire worshipping race. The sea he adds throws large quantities of ambergris on its shores. The island here referred to may be one of the Banda group perhaps Gunong Api but not improbably Krakatoa of the old days when it was far more extensive than at present.

<sup>2</sup> Il gran mare che s'appella *Ghrta* dove Visnu, presa un di faccia di cavallo per l'ardore impetuoso nato in lui dall'ira bevette poi sempre l'ippocefalo l'acqua di quel mare fatta verde (Milan edit on 1870 vol II p 255). As regards the legends of the marine horse and of Kwan yin's birth with a horse's head see pp 508 and 600.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Datta* or *Darra* and *Darva* or *Darva* as names respectively of a people and country apparently not far from Baktra in the Mahabharata *Ekama partan* (See Hall's edition of Wilson's *Shu Purana* vol II p 170).

Lam Besi River west coast), *Basitang* باسيتانگ, on the east coast above Temiang, and either Lumbri or Lampong (if not actually *Pitalambana* or Palembang) Among the names of tribes I think I can recognize the *Kou las* (Kuba) and the *Mandehas* (= *Mante* tribe still existing in Acheh)<sup>1</sup> while I feel pretty well certain as to the identity of the *Dam is* and *Susmins* with the *Ta hua sien* and *Hsia hua mien* of Chinese writers<sup>2</sup> I have examined the site ascribed

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in Dr Snouck Hurgronje's *De Atjehers* vol. 1 pp. 19-51 (See *T'ou Pao* 1901 p. 121) We have besides the *Manta* tribes of the Mantaw Islands off the west coast of Sumatra bearing a similar name

<sup>2</sup> See Phillips in *Journal China Branch R.A.S.* vol. xx p. 221 The name given in the Chinese map published therewith to this people is *Ta hua hua n en* 大小花面 meaning the Greater and Lesser Tattooed Faces But it is more of a transliteration than a translation and when decomposed into its two parts *Ta hua n en* and *Hsia hua n en* one will recognize at once in them the *Dam is* and *Susmins* of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (bk. 11 ch. 17) Phillips reads the first name *Tou lo-b n* according to the Amoy dialect and identifies their country with Marco Polo's *Dag a a* or *Dragaia* This identification is only topographically (to a certain extent) but not etymologically correct The real source for Marco Polo's puzzling term *Dagroian* *Dag a an* *Draga a* *Da gro an* *Daga an* *Djag r an* *Drago an* *Dragro an* or *D ago ayn* has yet to be found I am confident however of having now solved the problem that has proved such a crux to many commentators for so many years past The correct form of the term is undoubtedly either *Tunah Gayu* ( *Dan gayan*) or *Orang Gayu* ( *Drangayan*) Marco Polo does in fact locate his kingdom of *Dangro a* between those of *Samara* or *Samarcha* (Simudra Samakuruk) and *La b* that is to say on the tract of the north coast of Sumatra corresponding roughly to the present Pasangan and Samabangan districts Now this tract of territory was until well nigh the time of Marco Polo's visit occupied by a Pagan population refractory to Islamism called *Gaj* This people the *Isan* chronicle tells us when the country of Samudra was converted to Islamism (i.e. in c. 1285-1288 see p. 614) refused to embrace the new religion and retired towards the head waters of the Pasangan River It is for this reason that they were called *G yu* (Rowers?) a name which they bear until this day (see Marre's *Histoire des Rois de Pisey* p. 34) At present they are still in occupation of the whole of the highlands extending from the north-east of Sumatra at Samalangan and Pasangan down to the Barisan range running along its west coast to the borders of the Sasu and Taruman districts where they become confederate with the *Alas* by whom they are separated from the *Kera ac Kera* a branch of the *Blattas* further to the south-east These *Gaj* are the people whose name is variously printed *Gajo* or *Ga o* (= *Gayo Gayu*) in Dutch books and maps Whether they are or not really connected with the *Karo Karu* or *Karan Blattas* further south towards the Toba Lake I am unable to say but it is very likely they are for the names are surprisingly similar and it is not impossible that *Gaj* was formerly pronounced *Gāru* or something similar *Gāranj* گارانج a Malay



to the present districts of Sūsū, Damar, and Tarūmūn, or Trumun, forming, practically, the southern limit of the

country is also called 'Country of the Tattooed Faces' (*Hud-mien Kuo*, 花面國). They have simian faces and naked bodies, wrapping a single cloth around their loins. In the neighbourhood is situated the mountain of *Nalun*, which yields sulphur. When our (Chinese) fleet was at *Su-mei-ta la* men and ships were sent there to collect it. (Groeneveldt, *op cit*, pp 218-219, and *T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp 348-351.) In connection with the last item of information I may point out that Beaulieu mentions a similar mountain in that neighbourhood which may or not be the very one referred to by Fei Hsin. He says "À six lieues de la Capitale [Achin] vers *Pedir*, s'élève une haute montagne, en forme de Pic, d'où l'on reçoit quantité de soufre" (Prévozt, *Hist gen des Voyages*, vol ix p 340). However, old volcanic cones are not scarce on that coast, and sulphur must be easily procured in various places. It will thus be seen that *Nalun* is Marco Polo's *Dangroian* and *Gayu* Land. Chinese accounts of the period distinctly locate it along the mountains to the west of Sumatra city and between this and Lambri. The map published by Phillips marks it on the west coast below Lambri, which is not an error at all, but a circumstance evidencing that Gayu territory did then, as nowadays, stretch across the north-western part of the island to its western seaboard. The Gayu have, of course, since retired from the shore, being at present confined to the highlands at the back of it. I should add that there was another tribe in their neighbourhood probably also connected with them. Their country is mentioned in the *Pasai* chronicle (*op cit*, p 51, and Dulaurier in *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, p 259), under the name of '*Nadami*, ندامي, Land,' and described as situated at the headwaters of the *Pasai* River (cf *Nadain*, *Damin*, and

Gāyu and Ālas lands, on the west coast of Sumatra Mount *Kuseśaya* of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is probably *Gunong* (Mount) *Luse*, 𑀓 and 𑀔 being easily mistaken for one another when not clearly written or partly obliterated in the old MSS Again, the *Caḥṭa* ('wheel') mountain referred to in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as being in *Kusa dvīpa* may be the *Hsi lun* ('Fine wheel') mountain of Chao Ju-kua's account

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* places *Kuśa dvīpa* among the islands, and states that it is also called *Kumuda* Along with it it mentions *Varāha*, which may be Hog Island, near the west coast of Sumatra (see p 448) The *Bhāgavata* and *Padma Purāṇas* have instead *Ramanaka*, which undoubtedly corresponds to Hsuen chuang's *Yen-mo na Chou*,<sup>1</sup> to the *Ramī* or *Ramni* of the Arabs, to the local *Lambri* or *Lam barīh*, and to Marco Polo's *Lambri*

But I shall not further press for identities the argument is quite novel and the antiquities of Sumatra still a sealed book, we must know more about them and the early history and geography of the island ere we can safely proceed Sumatra, owing to its being so extensive and its coastline but little known up to quite recent times has always been believed to consist of several islands which were designated by different names hence the confusion that has arisen in the accounts of the island left us by the early travellers, and the difficulty in locating and identifying the names of places they give

Confining our remarks to the Acheh district proper, we cannot afford to pass unnoticed a peculiar term applied to it to this day, namely *Acheh Besar*, *أچيه بسر*, literally 'Great Acheh,' commonly understood to mean 'Acheh Proper,' but which, in my opinion should be more correctly taken to signify its original territory, that where the foundation of its greatness was laid, 'Ancient Acheh,' in fact Its compass is now assumed to embrace "that corner of Sumatra formed by a line drawn from Pidir Point on

<sup>1</sup> N B that there is a Krung Jamuan (= Jamuna or Jamud River) in the Sawang district west of Lasi north coast of Sumatra.

the north, to Kuāla Lamberi on the west coast."<sup>1</sup> It is, in fact, to all intents and purposes, the territory formerly otherwise known by the alternative designation of *Lāmbi*. We have already met with the term 'Great' as prefixed to toponymies in the case of Malacca (or at any rate the old territory corresponding to the latter mediæval State of that name), surnamed by the Chinese *Ta Shé-p'o*, 大 閩 婆, or 'Great Jara (Saba).'<sup>2</sup> This coincidence suggests that the term 'Great Achēh' may also be of very ancient origin, and that analogously it may have found expression in the Chinese *Ta-shih*, 大 食, in which the first part of the name, *Ta*, 大, would then really have its proper sense of 'Great,' and the second would stand for *Ashi*, *Achēh*.<sup>3</sup> We have pointed out (*supra*, p. 511) that as late as 1521, and even 1586 and after, the accounts of European travellers preserve a similar form in *Dachem*, *Dacin*, etc. If so, the term *Ta-shih* would not be a transcript of *Tajik*, *Tajika* = Arabs, as has hitherto been supposed. Besides, I find it, when employed in the latter sense, sometimes written 達 其, *Ta-ch'i*. It can be traced back, we have seen, until at least A.D. 960-1280, at which period Sung history informs us that from the southern coast of *Shé-p'o* (central part of Malay Peninsula) *Ta-shih* may be reached in five days' sailing. The "Tung-hsi Yang-k'au" (A.D. 1618), as well as Ming history and the "Kwang-tung T'ung-chih," distinctly state that Achēh, 亞 齊, is the former *Su-mên-ta-la*, 蘇 門 答 刺, or *Su-wên-ta-na*, 蘇 文 達 那 (Sumatra), which, in its turn, was the old country of *Ta-shih* (古 大 食 國);<sup>4</sup> hence the confusion that has so often been made in Chinese records between this *Ta-shih* and the country of the *Tajiks*. It seems to me that to our

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Straits Branch R A S*, No. 5 (June, 1880), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 519, 522, and 523.

<sup>3</sup> I am, of course, aware that the name *Achēh* is commonly transcribed 亞 齊, *Ya ch'i*, or *A-ch'i*, 亞 齊 (*A-ts'ai*, *A-ts'e*, *A-chē*), but this form merely dates from A.D. 1618, when it first appears in the "Tung-hsi Yang-k'au" Cyclopædia, it being referred to later on in Ming history under the period Wan-li (1573-1620). See Groeneveldt, *op cit.*, pp. 214, 215.

<sup>4</sup> See *Young-Tao*, 1901, pp. 338, 368, 369.

Sinologists the term *Ta-shih*, as applied to the north-west corner of Sumatra Island, has been no less deceiving than the contemporary name *Po-sz*, 波斯, which has led them to take it as a transcript of *Fars*, *Pars*, or Persia, because such is its widely known application.<sup>1</sup> That there were of old both Arab and Persian settlements in the Acheh district and even at other places on either the northern or western coasts of Sumatra is very probable—nay, almost certain; for these coasts lie within close proximity to the Nikobārs, which, as is well known, formed one of the capital stations and landmarks on the Arab and Persian sea-route across the Bay of Bengal. Owing to this fact, the north-west seaboard of Sumatra must have been often touched at, especially when the southern drift of the currents in the Bay of Bengal compelled the vessels to pass within sight of it, or hurricanes eventually threw those vessels against that coast and forced them to seek a refuge there. A proof of such views is afforded by the accounts of the Arab travellers themselves, which show that not only Lambri, but Bārūs, were well known to their countrymen, who seem to have carried on a busy traffic at their seaports since at least the middle of the ninth century. Nevertheless, we are perfectly aware from evidence adduced in the preceding pages, that the country was above all Indū in belief and manners,<sup>2</sup> it having

<sup>1</sup> See p. 429. In connection with *Po-sz*, *Ta-shih*, etc., with the north coast of Sumatra, the following entry under a date corresponding to A.D. 1493 occurs in Ming history, bk. 325: "*Su-men-ta-la* (Samudra) lies west of Malacca," etc. "Some say that it is the *Tsao-chih*, 條枝 [= a country on the coast of the Persian Gulf, identified by Dr. Hirth with Chaldaea], of the Han Dynasty, and the *Po-sz*, 波斯 [*Fars*, *Pars*, Persia], of the T'ang Dynasty [N.B. this term *Po-sz* is found in Chinese history as far back as about A.D. 450] two countries of the *Ta-shih*, 大秦 [*Tajik*, the Arabs of the Khalif empire], and an important gathering-place in the west" (*Young-Pao*, 1901, p. 343). The explanations between brackets are my own.

<sup>2</sup> Suffice to recall the particulars about the footprint, undoubtedly Buddhist, mentioned by Chao Ju kua as early as least as 1210. Other details in his account of *Lan-tan-shi* are interesting as being the oldest account we possess of the people of that country and their customs. I therefore summarize them here from Dr. Hirth's paper in the *Journal I. A. S.*, July, 1896, pp. 450-482. The inhabitants are very dark-skinned, they wrap their bodies round with silk stuffs,

been settled and probably colonized from the remotest ages by Dravidian emigrants from Southern India, although there can be no doubt that even before that perhaps it had been partially civilized by the Phœnicians. It cannot, therefore, seem credible that from the mere fact of the Arabs and Persians having had a few petty settlements there, the land could come to be called after them respectively the *Tajika* or *Parsi* country. These terms must have other and more deep grounded origins. If 'Great Acheh,' or *Ta-Ashuh*, is not the prototype of the denomination *Ta shih*,

are bareheaded and go barefoot. They use their hands in taking their food. They are warlike and often use poisonous arrows. [Friar Odoric mentions that the people of Sumoltra are (circa A.D. 1323) in constant war with those of the kingdom of *La ory* that they go stark naked are bad and cruel and addicted to cannibalism but this seems to apply only to the wild tribes near by.] Household vessels are made of bronze. The king is black with uncombed hair and wears no covering on his head, he wears no regular clothes but is merely wrapped in cloth of various colours and his feet are protected by sandals of red leather (fastened) with gold thread. When going out he rides on an elephant or in a kind of litter. He eats every day a paste made of betel nuts burnt together with real pearl ashes. His palace is decked with jewels. There is an eastern and a western palace [read throne hall] at each of which there is planted a golden tree [the *binga mas* of Malaya and *lalparika* of Indas]. Underneath each of these trees there is a golden throne with partition walls of glass. When holding court the king ascends the eastern throne in the morning and the western throne in the evening [an Indian custom]. Two attendants constantly hold up a golden dish [read spittoon] to receive the dregs of the betel nuts chewed by the king. The king holds in his hand a jewel [read 'ruby'] five inches in diameter which will stand the test of fire and shine at night like a torch by rubbing his face with it every day the king will keep his youthful looks though he may be over ninety years old. [Neither the translator nor anyone else has to my knowledge noticed that Marco Polo and Friar Odoric state about the same thing of the kings respectively of Ceylon and *Nicheneran* or *Bah meran*. Says Messer Marco. And the king of this Island possesses a ruby which is the finest

we shall then very likely have to trace this, as already suggested, to a name *Tarshish*, transplanted here in the earliest days by the Phœnician navigators, and given to the country either in memory of an older *Tarshish* nearer home (perhaps *Tarsia*, the promontory on the Karmanian coast near which Nearkhos' fleet anchored);<sup>1</sup> or in imitation of some epithet suggestive of silver, *Rāksasas*, or the like, already applied to the principal town or seaport on that coast by the Dravidians from Southern India and Ceylon. The connection between Ceylon and Sumatra in legendary lore, as well as in history, is so considerable, we have seen, as to well justify the latter alternative, while the terms *Argyrē*, *Ta shih*, *Arshir*, *Dachem*, *Acheh*, successively met with from the second to the sixteenth century A.D., are sufficient evidence in favour of either view. From the fact of Ptolemy applying the name *Argyrē* to the principal town of that coast, it would seem that this was merely the city designation, while *Rambri*, *Rāmnī*, *Lambri*, etc., were the country's name, although perhaps becoming in course of time alternative appellations for the principal city or settlement to which the *Kiaton*, citadel and king's residence, were successively shifted, for the seat of these continually varied. The terms *Acchera*, *Achai*, or *Accha* would seem, however, if the legends accounting for them be true, to have been applied to the country and not to its capital. The question is complicated, and not easy of definite solution until more evidence is collected. The term *Pūloh-Lamuri*, *قولى لمورى*, appearing in the "Şejarah Malāyu," ch. viii, as the name of a city in *Lamuri* or *Lameri*, *لمرى لمورى*, probably the capital, is not clear as regards its first portion, which we ignore, whether it stands for *pulo*, *pulau*, *قولى*, 'island,' or for some proper name, *Puloh*, derived from *palaksa*, *balaksa*, etc., 'white,' or 'silver,' 'silvery.'

As regards the other term, *Po-sz*, 波斯, which we have seen applied to this part of Sumatra Island (see p. 429), it can hardly mean *Lambri* or *Acheh*, because Chao Ju-kua,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 598.

of the Ming dynasty After this such a State is no more heard of as a living entity Nor is it in any local chronicle or in any account of travellers later than this period We must then infer that the name must have disappeared between A D 1430 and 1436 the date of Fei-Hsin's book But the change probably took place a little later, i e in 1471, when, as we shall see directly, a Chīm prince ascended the throne there This fact of the disappearance of the name *Lambri* from the map of the country is very important, and I have thought it worth the while to call attention to it as it does not appear to have been noticed before this There occurs, indeed, a mention in the sailing directions of the "Hai kwo Wen chien lu" (A D 1730) of a country or sea termed *Lan ni* 爛泥 (*Lan li*, *Lan nai*, *Ran nei*, lit 'broken or splashed mud' or mire), which Professor Schlegel innocently takes to be the old *Lambri*,<sup>1</sup> but there is no shadow of a probability that such can be the case The passage in question states in fact 'To the east Siam is connected with Kamboja (東 [read 東] 埔 樂 i e *Kan pu chih*) Now, how is it that they are so far distant from each other? It is because the whole south of Kamboja belongs entirely to *Lan ni*, for which reason it is called 'the End of *Lan ni*' 爛泥尾 [*Lan ni Wei*, more properly the 'headland,' or 'promontory, of *Lan ni*] Lower on it joins the great and the small Transverse Islands [the term is 橫山, i e Greater and Lesser *Hêng* = Pulo Panjang and East Island with Table Rock], and because one has to make the tour around its outside it is so much farther' It is perfectly plain that here by 'End of *Lan ni*' the landspit of Khmau (Khmau Point) at the southern extremity of Kamboja is meant, and by *Lan ni* the Khmau peninsula stretching southwards from the delta of the Me khong River, which being yet in

<sup>1</sup> See *T'oung-Pao* vol ix, p 197 I need not point out that out of the eight or more toponyms given in the itinerary in question after leaving the Paracels Professor Schlegel has not succeeded in identifying a single one except the two which had been easily made out long before he wrote viz Pulo Condor and *Tung p chih* more correctly *Ka p chih* which is Kamboja I cannot afford space to go here into this itinerary but hope to be able to do so before long elsewhere Suffice for our present purpose to establish the identity of the *Hêng* Islands and *Lan*

course of formation is but a mire, known as the 'still sea' ('*Mer tranquille*' of the French), a sea of mud, in fact, that has but in few places acquired anything like consistency. The dark colour of the waters, which through innumerable creeks flow to tinge the sea for a long distance all round, has caused the Khm̄rs to apply to them the name of *Thūl Khmau*, meaning the 'Black (or inky) Waters.' Now this is exactly represented by the Chinese term *Lan-ni*, which must therefore be taken in its literal sense, and not as a transcript of any local toponymic.<sup>1</sup> Under such circumstances, the Chinese itinerary above referred to becomes perfectly clear; the concluding sentences simply mean that the distance from Siām to Kamboja (its capital being intended) is so great because the Khmau peninsula, or mud-flat, intervenes, which must be given a wide berth, thus causing much loss of time in rounding it. There cannot absolutely be, accordingly, any connection between this *Lan-ni* and *Lambri*, which latter lies too far away to permit of such a wild idea being even for a moment entertained.

We must therefore turn to a similar place-name, *Lan-li* or *Lam-li*, mentioned in the annals of the T'ang and Sung dynasties as a station on the sea-route from Ch'üan-chou (Zayton?) to the Persian Gulf,<sup>2</sup> which has been identified by Dr. Bretschneider with *Lambri*.<sup>3</sup> Such an identification is undoubtedly correct, because the toponymic in question is spelled 藍里 (*Lan-li*, *Lam-li*), which is evidently but a contraction of the fuller form, 藍里里 (*Lan-li-li*, *Lam-mu-li*,



*Ram bu-i*), we have met with in Chao Ju lua. Furthermore, the sailing distances given from it to the Chinese coast and the Persian Gulf respectively agree with the location of Lambri. In fact, the Persian ambassadors, say the texts, embarked at Ch'uan chou and reached *Lam-rz* in some forty odd days. There they waited for the (north east) monsoon and sailed the next year home to their country (達其, *Ta ch'i*), which took again some sixty odd days. The embassy in question seems to belong to the Sung period (960-1278). There can be no doubt that the Arabic *Ramn* is here meant. This is the oldest notice we have of *Rambri* or *Lambri* from Chinese sources. Next to it comes the one in Chao Ju lua already adverted to, and then no other mention of *Lambri* occurs in the Chinese records until A.D. 1416, the date of Ma Huan's work. Between the two authors last alluded to come several hints by Arab writers, which are, however, of but little value owing to their extreme brevity and the more detailed accounts of Marco Polo and Friar Odoric. To these some reference has already been made, hence it only remains to notice Marco Polo's statement that "in this kingdom of *Lambri* there are men with tails, these tails are of a palm in length, and have no hair on them. These people live in the mountains, and are a kind of wild men. Their tails are about the thickness of a dog's." In commenting on this passage, Colonel Yule (vol. II p. 301) draws attention to the fact that Marsden was told of hairy people called *Orang Gugu* in the interior of the island (are these not perchance the *Oranġ Gāju* referred to by us above?), who differed little, except in the use of speech, from the orang utan. He further remarks that since Marsden a time a French writer, giving the same description, declares that he saw a 'group' of these hairy people on the coast of Indragiri and was told by them that they inhabited the interior of Menang kabau and formed a small tribe. His new editor Professor Cordier, inserts here, in his turn a reference to the "Ajūb" (*Merveilles de l'Inde*), which speaks of anthropophagi with tails at Lūlū bilenk, on the west coast of Sumatra, between Lanŭr and Lāmeri,

for our identification of which place see above, p 131. Mr. Anderson, Yule proceeds, says there are a few wild people in Siak, very little removed in point of civilization above their companions the monkeys, but he specifies nothing about hairiness or tails "Galvano heard that there were on the Island certain people called *Daraqe Dara* (D'Arakundur? = Arakundur district?) which had tails like unto sheep<sup>1</sup> *Kazwīnī* tells of the hairy little men that are found in *Rāmnī*, with a language like birds' chirping" For this information, I now notice, *Kazwīnī* is indebted to Ibn *Khurdādhbih*, who states: "The natives of these islands (*Rāmnī*, etc.) go naked, and shelter themselves in the midst of thickets Their language is a sort of unintelligible hissing They avoid intercourse with other people Their stature is of 4 *shibi* or spans (about 36 inches, or 3 feet) . . . their hair is red and crisp They climb trees with the hands (i.e. without the assistance of their feet)"<sup>2</sup> The passage is textually copied by *Edrīsī*, who adds the missing sentence that the wild people in question are such swift runners that they cannot be overtaken<sup>3</sup> It is interesting, in connection with the stature of these pygmies, to observe how the tradition of the three and five spans height runs steadily through the interval of over fifteen centuries from Megasthenes,<sup>4</sup> Strabo, and Pliny in the West, and from the oldest Chinese records in the Far East, to writers of even the post-medieval period.<sup>5</sup> As regards red curled hair, we have noticed how it is ascribed to the clawed negrito savages of *Lo ch'a*, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, since early

in the seventh century A D Language, like bird chirping, was ascribed in general to the *Man I*, 蠻夷, a term which is explained as "barbarians whose jargon resembles the warbling of certain birds"<sup>1</sup> Even in quite modern times one Huang Chung whose work was published A D 1537, says of the *K'ang*, 獠, hill tribes of Northern Siam (either Kachins or *Khū Kong*) that "their language is like bird chirping non understandable",<sup>2</sup> and a work of K'ang Hsi's reign (1662-1723) adds besides that they resemble monkeys<sup>3</sup> As regards hairy and tailed men in Sumatra a gentleman who lived for seventeen years on that island informed Dr Meyer that "he heard of wild, hairy tribes in the interior of the Sultanate of Siak", and a recent publication of Dilitz (in "Not Batav Genootsch," 1893, p 27) gives an account of hairy dwarfs in Kroc Bengkūlen, south west coast of Sumatra<sup>4</sup> There is, therefore, good reason to expect that the veracity of former reports may receive full confirmation With tailed men the case is of course quite different for such legends originated either from mere imagination, from the style of dress of some wild tribes presenting some appendage hanging down behind like a tail, or from teratological phenomena of which we have, even at the present day, an example in India<sup>5</sup> At all events, we

may gather from the fact that such wild tribes, hairy or not, have been heard of from both the Siak and Acheh hinterlands on respectively the east and west coasts of Sumatra i.e. on either side of the Gīyu and Ālas territory, that they must belong to the stock of the latter, and are perhaps identical with these as yet little known people

Later Chinese accounts of *Lambri* do not tell us much of value about the country and people. As already noticed, such accounts are mainly based on the well known one of Ma Huan (A.D. 1416). This author informs us that in his day the people in the country were all Musalmans in religion. The State he adds borders on the east upon the kingdom of *Li tai*, 黎代, which is undoubtedly De Barros *Lide* and probably corresponds in my opinion to the present *Rantei* or *Rantei Panjang* near Tringading. De Barros may very well through a *lapsus calami* have written *Lide* for *Ridei* or *Rantei*, or the fault is more likely attributable to the copyists or printers of his work.<sup>1</sup> *Li tai* or *Lide* bordered on the east upon *Nakur*, the old Gayu country.

More interesting is Ma Huan's reference to a lofty 'Island of Peaceful Presage' (or 'Foreboding,' as Professor Schlegel renders the epithet), *T'ai-p'ing-yu-chun Shan*, 太平預峻山, lying in the sea, to the north-west, at half a day's sailing, and more specifically designated *Mau Shan*, 帽山, literally, 'Hat Island.' This name has puzzled all Sinologists, from Phillips and Groeneveldt to Professor Schlegel. The two former have identified the island in question with either Pulo Brās or Pulo Nāsi<sup>1</sup>; while the latter, far more imaginative, is convinced that since the Chinese character with which the name of the island is represented means a hat, it might just as well be one of those large, broad-brimmed Spanish hats called 'sombreros' [why not a Chinese conical hat or slightly domed cap?]; *ergo* (reader, please notice the logical, or rather paralogical, process of reasoning here), the island in question must be the one which the Portuguese called Sombrero, and from which Sombrero Channel in the Nikobār archipelago (between Little Nikobār on the south side and Kachāl and Nankauri on the northern) got its name<sup>2</sup>. Now, the Sombrero is Chauri Island, described as "generally low, but its south end rises almost perpendicularly in a rocky pinnacle to a height of about 343 feet, having the appearance, with the contiguous low portion, of a flap hat, whence it was named Sombrero by the early Portuguese navigators"<sup>3</sup>. The homonymous channel is only used by ships proceeding from the Koromandel coast (Madras, etc.) to Malacca Strait, whereas the Chinese accounts distinctly tell us that *Mau Shan* served as a landmark for ships coming from the west, i.e. Ceylon; that it was flat-topped (while Sombrero is pinnacle-shaped); and that it could be reached in half a day's sailing from Lambri. This presupposes a distance of fifteen to twenty miles at the utmost, considering that vessels must travel against wind and current in getting clear of the islands off Acheh Head.

especially during the north-east monsoon. Hence, the distance applies to either Pulo Bras Wch, or Rondo but not at all to the Nikobārs, the nearest point of which (Parsons Point, the southern end of Great Nikobār) lies no less than 120 miles off<sup>1</sup>

It is amusing to notice the arguments brought forward by Professor Schlegel in taunting Groeneveldt for having suggested either Pulo Brīs or Pulo Nīsī as the equivalent of the mysterious *Mau Shan*. As they are a good specimen of the Professor's dialectics, it would be a pity not to reproduce them here. He says "All these [Chinese] descriptions agree in saying that this island [*Mau Shan*] had a high lofty, and big mountain, with a flat top. Now this is not the case with the islands Pulo Bras and Pulo Nasī, which are so low that the Dutch have been obliged to build a lighthouse upon the former one that the seamen may not be shipwrecked upon them when wishing to make either for Achin or the Strait of Malacca"<sup>2</sup>. This, anyone who has passed those islands (I did it some five or six times and Professor Schlegel must also have gone through that way, although it might have been during the night) will see is utterly incorrect. Had the Professor only consulted a Dutch map or chart of that part of Sumatra, he would have found the figure 700 (metres) marked on the middle of Pulo Brīs, for indeed this island attains a height of 2296 feet in Mount Chumo. If this is *low*, then nothing short of Mont Blanc or Dhawalgiri could, according to the Professor's views, be called high. The Willemstoren

lighthouse on the northern point of Pulo Brās (525 feet above sea level) was erected, not because of the island being so low and invisible as the Professor thinks, but as a help to navigators in the thick weather that usually prevails in those parts during the south west monsoon. Great Nāsī is not very high, but its sister island (Nāsī Kechil, or Kersik) is lofty.

However, it is not either of these islands that correspond to the *Mau Shan* of the Chinese. This can be plainly seen from the Chinese map printed by Phillips<sup>1</sup> where to the west or south west of *Mau Shan* is marked the other famous island, *Lung yen Hsu*, 龍涎嶼 (lit 'Ambergris Island'), which Groeneveldt<sup>2</sup> and all his followers have to this day confidently considered to be Pulo Weh. A glance at the map just referred to, printed since 1885, would have convinced them of their error, but our Sinologists do not need to look at native maps in interpreting Chinese geography, their imagination is quite sufficient for the purpose. Now, since *Lung yen Hsu* cannot possibly be Pulo Weh, it must be the other principal island to the west (in reality south west) of it i.e. Pulo Brās. And that such is the case I have not the slightest doubt for the alternative, and apparently older, name of this island is *Lam puyang*, from some village of this name that must have existed, and perhaps is still extant, on its coast. On the map in Mandelslo's work 1727,<sup>3</sup> the island already appears as *Lai piang*. It is therefore clear to me that *Lung yén* is but a contracted transcript of *Lam [pu] yang* and has nothing to do with 'Dragon's spittle,' i.e. ambergris, although this produce may very well be found in the sea around it. Fei Hsin's description of the island (1436) is as follows: "This Island has the appearance of a single mountain [which is, no doubt, Mount Chumo of Schlegelian *loiness*, 2,296 feet] It

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Chinois Branch R. A. S.* vol. xi Nos 5 and 6

<sup>2</sup> *Op cit* p. 222

<sup>3</sup> Amsterdam 1727 between pp 7-8 and 9-10 t. 1. I may observe *en passant* that the *Lampyang* of Admiralty charts and directories is merely the Dutch form of the name which in English should be transcribed *Lampuyang* in order to make the two pronunciations agree.

risers abruptly out of the sea, which breaks on it with high waves."<sup>1</sup> In the sea-routes described on the Chinese map above referred to, and translated by Phillips,<sup>2</sup> *Lung-yén Hsū* [i.e. Lampuyang or Pulo Brās] is referred to as lying on the course from *Su-mén-ta-la* (Samudra harbour) to Ceylon. The sailing directions given are: (1) "A vessel leaving *Su-mén-ta-la* bound to Ceylon steers a course N.W., a little W., for twelve watches, until she is off *Lung-yén Hsū*; thence across the ocean to Ceylon, the course is W., a little N., for forty watches" (2) "The route from *Su-mén-ta-la* viâ the *Ts'u-lan Shan* (Nikobārs) is the same as far as *Lung-yén Hsū*, from which point the course is N.W., a little north, for thirty watches, and due west, a little north, for fifty watches." We thus see that *Lung-yén Hsū*, i.e. Lampuyang, now Pulo Brās, was the last land seen on leaving Sumatra, as is, for that matter, clearly shown by the course marked on the map in question. We become apprised thereby that Chinese vessels of that period used, when bound westwards from Malacca Strait, to pass to the northward of Pulo Wēh and Brās, perhaps also of Pulo Rondo, and between these islands and the south end of the Great Nikobārs, exactly as sailing-vessels do nowadays during the north-east monsoon, the favourable season for that voyage.

We have, accordingly, left the option of finding the equivalent for the Chinese *Mau Shan* in either Pulo Wēh or Pulo Rondo. As regards the latter, also known as Tepurong, it is but an uninhabited rock, only some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cables in length, although 426 feet high, and therefore conspicuous, so that it "is often the first land seen by those entering the Strait in the thick weather of the south-west monsoon period."<sup>3</sup> But Ma Huan's account of *Mau Shan* says this island is inhabited: "at the foot of the mountain live some

<sup>1</sup> Groeneveldt, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 218. Of course, Phillips renders the term *Lung-yén Hsū* as Pulo Wav, which identification I have not adopted here, leaving the name as it stands in the Chinese text.

<sup>3</sup> "China Sea Directory," vol. 1, 4th ed (1896), p. 29.



20 to 30 families, every man of whom calls himself a king. In shallow water sea-trees grow, which are collected by the people, and used as a valuable article of trade, it being coral."<sup>1</sup> It follows, therefore, that *Mau Shan* must be Pulo Wēh, a far larger island (about 11 by 2 to 6 miles in size), and populated withal, although but sparsely, just as the Chinese account says. It is besides very conspicuous, rising in Lemoh Māti, its highest peak, to an elevation of 2,395 feet (730 metres according to recent Dutch maps, or some 100 feet higher than Pulo Brās). Gūnong Merdu, a prominent dome-shaped peak close by on the south, is also pretty high, as well as Ūjong Bahu, the north-western point of the island, which falls steeply from the mountain to the sea. I should accordingly think that either Ūjong Bahu, Gūnong Merdu, or *Lemoh Māti* (the last more likely) is the lofty mountain described by the Chinese. Whether Lemoh Māti be flat-topped or not I do not now remember, but very probably it is. In any case, as the island is very mountainous, and its west coast cliffy, there is great likelihood that it appears flat-topped to those coming from the west. Moreover, *Mau*, 嗎, pronounced *Mou*, *Moa*, *Mo* in the southern Chinese dialects, is most probably but a mutilated would-be transcript of *Lemoh*; unless, indeed, the whole term *Mau Shan* is meant for *Masam*, or *Mason Point*, which edges the entrance to Sabang Bay, on the north coast of the island, where the principal settlement is situated (Sabang village).

It is thus almost absolutely certain that *Mau Shan* is Pulo Wēh, just as *Lung-yén Hsu* is Lampuyang or Pulo Brās, and not the reverse or otherwise as some Sinologists have been telling the world for the last quarter of a century or so. The evidence in favour of our identification is overwhelming; for not only resemblance in names, but also the Chinese map itself, where the course is laid down as first running close to the northern coast of *Mau Shan* and then rather aloof from an unnamed island (perhaps Pulo Nāsi) and *Lung-yén Hsu*, confirm the conclusion we have arrived at.

<sup>1</sup> Groeneveldt, *op cit*, pp. 222, 221

We may therefore confidently pass to a brief consideration of the epithet *T'ai-p'ing-yu-chun Shan*, 'Lofty Island [or Mountain] of Peaceful Presage,' already noticed as applied by the Chinese to *Mau Shan*. This recalls both the Ptolemaic *Agathodaimonos*, the island of 'Good Fortune,' and the *Jibal Khushnāmī*, 'the Auspicious Mountain' of the early Arab navigators, although, judging from our preceding considerations, there can be no connection with them, except in the similarity of the sense conveyed by such epithets. For seafaring men crossing those seas, known but imperfectly in the old days, the first landmark sighted after a long sea passage on the boundless expanse must naturally have been a matter of no little rejoicing, and regarded as a fortunate event presaging their safety. Hence, I think, the origin of the Chinese term above referred to, which need not be sought in more recondite causes. As regards Pulo Wēh being used as a landmark in coming from the west, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact, for owing to its conspicuousness and position northwards of the western extremity of Sumatra, it is usually the first land looming in sight for those coming from the west and the Great Nikobār, as the Chinese used to do. In the thick weather of the south-west monsoon period, we have had occasion to notice, Pulo Rondo is often the first land seen, and with it, naturally, Pulo Wēh, which lies close by, and is a yet more prominent object<sup>1</sup>.

The ocean stretching boundless to the west of *Mau Shan*, the Chinese accounts inform us, is called the ocean of *Na-mo-h*, 那沒梨, *Na-mei-h* or *Na-mu-h*, 那沒黎. This name, though differently spelled from those employed to represent Lambri, sounds *Na-mut-lei*, *La-mut-lai* in the

<sup>1</sup> The earliest mention I can find of Pulo Wēh in European accounts occurs in Beaulieu's voyage, 1621, wherein it is stated that *Pulo-Quay* one of the islands in the roadstead of Aech, yields sulphur in abundance. Dampier's narrative later on, 1688, merely contains a passing reference to it. (See Prévost's "Hist. Gén. des Voyages," vol ix, p 340, and vol xi p 428.) *Wā* or *Wā* is said to mean 'water,' so that the sense conveyed is that of 'Water Island.' But the old name of the island may have been different. Pulo Wēh is nowadays a pepper producing island, but formerly it was of more importance from being the place to which criminals were banished.

southern dialects, and is evidently a transcript of *Lamūri*, *Lāmeri*, *Rāmri*, *Rāmburi*, or *Rāmbri*, thus corresponding to Nowairi's (A.D. 1332) Sea of *Lāmeri*, formed, as he tells us, by the seas of *Kalah*, *Jukah*, and *Fansūr* (see p. 132 *ante*).

The enumeration of the embassies successively sent to China by Lambri from A.D. 1284 to 1423 does not call for special notice here, except in the particular that in 1412 the king as well as the people are spoken of as Musalmāns, the ruler's name being recorded as *Ma-ha-ma Sha*, 麻哈沙, which evidently means either Mahmūd or Muhammad Shāh, and that of his son as *Sha Chē-han*, 沙 哲罕, which is clearly Shāh Jehān. In about 1200-40, judging from Chao Ju-kua's account referred to above, Indiāism must still have been the prevailing religion, and even in 1292-3 Marco Polo has not a word about Islāmism having as yet acquired a foothold in Lambri, although he mentions this faith as well established among the townspeople (and those only) in *Perlec* (Perlak), whither it was introduced by "the Saracen merchants." The hill-people, he tells us, were pagan and cannibals. Of *Basma* he states the people are just like beasts, without laws or religion; and of *Samara* that they are wild idolaters. West of this kingdom was that of *Dagroian*, i.e. the *Gāyu* country, where, we have seen, the natives refused to embrace Islāmism even when it had been adopted in Samudra. The people of Lambri and *Fansur* are spoken of as idolaters, so that it is difficult to reconcile his statements with those of the Achinese chronicle ascribing the introduction of the Muslim faith to a Johan Shāh represented to have arrived at Achēh in A.H. 601 = A.D. 1205. Of course, this Johan Shāh cannot possibly be the Shāh Jehān still heir-apparent in A.D. 1412, because the former is referred to in the local chronicle as the founder of the Muslim dynasty in the country, whereas the latter evidently was not. Accordingly, Johan Shāh must have been one of the ancestors of this Shāh Jehān of A.D. 1412, and his advent, together with the introduction of Islāmism through his agency, may be safely put down between, say, A.D. 1300 and 1380. Perhaps A.H. 701 =

1302 is the correct date, assuming that an error of 100 years has crept in the native chronicle through a slip of the copyists in taking the figure 7 of the centuries for a 6. In any case, there can be no doubt that Islām reached Aceh later than Perlaḥ and Samudra, although in the “*Şejārah Malāyu*” we are told (ch. viii) that the conversion to Islāmism of the States on the northern coast of Sumatra was effected in the order: 1, *Fasūrī* (Bārūs); 2, *Puloh Lamīri* (Lambri); 3, *Hau* (Āru); 4, Perlaḥ; and 5, Samudra. But then the name recorded for the legendary apostle of Moslem alleged to have operated such a feat is Sultān Muḥammad of Mūtabar, and not Johan *Shāh*. The Pā-ai chronicle ascribes the deed to the same personage, but it makes him proceed directly to Samudra, without mentioning the other countries alluded to above. It is thus evident that the whole story is open to serious doubt.

Before closing these observations on the early history of Aceh it seems worth while to briefly notice another important event which, in so far as I am aware, has not yet received attention. The event I mean is that recorded in the “*Şejārah Malāyu*” (part ii, ch. iii), where it is stated that upon the downfall of the city of *Bal*, the capital of Champā, one of the royal princes of that country, *Poling* by name, fled with his retinue to *Achi* (Aceh), of which he became the original *rāja*. *Poling* is, of course, meant for *Pó Ling*, i.e. Prince Ling, *Pó* being the usual Chām title we have met with several times already. As a brother of his, Indra Brahma (we should probably read *Indra-varman*), took refuge at the same time at Malacca, where he found a favourable reception at the hands of Sultān Mansūr, whom we know to have reigned between A.D. 1458 and 1475 *circa*,<sup>1</sup> it is evident that the downfall of the Chām capital alluded to is that of Bal Angwē, which took place, as noticed above (p 276) in 1471. We thus obtain a date

<sup>1</sup> The “*Şejārah Malāyu*” informs us further that Sultan Mansūr made a *mantri* (counsellor or minister) of Prince Indra Brahma (*Indra-varman*) after having brought about his conversion to Islam. This is another important bit of information, as it evidences that the Muslim faith had not as yet been adopted in Champā in 1471, at any rate by the royal family.

for the advent of Pô Ling in Acheh and the rise of a dynasty of Chām extraction there, as well as a clue to the chronology of other hitherto undatable events in Chām history referred to in both the "Sejīrah" and the Chām chronicles.<sup>1</sup> To the fact of a Chām prince having reigned in Acheh during the last quarter, or thereabouts, of the fifteenth century the local dialect is no doubt indebted for the introduction of many comparatively modern Chām words which could not very well be accounted for before this, such as, e g, *pó*, prince, *gic* (Glu), hill, cliff, *lam* (Lang), village, etc

The Chām dynasty, if any, founded in Acheh by Pô Ling, seems, however, to have been short-lived, for in A D 1507 began the rule of Sultān 'Alī Mughīyat Shāh, who seems to have come from Kemangan, near Pedir, and is reckoned upon as the founder of that native monarchy which continued in power until A D 1760. It is exhilarating to notice how the "Bustanu-s-salatīn" naively tells us that before Sultān 'Alī Mughīyat Shāh—who, it states, first adopted Islāmism—there had been no kings at Acheh, but only chiefs (*Marah*, *مره*), who ruled each in his own district, and were elected to that office among the elders of the people.<sup>2</sup> Such are

the tricks recklessly resorted to by native historians in order to palliate their ignorance of past events. It is therefore pretty certain that henceforth a Chām monarchy will have to be added to the number of those so far known to have ruled over Acheh. The order of them will thus be: (1) an Indū dynasty (until at least A.D. 1305); followed by (2) a Muḥammadan one, probably also originally from India (with Johan Shāh, A.D. 1305–80 *cicā*); (3) a Malay from Menang-kabau (*cicā* 1380–1470); (4) a Chām (1471–1507); (5) a local Achinese (1507–70 *cicā*); (6) a Pērak one (*cicā* 1570–88); (7) an Achinese again (1588–1760); and, finally, (8) an Arab dynasty (1760 to the present day). The above and such sundry other details as I have been able to collect on Achinese history and onomatology will be found recapitulated and chronologically arranged in the following table, which I subjoin by way of conclusion to this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

#### OUTLINE SKETCH OF ACHINESE ONOMATOLOGY AND HISTORY

(SECOND TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY A.D.)

- 100–50    *Argyrē*, Ἀργυρῆ μητροπολις, capital of Iabadiū or Sabadiū (= *Arjara*, *Ksarjura*, *Arjuna*, *Arlura*, *Rallhura*, etc.) — Ptolemy (p. 656)
- 631–40    YEN-MO-VA (or *Yen-mo lo*) CHOU KWO, 閩 摩 那 (or 羅 洲 國; or *Ye mei-ni*, 野 寐 尼 (= the island kingdom of *Yamana* or *Yamani*, *Yamana deipa-pura*, perhaps *Yamunā* or *Jamnā*, *Yamini*, *Farana*, *Yarani*; *Javana*, *Ramana*, etc.)
- Hwen-tsung (p. 463). Cf. *Ramanaka* Island of Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas, *Yama-dvīpa* of Vayu P.; *Rāmnī*, etc.

Also M Polo's and others' *Gavenis-pola* or *Jamis-*, *Jamanis*, *Jatanis pola* = *Yaranasya-* or *Yavanasa-pura*, *Yatanaspur* or *Jaranaspur* = the 'City (or Island) of the Yavanas (or Javanas)' = present Pulo Nāsi Besar or Dedap, but more probably Acheh Herd, the 'Ponta de Gomespolla' of the Portuguese. Cf also the legend as regards the footprint in the water (bank of *Narmada*, or *Yamunā*?, River) (p 665, note)

674. TA SHIH, 大食 (*Dachi*, *Dacheh*, Acheh, and not seemingly *Tajik* = Arabs in such cases) Its king, afraid of the power of Queen Simi of *Ho-ling* (west coast of Malay Peninsula), dares not attack her (p 505)
651. RANĀI (رامى) ISLAND, var lect. *Rāmi*, *Ramin*, رامى, رامين (= Lambri, Acheh district, and part of west coast of Sumatra) Extent, 800-900 parasangs (= 1920-2160 miles); bathed by two seas, Harkand and *Shel'het*, with gold mines, plantations of *Fausūr* camphor, elephants, and an anthropophagous population — Sulaimān (Reinaud's "Rel des Voyages," pp 6, 8)
864. RĀMĪ (رامى) ISLAND Rhinoceroses and tailless buffaloes are found there The natives go naked, are four spans in stature, and have red and crisp hair, their language is an unintelligible hissing — Ibn Khurdādhbih (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p 286, and De Goeje, op cit, p 44)

- circa 1220-50 Country called *Acheh* on the sea coast of the island of *Perla* — *Kedah Annals* ' ch iii, see *Journal Indian Archipelago* vol iii p 162
- 1240 LAM WU LI 藍 里 (Lamburi Rambri Lambri)  
A State sending yearly tribute to *San fo chi* (Śrī Bhoja)  
On a hill called *Hei l i* 細 輪 (- *Se lun Chalang*) is a sacred footprint and a like imprint is visible in the water within about 50 to 60 miles distance from the hill (- footprint on the banks of the Yamuna or Narmada — *Ye i iio na?*)  
*Hei lan* 細 蘭, a State also tributary to Śrī Bhoja is probably the same place and seems to correspond to *Chalang* or *Chellang* west coast of Sumatra — *Chao Ju kua* (see pp 665 683)
- 1263-75 RAMANI or RAMNI ISLAND ( *Ye i iio ni* Rambri)  
Inhabited by hairy little men with a language like birds chirping — *Kazwini* ( *Kosmographie* i p 107) See *Ibn Khurdadbeh* above
- 1274 LAMERI CITY (- *Lam bani* Acheh district) Lies near *Malayur* and like this and *Fansur* is situated on a bay — *Ibn Sa'īd* ( *Merveilles de l'Inde* p 158)
- circa 1280 LAMIRI or PULAK LAMIRI لمیری ڤولک Island (= Lambri) Converted to Islamism by a fakir from the *Koromandel* coast — *Sejarah Melayu* ' ch viii (see p 696)  
A B — The name is spelled also *La ibri*, لمیری, in the Singapore edition of the same work p 73



result of Kúblî's war with Java, are sent back with presents and an official safe conduct tally. (*Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, loc. cit.)

circa 1300. RĪMĀI ISLAND. Has a circumference of 500 miles; it produces sapanwood, camphor, pepper, clove, and cinnamon (cf. M. Polo, above).

circa 1300. ARSŪIA ISLAND (Achūh?). Produces camphor of a quality inferior to that from Pansūr.—Dimāshī (Machren, pp. 127, 205).

circa 1305. Arrival of John Shāh, who is alleged in the native chronicles to have been the first Muhammadan king of Achūh, his date being placed as far back as A.H. 601 = A.D. 1205, which we cannot accept (see p. 695).

1310 LĀMĀI, a very large island, lying beyond Ceylon, and adjoining the country of Sūmātra—Rashīdu-d-dīn (Yule's "M. Polo," vol. ii, p. 300).

1321. LĀMĀI ISLAND, produces sapanwood and bamboo—Abū-l-Fedī (Guyard, t. ii, pt. ii, p. 131).

circa 1323. LAMORI COUNTRY. Lies north of Sumatra on the same island; the natives are naked, cruel, and cannibals—Friar Odoric (Ramusio, 1583 ed., vol. ii, f. 218)

1315-6. LAMBRI. Ignored by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who, however, speaks of the northern part of Sumatra as the island of *Jaurah*

1375. LEROA CITY, on the north-west coast of the *Illa Taprobana* (Sumatra). Probably meant for Lambri—Catalan Atlas (see p. 647).

1399. NAN-WU-LI Chinese map published by Phillips (*Journal, China Branch R. A. S.*, vol. xx, Nos. 5 and 6).

circa 1400. Achūh was a celebrated place for its numerous stone-cutters and gravers.—"Kedah Annals" in *Journal Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii, p. 259.

1405 NAN-WU-LI. A seal and letter sent to it from China through some lieutenant of the famous eunuch Chêng Ho (*Toung-Pao*, 1901, p. 359, and *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1900, p. 140)

1408. Chêng Ho comes in person to Nan-wu li (Op. cit., 11)

1411. The king sends an envoy to the Chinese Court, who goes on along with those of Kayeh (Cail, India) and Kelantan (*Asiat. Quart. Rev.*, loc. cit.)

1412 *Nan p'o li* 南浮利, 南勃里 (or 利) (- *Nan bur ri* *Iamburi*, *Lambri*) lies west of *Su mén ta li* (Samudra) whence it can be reached in three days navigation. The king and people are all Muhammadans and scarcely amount altogether to a thousand families. North west of this country is the lofty island of *Mau Sian* 帽山 (= Pulo Weh with Lemoh mati mountain) and west of this stretches the ocean called *Na mo li* or *Na mei li* 那沒黎 (or 降) (= *Lauri*)

This year the king *Ma la na Sia*, 馬哈麻沙 (- Mahmud, or Muhammad Shah) sends an envoy, along with an envoy of Samudra to bring tribute to China. The Emperor bestows upon them court dresses and to the king a seal and an investiture whilst Cheng Ho is commissioned to transmit the imperial instructions to this country. The latter continues to send tribute yearly until the end of Ch'eng tsu's reign (A.D. 1424)

The son of the king *Shah Jehan*, 沙者罕, also despatches an envoy to bring tribute — Hist. Ming Dyn. (*T'oung Pao* 1901 pp 357-8)

1415, 1416 1418 1419, 1421 1423 Envoys from *Nan p'o li* reach China with tribute (*Asiat Quart Pev* Jan 1900 p 140)

1416 *Nan wu li* 南巫里, sends an envoy with tribute. Cheng Ho is ordered to take him back to his country — Hist. Ming Dyn. (*T'oung Pao* 1901, p 359)

1430 Cheng Ho goes on his last voyage bringing presents to all countries among which is *Nan p'o li* which gets her share of the imperial gifts (Op cit p 358 Groeneveldt op cit p 221) A.B. — This is the last mention of either *Nan wu li* or *Nan p'o li* in the records of the period

1471-2 *Acléh*, ٲٲٲٲ Upon the Ch'm capital *Bal Angwe* being taken and destroyed by the Annamese *Lo Lang* a royal prince of Champi takes refuge in *Acléh* of which country he becomes the original king' — *Sejarah Malayu*, ch iii (Leyden's 'Malay Annals' p 211)

1507 Sultan 'Alī Mughāyat *Shah* ascends the throne of *Acheh* A.N. 913 — 'Bustanu's salatin' (Millies' *Moumaes des Indigènes* p 71)

5 Tikū, تیکو.

6. Priāman, قريامن } where he  
says, are gold  
mines in the  
mountains

7. Salidā, سليدا

8. Indrapura, اندرپورا.

9 Bengku-ūle (Bengkūlen),

بنكول.

10 Salibar (Selebar), سليبر

11. Palembang, پالمبغ.

12. Jambī, حمبي.

(Journal Straits Branch RAS  
No 31, pp 123-30)

N B—I have thought it useful to reproduce this as yet little known list, far more complete as regards the northern part of Sumatra than De Barros', not only for the historical interest it presents, but also for the spelling of many place names it gives which are often vainly looked for in Malay dictionaries and similar works of reference

1613 Sultan Iskander Mūda makes war upon Johor (Milles  
op cit, p 85)

1618 Sultan Iskander Mūda makes war upon Pahang (Op cit.)

1618 *A-ch'i*, 亞齊 (= Acheh) Formerly it was [called?] the  
'Ta-shi Country,' 大食國 [= *Tarshish*, *Tājik*, *Dachi*?]

Ambergris costs 12 golden coins the tael, which makes 192  
golden coins a kati

During the Sung dynasty  
[A.D. 960-1280] this country had the reputation of possessing  
much gold, silver, and silk, whilst the skill of its artisans  
was highly praised—"Tung hsi Yang k'au," bk. iv (see  
*T'oung-Pao*, 1901, pp 367, 368, and Groeneveldt, op cit,  
pp 215, 216) N B that since A.D. 1505 Barthema mentions  
silk as being produced in large quantities in Pedir (see  
Ramusio, vol 1, f 166 verso) The reference to silver in the  
Chinese account is furthermore interesting, in view of the  
connection of Acheh with Ptolemy's *Argyre*, as well as with  
a possible Phœnician *Tarshish*—From this period the history  
of Acheh is sufficiently well known, from both local and  
Western sources, as not to present any more special features  
falling within the scope of the present inquiry, hence it is  
needless to go on summarizing its principal events any further

1619 Sultan Iskander Mūda conquers the States of Kedah and  
Perak on the Malay Peninsula (according to the letter quoted  
above, however, Perak was already part of his dominions in  
1612) (Op cit)

1621 Sultan Iskander Mūda conquers Padang, Singkel, and other  
portions of the west coast of Sumatra (see, however, the letter  
cited above). (Op cit)

D. *The Great Anambas or Siantan Group.*

## Islands of the Satyrs (No. 125).

Ptolemy reckons three of them and reports:—"The inhabitants are said to have tails like those with which Satyrs are depicted." Legends of savages with tails are current in several parts of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago; but the reference here seems to be rather to some large species of monkeys than to human beings. The centre of this group of islands falls, as shown in the tables and maps, in long.  $107^{\circ} 15'$  E. and lat.  $3^{\circ} 40'$  N., corrected; that is, just midway between the Anambas and Natunas. I have, however, reason to believe that the Anambas alone are meant, both for linguistic arguments which I shall hereafter bring forward, and because they lie more directly in the track of ships sailing from the Straits to Kamboja or Champā. Speaking of this insular group Crawford says: "The islands called by European navigators the Anambas, a name not known to the Malays of the country, are properly called by the various names of *Siantan* [*Syāntan* or *Syātan*, سیانتی], *Jamajah* [more correctly, *Jamāja*, جماج], and *Sarasan* [*Sarāsan*, سراسن], which make the northern, middle, and southern Anambas of our charts. They are, in all, about fifty in number . . . hilly and sterile, and inhabited by true Malays, always poor, and commonly inoffensive."<sup>1</sup> The correct names and Malay equivalents that I have inserted within brackets actually occur in the Pāsai chronicle in the list of countries conquered by the Javanese army from Mūjapāhīt in A.D. 1377 or thereabouts.<sup>2</sup>

- changed into *Ya ch'i*, 亞齊 (*A ts'ai*, *A-ts'i*, *A-che* = Acheh)  
 —Hist Ming Dyn, bk 325 (See Groeneveldt, op cit, pp 213, 214, also *Young-Pao*, 1901, pp 344, 345 and 37, 368, the accounts of which events have been misunderstood by both Professors Schlegel and Parker See for the latter's mistake the *Asiat Quart Rev*, Jan, 1900, p 137 About the king's origin and his sanguinary crimes see Davis, 1599, who states that Sultan "Aladin," i.e. 'Alāu d dīn, was originally a fisherman, and rose in rank gradually until he became admiral, when he murdered the heir to the throne, also Beaulieu, vide Prevost's "Hist Gén des Voyages," vol 1, p 373, and vol ix, pp 350-2 )
- 1602, Sultan 'Alī Mughayat Shāh, son of the preceding, succeeds to the throne (Villies, op cit, p 84 )
- 1607 Sultan Iskander Mūda succeeds to the crown Under his rule the kingdom of Acheh attains the climax of its splendour (Op cit., pp 84, 85 )
- 1612 Letter of Sultan Iskander Mūda of Acheh to King James I of England In this valuable document the former claims the following possessions —

Among such names I desire to lay special stress on that of *Sidantan*, which is not so spelled as in the present day, but is written *Syatan* or *Siātan*, a fact upon which we are going to base the etymological discussion directly. As regards Sarāsan, Crawford was of course mistaken in making it a southern Anamba, it belongs to the South Natuna group. It should indeed be added, in justice to him, that on pp 89, 90 of the same volume he classifies it correctly as the most southern island of the Natunas<sup>1</sup>. Groeneveldt has,

contrary to his wont, not gone far wrong in suggesting, this time, wisely followed by interrogation marks, Natuna and Anamba respectively as the equivalents of the *Tung-tung*, 東 董, and *Hsi-tung*, 西 董, Islands mentioned in the account of the Chinese expedition to Java, A.D. 1292-3.<sup>1</sup> He is, however, certainly mistaken in pedantically rendering the second toponymic as 'Western *Tung*,' for there can be no question that this is a mere transcript of *Syātan*, the name of the island in the Northern Anamba group, which may, at best, be meant for that particular group only, and not for the whole of the Anambas. As regards the first toponymic, *Tung-Tung*, it is yet doubtful whether it should be taken as meaning 'Eastern *Tung*,' according to Mr. Groeneveldt's view, or as a transcript of some local name (perhaps of *Datu* Point at the north end of Great Anamba as suggested in note 1 to p. 708). For it is plain to me that this term *Tung-Tung* merely designates the Great Natuna or Bangūran, and not at all the whole group of the Natunas, or even the more tiny cluster of the northern of such islands. Although Sinologists have hitherto rested perfectly satisfied with such vague, generic identifications made *grosso modo* like this, our intention in the present inquiry is to push our investigation to the utmost of our ability, in order to arrive as accurately as possible at identifications of ancient toponymics, thus supplying our readers with genuine, instead of imaginary, fabricated geography, as has hitherto too often been done. This aim, to which we have kept throughout, we intend to adhere to in this section also, which is the last one of the present volume.

That *Tung-Tung*, then, simply meant the Great Natuna is amply evidenced by Chinese itineraries from Champā to Java, as well as by the Chinese map of the period published

by Phillips<sup>1</sup> Starting with this first, I have been enabled to recognize in it two hitherto unidentified islands of the Natuna group, besides *Tung-Tung*, viz, *Sha-niu-p'i*, 沙吳皮 (*Sa-nu-bi* = Suwobi or Subi), and *Tung Shé-lung*, 東蛇籠, or Eastern *Shé-lung* (*She-lung*, *Sha-rong* = *Sarān* of the Pāśai chronicle, i.e. *Sarīsan* or *Sirhasen*). Turning now to the itinerary from Champā to Java translated by W. F. Meyers from the chronicle of the Yüan dynasty,<sup>2</sup> and prudently omitted by Groeneveldt, we again find the latter island mentioned, along with two others of the Northern Natunas, which we shall presently identify. The itinerary runs as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

"Sailing from Champā [the capital, i.e. Bal Angwā at Kwiñon], the course is steered for *Ling Shan*, 靈山 [= *Linga parvata*, i.e. Capo Varella] Thence fifty watches [= 500-600 miles] are required to reach:

- 1 *Wu lung Hsü*, 蜈蚣 (*Wu lung*, lit. 'centipede') [= *Stokong* or *Stu lung*, the northernmost of the Natunas, situated above the north end of Pulo Lāut. Its distance from Capo Varella is about 485 miles, which, allowing for slight detours in sailing, fairly corresponds with that given in the text] "Five watches [50-60 miles] westward from the rocks at the point of this island bring the vessel to
- 2 *Hau Shan*" [? 帽山 = 'Hat Island' Evidently Tokongboro, i.e. the Pyramidal rocks, west of the Great Natuna, which lie at 63 miles south west of the northern end of *Stokong* Island] "Again ten watches [100-120 miles] and the *Eastern Shé-lung Shan* ['Serpent and Dragon' Headland] is sighted." [This must be
- 3 *Tung Shé lung*, 東蛇籠, referred to above, which, with the third character but slightly altered, means instead the 'Eastern Serpent cage', to us, *Sarāsan* Island] "After this the vessel passes between
- 4 *Round Island* [? *Yüan* (or *Lacen*?) *Hsü*, 圓 (or 圓?) 島] and

<sup>1</sup> *Journal China Branch R A S*, vol. XXI (1886)

<sup>2</sup> See *China Review*, vol. IV, pp. 173-174

<sup>3</sup> It goes without saying that with the exception of *Ling Shan* rightly located by Meyers none of the other toponyms here mentioned have been so far, correctly identified either by him or others



- 5 Double Island' [*? Liang Shan*, 兩山 No sailing distance being stated, it is difficult to say whether South Haycock, St Pierre, or Marundum are the two islands meant on the one side, or Saddle Island and Camel's Hump on the other. No native names being besides entered in our charts and directories for these islands, identification becomes doubly difficult. It would appear from the sequel, as well as from the Chinese names applied to the two islands in question, that Round Island is Camel's Hump (so named from its configuration) and that Double Island is Saddle Island (so called on account of two hills forming its saddle). Otherwise, Double Island may be meant for the two St Pierre islands, which appear to be connected by a reef]  
"Passing by
- 6 *Lo wei Shan* [*? 羅尾山*, no doubt Pulo Wai, the north-westernmost island of the Tambelan group] "where there are 18 fathoms of water, five watches more [50-60 miles] bring the vessel to
- 7 'Bamboo Island' [evidently 竹山, *Chu Shan* which must be Temaju off the west coast of Borneo (Manpawa district). This island lies at some 90 miles S E from Pulo Wai. If, however, *Chu* or *Chu* is not a transcript of any indigenous name, Direction Island (Pulo Pengiki Kechil), which lies at but 70 miles S S E from Pulo Wai, may be meant]  
' Thence in five watches [50-60 miles]
- 8 *Ki lung Hsu* ('Hen coop' Island) is reached' [The original characters are evidently 雞籠, *Ke lung*, *Ke rung*, and Gurong is the island intended, at any rate one of them, for there are two rocky islets of that name, situated north eastward of Karimata and about half way between Meleidung and Pelapi Islands. Their distance from either Temaju or Direction Island is, however, close upon 120 miles, and as there are no other islands lying half way between them, we must conclude that the sailing distance has been understated or that some slip has occurred in the text which should read ten instead of five, watches]  
From this point it is ten watches [100-120 miles] to
- 9 *Kau lan Shan*, 句欄山 [or 勾欄山, *Ko lan*, *Kou-lan Shan*], where wood and water may be procured' [This, despite Groeneveldt and, after him, Professor Schlegel, is unmistakably GELAM Island, as the sensible Phillips long ago

doubtfully suggested.<sup>1</sup> The truth of my assertion can be easily ascertained by a glance at the Chinese map published by Phillips, where *Kau-lan* is marked immediately below Karimūta and an hitherto unidentified island named 十 二 子, *Shih-érh-tz*, which, I am glad to state, is Serutu, which lies south-westwards of Karimūta, although mapped by mistake south-eastwards in the cartographical document in question. Westwards of Karimūta the map shows *Ma-li-tung*, i.e. Belitong or Billiton, and westwards of this again 彭 亨, *P'eng-ha*, i.e. Bangkū, so that it clearly follows that the latter is not *Ma-li-tung*, nor Billiton *Kau-lan*, as Groeneveldt would have us to believe. *Kau-lan* is therefore most certainly Gelam (now also called Laag) Island, the largest of a group lying ten miles north-westward of Sambar Point, the south-west extremity of Borneo. And under the said denomination of *Kau-lan* the Chinese probably included also the neighbouring Bauwal or Kumpal Island, lying but six miles northward of Gelam, for it is stated that Bauwal or Kumpal "was, in former times, the rendezvous for the China convoys in case of separation, and then known as Rendezvous Island."<sup>2</sup> This circumstance, as well as the fact that both islands are thickly wooded,

agrees remarkably with the account of the role played by *Kau la* in the Java expedition of 1292-3<sup>1</sup>. So does its sailing distance from *Ki lung* given in the text under examination accord with the distance Gurong-Gelam, which is about 105 miles] "Thirty watches farther on [=300-60 miles] lies *Ki li*, i. Shan 古里門山 i.e. Krimun or Karimon Java [The distance from Gelam to Karimon Java is only about 180 miles, hence there must be some clerical error in the text which should read fifteen watches]

We need not follow this itinerary any further, since our object for having introduced it here—which was to show that the Chinese had separate names for each of the principal Natuna Islands and that *Tung tung* to them merely meant the largest of these i.e. the Great Natuna or Bangoran—is now fully attained. Another important result attained is the determination of the sea route followed by the Chinese expedition to Java and, no doubt long afterwards by Chinese junks. Of this sea route the translations and publications hitherto made by Sinologists gave but the very haziest idea: the Anambas and Natunas are mentioned as passed on the way but whether through the middle eastwards or westwards of them it was left for the reader to conjecture. Thanks to the above inquiry we are now certain that the Chinese sea route to Java lay south by west from Cape Varela on the Champi (Cochin China) coast straight for Setokong or Stokong near the northern extreme of Pulo Lūt or North Natuna after which the course was shaped towards the south west in order to clear the Pyramidal Rocks and other dangers when it was again altered to due south thus passing between Bangoran (Great Natuna) and the North Anambas (*Siantan* group), the *Tung Tung* and *Hsi Tu g* of the Chinese respectively. Sirhassen

Gelan is the Malay name for *Male sea* i. e. *code* d'on the Kajaputol tree. Fei Hsüan (1436) describes *Kau la* Island as high and covered with trees affording ample building materials and adds that the Chinese expedition on Java in 1293 being driven by a storm on this island many ships were lost, whereupon the crews landed and constructed new vessels. Both Gelam and Bauwaj are low but in the centre of the latter are two hills.

or Sarāsan (the Eastern *Shé-lung* of the Chinese), with, no doubt, either Seraga (West Island) or Brian Island (probably the unnamed Western *Shé-lung*), being all conspicuous, were then sighted, evidently from afar; and the vessel proceeded between either Camael's Hump and Saddle Island, or the latter and St Pierre, to the Tambelans. Here, after having passed Pulo Wai, it steered south-east towards Temaju, and continued her course along the west coast of Borneo.

The same itinerary is laid down, although with far less wealth of particulars, in the History of the Yuan dynasty, where it is stated that the expedition in 1292, after having passed Champā, came in the first month of the following year (1293) to the *Tung-Tung* and *Hsi-Tung* islands (i.e. Bangoran and Siāntan, the meaning being that the course lay between them), after which it entered the *Hicn-tun* (lit. 'Chaotic,' or 'Turbid') Ocean, 混沌大洋, i.e. 'Archipelago,' so called, no doubt, by the Chinese, on account of the innumerable islands with which it is studded, forming so many channels, which, naturally, confuse the navigator. Assuredly, 'Labyrinthean' is what the Chinese intended by *Hicn-tun*. Proceeding, the expedition reached the *Kan-lan*<sup>1</sup> Island or Islands, 橄欖嶼 (*Kom-lam*, *Kam-lam*, *Kan-ran*), by which, no doubt, the Tambelans (a name easily corrupted into *Kambelan*, *Kamblan*) are meant. Next, the fleet came to *Karimāta* and *Kau-lan* (*Gelam*).<sup>2</sup>

On Phillips' map—where, by the way, but few of the places named in the above itineraries are shown—a different route is laid down, passing between *Tung-Tung* (Great Natuna) on the one side, and *Sha-ku-pi* (Suwobi or Subi) and *Tung Shé-lung* (Sarān or Sarāsan) on the other, thus showing that at the period the map was drafted (circa A.D. 1399) the channel between the Great Natuna and Subi had come to be used instead of the earlier one between the

<sup>1</sup> This is the name for the so-called Chinese olive, the fruit of various species of *Canarium* (*album*, *pamelu*, etc.)

<sup>2</sup> See Groeneveldt, op. cit., p. 151, where he renders, of course, *Hicn-tun* *Ta-yang* by 'Indian Sea (?)', *Kan-lan* by 'Olive Islands (?)', *Kau-lan* by 'Billiton,' and so forth, with how much profit to the reader I leave it to be imagined.

former and the North Anambas.<sup>1</sup> On this route we need not to dwell any further. What concerns us and is most important for the point at issue are the two facts elicited in the course of the present inquiry, viz., (1) that the Chinese term *Tung-tung* merely designated the Great Natuna (Bangoran), the other chief islands in the Natuna group being known by different names peculiar to each of them; and (2) that the early Chinese sea-route to the southern part of the Archipelago lay between the Natunas and the Anambas. This was no doubt the course taken during the north-east monsoon, the favourable time for such a passage, and is the very course followed to this day, and during the same monsoon, by sailing-vessels bound from the China Sea to Sunda Strait. We thus have a continuity of tradition for this sea-route extending over the space of six centuries (i.e. from 1292 to the present day). And, as we may well assume that the Chinese did not discover that route themselves, but learned it from either Arab or Persian pilots who had received the knowledge from their predecessors of, say, six or more centuries before that, we can conclude without fear of exaggeration that such a route was already known and followed in Ptolemy's time and even earlier.

Turning now to the next point, namely, the term *Hsi-tung* applied by the Chinese to the Anambas, it is quite possible that, contrary to what we have noticed in the case of the Natunas, this term not only specifically designated Siāntan Island, but probably included the whole group of the Northern Anambas, for these islands (Siāntan or Terampah; Mata, Yang, or Niulūan; Mubur; Kelong or Tabijan; Mentala or Cocos, etc., to speak only of the largest) lie so close together as to look like one single island to ships passing even within a short distance of them. Moreover, in the Chinese map above referred to, no other island is marked which could in any measure correspond to either these or

<sup>1</sup> There is, besides, a course marked between the Southern Natunas and the Permo coast, i.e. by Api Passage, which must, however, have been known and used long before that by junks proceeding from the southern part of the Archipelago to Borneo or Cochin-China, and vice versa.

any other of the Anambas (Siāntan, of course, excepted), a remarkably strange fact, because Jemāja and Riābu, which are somewhat separated from the rest, might reasonably be expected to have attracted attention and won a place in the Chinese maps and itineraries. Perhaps they failed to do so merely through some oversight; in any case, it is a fact that no other name but *Hsi-tung* appears there to represent the Anamba group. Notwithstanding this, we shall not jump at once to the conclusion, which well might be a rash one, that *Hsi-tung* was the Chinese generic term for the whole of the Anambas. The most reasonable course, I think, is to hold that this was the designation for Siāntan, and at best for the other islands lying immediately close by, forming collectively the group now known as the Northern, or Great, Anambas. As to the West Anambas, of which Jemāja forms the principal feature, and the South Anambas, which are but islets of almost insignificant size, we must conclude for the present that the Chinese either had no term

say, the fifteenth century or later, but traditionally handed down from about 1377, the date of the Javanese conquest, and very likely from far older ages; and from the Chinese factitious transcript *Hsi-tung*, or *Sai-tung*, *Sê-tung*, already appearing in the Chinese map of 1399, we acquire the absolute certainty that the toponymic in question is no modern invention, but must have existed under a very similar form for centuries prior to that period.

Such being the case, it is easy to see that from *Syatan*, *Saitun*, and *Satun* the transition to the Ptolemaic *Satyrôn* is easy. Already we have had occasion to notice that the early Greek, or maybe Alexandrine, navigators, were not a whit behind travellers of later ages<sup>1</sup> in 'making up' toponymics in such a way as to extract some

<sup>1</sup> To give but a few instances for this 'striving after meaning' at the hands of comparatively modern Western travellers, *Daman*, on the coast of Gujarat, is converted into *Demon* (The First Letter book of the East India Company, 1600-1619, London, 1893, p. 247). *I an-c'hâng* (*ride supra*, p. 149) becomes *Ian John* in the "Calendar of State Papers of the East Indies," vol. II (1617-1621), p. 90. The *Mê-nam* River of Siam assumes the oracular form *Memnon* with Hamilton ("A New Account of the East Indies," London, 1744, vol. II, p. 160). *Sijang* Island in Singapore Strait and *Shang-ch'uan* Island in the approach to the Canton River become both *St John* Islands in our charts and the accounts of European travellers (e.g. Dampier, vol. I, p. 406). *Re* (*Burmanice* *lay*) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula rises to the dignity of a *Cidade do Rei* in the early Portuguese maps, and *Cite des rois* in Duval's map, 1686. Old *Tavoy*, otherwise known as *Mro-houng*, is transformed into a *Cidade de los Moros* in an anonymous Portuguese map of circa 1590, and an island in front of it is accordingly marked *I de Moro*. *Ayuthia* the old Siamese capital, is turned into a *Far Eastern Judea in Cocks* "Diary," 1617 (Hakluyt Soc., vol. I, p. 272), and other papers of the period ("Calendar of State Papers, East Indies," vol. II, 1617-21, p. 90). Balbi, 1880, mentions (p. 66) an island *Ma-sacan* near the Indian Bassein (probably *Mazagong*, Bombay), and Valentine Moravia, 1515, applies the name *Menaco* to the Moluccas.

Many other instances of amusing perversions of toponymics in Further India at the hands of travellers and geographers have fallen under our notice in the course of the preceding pages, and an exhaustive list of all of them would occupy many pages. The amusement would, however, reach its climax were such a list supplemented by another one exhibiting the extraordinary changes that other names or native words in the same region have undergone whilst passing through the pen of Western book-writers on these countries. Suffice to point out as fairly good specimens the following — *A Myo-saye*, or town clerk, bailiff, is called a *Meiserry* by Symes ("Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava," 1795), and *Upuray* is playfully converted into *Upper Podger* in a letter dated 1755 from Captain Jackson at Symam in Pegu (Dalrymple's "Oriental Repertory," vol. I, p. 192). Again, a Malay *gadis* or 'virgin' becomes, *mirabile dictu*, apotheosized into a 'goddess' in the parlance of old British residents in Malaya. Thus even the famous Swiftian *All-eggs-under-the-grater* pales before these achievements, so true it is that truth is stranger than fiction.

amusing meaning out of them in their own language whenever they got a chance for so doing. Hence, it should not be surprising that, having heard the term *Syātān*, *Saitān*, *Satān*, or something similar, as being the name of the Northern Anambas, and having noticed at the same time the simian features and habits or the apparel of the natives, who at that time must have been of a Negritic type akin to that of the present Samang of the Malay Peninsula, they thought it a good joke to call the islands they inhabited by the name of *Σατύρων νῆσοι*. From such a stage to the growth of the legend that the inhabitants had tails like the Satyr demigods of Greek mythology it is but a brief step, so easy indeed inasmuch as fabulous stories of tailed men are no less current in the Archipelago than they are on the Indo-Chinese mainland, and have no doubt been repeated by mariners from the remotest period.<sup>1</sup> As



early as the end of the fifth century B.C., in fact, Ktēsiās already hands down a story about a caudate people inhabiting

*Pan-dan, Bien-dan*), 都昆 or 都軍, *Tu-k'un* or *Tu-chun* (*Tu-lun*, *Du-kwēn*), and 比嵩, *Pi-sung* (*Pei-sung*, *Bi-sung*), all of which, he says, have been known since the Sui dynasty, and lie at about 3,000 *li* (500 miles) southwards from *Fu-nan*, across the Bay of *Chin-lin* (*Kēm-lun*, *Kam-run*, *Kamalanka*, or Gulf of Siam? *vide supra*, p. 164). Now, *Pi-sung*, if not exactly *Pulo Pisang*, west of Singapore Strait, must be either the homonymous island at the entrance to the Indragiri River, east coast of Sumatra, or the territory on the *Pasangan* River, termed *Pisangan* in the *Pāsaī* chronicle, westwards of *Pasai*, north coast of Sumatra. Both this river and territory (or village) on its banks are called *Pissang* by Hamilton ("New Account of the East Indies," London, 1744, vol. II, p. 125). *Pan-t'ou* or *Pien t'ou* may be *Bantau* in *Sungei Ujong*, on the *Linga* River (west coast of Malay Peninsula), but it may as well refer to the *Pandiya* tribe, a branch of the *Sambiring* division of the *Battak*. *Tu k'un* or *Tu-lun*, *Du-kwēn*, I would not, of course, identify with the little *Dolan* Island, or *Menali*, northwards from *Bangka*, but rather with the two islands of *Telung* lying in the entrance to *Johor* River, *Singapore* Strait. Otherwise, the place *Tolūn*, in the centre of *Province Wellesley* (almost directly east of *Penang* town), where the ancient inscriptions mentioned on p. 93 *ante* occur, may be meant. (See, however, *supra*, p. 641, note 2.) Finally, *Chiu-li*, *Kau-li*, *Ki-li'an* (*Koh* or *Guri*), is as likely as not, either *Ghur* or *Haru*.

an island in the Indian Sea. Moreover, it is very likely that, in the old days, the Anambas were inhabited by a race similar to the present Semang of the neighbouring seaboard of the Malay Peninsula, and still more so to the Tambusu and Brū tribes of Pulo Tingi and adjacent islands off the Johor coast, which lie quite close by. All these tribes are very ill-favoured; simian, in fact, in appearance and habits, while *Semang* or *Syamang* is the Malay word for a baboon, and *Bū* (although probably connected with *Prū*, *Bū*, *Bras*, etc., see above, pp 73, 129, 130) is the name of a large ape in Pahang and Kelantan<sup>1</sup>. Hence it is easy of comprehension

to seek shelter in the channels between the northern islands of that group, where Siāntan, above all others, would offer them good sheltered anchorage in the bays and inlets of its north coast<sup>1</sup>. Hence the acquaintance of the early navigators with the Northern or Great Anambas, and more especially with *Syatan* or Siāntan, after which they came to give the name of Satyron Islands to that group. The three islands reckoned in it by Ptolemy may correspond to—(1) *Mobur*, (2) *Niulūan*, otherwise called *Mīta* and *Yang*, and (3) *Syātan* or Siāntan, now also known as *Terampah*, from the village and bay of that name on its north coast. However, as these three islands, together with those immediately adjoining of *Kelong* or *Tabiyan*, *Bajau* or *Nyāmok*, *Panjang*, *Mentala*, *Tānah puniat*, *Ākar*, etc., form a surprisingly compact group, so as not to appear as distinct members of the cluster except after a very close inspection of their coastline, I would not be altogether disinclined to assume that the three Ptolemaic islands correspond to—(1) the Siāntan group, or Great Anambas, (2) the *Jamūja* group or West Anambas, and (3) the *Rūibu* group, or South Anambas. Nevertheless, for the reasons above specified, I prefer to identify them with the Siāntan group, which itself already includes three large islands, or exactly the number mentioned by the great Alexandrian geographer.

The corrected position obtained for the Satyron cluster on the basis of the data Ptolemy has supplied us with does, indeed, fall, as already noticed, just midway between the Siāntan group and the Great Natuna, but such a result should not be relied upon, as it is quite conceivable there may yet be a slight error in excess in longitude. It would prove at best that the navigators of that period availed themselves at times of the passage between the Anambas and Natunas, which we already know they some times did. But it should be borne in mind that the fairway

<sup>1</sup> The two best anchorages of the whole group of the Northern Anambas are in fact to be found in two inlets of Siāntan Island itself viz. in *Terampah* cove on its northern and *Telok Ayer* bial on its southern coast.

in this passage lies on the side of the Anambas, and not of the Natunas; so that Chinese vessels proceeding to the west coast of Borneo were obliged, as we have pointed out, to take a detour to the west of the North Natuna in order to clear the Pyramidal rocks and other dangers, thus getting within no great distance of the Great Anambas. To the navigators of the Ptolemaic period, moreover, the object being to reach the Straits and not West Borneo, their course lay entirely by way of the Anambas, so that their object, after passing Pulo Sapatu and Pulo Condor, must have been to make any point within the channel between the Anambas and Pulo Tyūman or Pulo Aor as their imperfect methods of navigation would enable them to reach. Under such circumstances, the sighting of the North Anambas would be of paramount importance for them in directing their further course to the Straits, because these islands, from the fact of possessing peaks upwards of 1,300 and 1,800 feet high; form very conspicuous landmarks. It would then depend on whether chance had brought them eastward or westward of them as to which they availed themselves of. For these reasons, I very much doubt if they ever caught sight of the Natunas at all; but even admitting they did, they must have had but a very hazy idea of them, and consequently I have been led to exclude this group of islands altogether from the range of their 'Islands of the Satyrs.'

I deem it unnecessary to dwell upon the absurd identifications that have been from time to time propounded for this mysterious insular cluster. The author who most sensibly treated of them is certainly the one who, in Smith's "Dictionary of Classical Geography," surmised that they were perhaps the Anamba group, and the Satyrs who inhabited them apes resembling men. Colonel Yule's passage, still occurring in the third edition of his *magnum opus*,<sup>1</sup> suggesting their possible identity with Marco Polo's

<sup>1</sup> "Marco Polo" vol. II, p. 277, where it is quoted from the same author's "Oldest Records of the Sea-route," etc., p. 657.

*Sondur* and *Condur*, and of these again with the *Sandarfulât* of the Arabs, is in every way unfortunate.

In conclusion, I trust to have demonstrated that the two terms, to wit, the Ptolemaic *Satyrôn* as well as the Chinese *Hsi-tung*, 西 叢, are both intimately connected with the group of the Northern or Great Anambas; and more especially with the most accessible, populated, and hospitable one of them, formerly known as *Syutan*, and nowadays as *Siântan*. Owing to these islands being, in Ptolemy's time, inhabited by some large species of apes, but more probably by some aboriginal race not far different to them in features and habits, the name *Syâtan* readily suggested to the good-humoured Greek or Alexandrian mariners the term *Σάτυροι*, and *Σατύρων νῆσοι* for the islands themselves. It is not at all unlikely, however, that either monkeys or simian-like aborigines had nothing to do with the matter; but that the epithet *Satyrôn* for the islands in question simply occurred to those navigators as a felicitous improvement upon the original toponymic, *Syutan* already bearing such a striking resemblance to it; and that the legend of tailed men inhabiting these islands was a sailor's yarn fabricated upon such a coincidence. *Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula.*

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## APPENDIX I.

## ON THE SEVEN SEAS OF INDIA AND FURTHER INDIA.

In order to demonstrate that my identifications of the Seven Seas of Indū, Arab, and even Far-Eastern tradition, referred to above on pp. 80, 91, 164-5, 201, 237, 243-9, etc., are not merely conjectural, I here subjoin the results I have arrived at in a tabulated form, so that one may be able to see at a glance the impossibility of denying the correspondence I have asserted to exist on the whole between the names and locations respectively assigned to the seas in question by different Eastern nations.

RĀMĀYAṆA.	PURĀṆAS.	BUDDHIST LITERATURE.	ARAB AND MALAY LITERATURES.	CHINESE, ETC.
1. ———	1. <i>Larāṇa</i> , sea of salt water, surrounds Jambudvīpa (India).	<i>Loṇa-sāgara</i> , encompassing Jambudvīpa. 1. <i>Khuramāla</i> , <i>Khuramāli</i> , abounding with diamonds. <sup>1</sup>	1. <i>Lāryān</i> , or <i>Lār</i> , sea.	———
2. ———  (from Bengal eastward:)	2. <i>Ikṣu</i> , <i>Ikṣura-soda</i> , <i>Ikṣurasodala</i> , sea of sugar-cane juice, bounds Plakṣa dvīpa (Arakan and Burmā).	<i>Phalika-sāgara</i> , crystalline and sweetlikesugar; it surrounds Amatagoyana. 2. <i>Aggimāla</i> , <i>Aggimāli</i> , blazing like a bonfire. <sup>1</sup>	2. <i>Herkend</i> , or <i>Harkand</i> , sea. (From <i>Uraga</i> , <i>Urahenda</i> = 'snake'?)	<i>Mars de serpe</i> (Snake Sea) of Portuguese, according to Balbi (f. 133 verso), 1586. Perhaps so named from <i>Nāga-rūsa</i> or <i>Nāga-rūti</i> (Cape Negrais).
3. <i>Kālodaka</i> , sea of black water.	———	———	3. <i>Kālābhār</i> , sea of Kalāh. <i>Tāppān</i> (= Daban, Dāvan?) sea (Kedah Annals, cited 1250-1300 in <i>Journal Indian Archipelago</i> , lii, 7).	<i>Kāla-sindhu</i> , ocean bathing the Peguan coast (Peguan chronicle).

<sup>1</sup> *Suppāraka Jātaka* (No. 463). The enumeration in this text starts from Bharukaccha (Bharuch or Bharoach, on the north side of the Narmadā River in Western India).

## APPENDIX II

ON INDO CHINESE TERMS IN THE PTOLEMAIC GEOGRAPHY  
OF EXTRA GANGETIC INDIA

One of the convincing proofs that the Ptolemaic extra Gangetic toponomatology is by no means fanciful, as some of our geographer's captious critics have been pleased to insinuate—in order to palliate their inability either to decipher or locate his place names—is to be found in the fact that many of such toponyms contain terms traceable to the languages of the nations that are or were in our author's time, settled in the regions he treats of

On the other hand the sweeping statement made by some writers that all or most, of the toponyms mentioned by Ptolemy in extra Gangetic India are Sanskrit or Sanskrit derived must be considerably discounted. For albeit many of the place names in question owe their origin to the influence of Indian civilization, or to Indu immigrants who transplanted them here from their fatherland, a considerable proportion of them are of genuine local growth and belong to the language of the country, as we have been showing in the course of the preceding pages. The importance of this second class of toponyms cannot be passed over, for in more than one instance they supply us with an ethnographical clue to the sort of language then spoken and the race of people then settled in a particular district, thus throwing glimmers of light into the darkness of the unknown early history of these nations.

1 *Moñ terms*

Foremost in number come the toponyms derived from the Moñ (Peguan) language, which extend from the coast of Arakan down to the Malay Peninsula, thus evidencing that the coastline and some inland tracts of that region were then occupied by Moñ speaking populations a fact which explains the considerable proportion of Moñ words surviving to this day in the languages of the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula and North Sumatra as well as in the place names on the north coast of Sumatra (see p 656 above)

The Ptolemaic place names in this region which in our opinion may be traced to the Moñ language are the following —

No 41 **Katabeda** (river) a term connected with *Kutubdia* (= *Kutub dira*?) island. It looks like a hybrid Moñ Indu compound of *katu*, *kathu* (a junk in Moñ) + *bedā*, *reda* (a boat

in Sanskrit-Pāli). If so, its second part would be merely the translation, made by the early Indū navigators, of the initial one. No wonder, then, that the foreign rendering was dropped in the course of time and the native one alone, *Katu*, *Kāthu*, preserved. *Kutubdia* would thus mean 'Boat Island,' and *Katabēda* the 'River of Boat Island (*Kutub-dīca*).'<sup>1</sup>

- No. 46. *Tokosanna* (river). This term may represent either of the Mōñ compounds: *T'ḷḷ San*, *T'ḷḷ-sōn* (*San* Island, or 'Silver Island'), or *T'ḷḷ-saiñ*, *T'ḷḷ-'san* ('Elephant Island'). N.B.—'*Saiñ* means 'elephant' in Arakanese, and is merely the local pronunciation of the Mōñ *saiñ*, *choiñ*, *ching*. Otherwise, the *Sakaen* River, a branch of the Lemru debouching in Hunter Bay, may be meant. *T'ḷḷ-Sakaen* = 'Sakaen Island' may have been the name of some island in the bay, after which the river was usually designated.

No. 48. *Sados* (river).

No. 49. *Sada* (city).

Thate (*Sale*) or Thaday (*Saday*) River, immediately to the north of the Sandoway River. Cf *Sedu*, *Sidoh*, on north coast of Sumatra (*vide supra*, p. 656).

- No. 79. *Takola* (a mart), now Takopa. The etymology is probably *Taiḷ-kūla* = 'brick (or laterite) building of the *Gola* or *Chola* people of Coromandel'

Even more interesting are the following toponyms of the Bē or Bēr class, from *Bi*, the Mōñ word for 'river,' variously misspelled *Bē*, *Bēr*.<sup>2</sup>

- No. 50. *Bērabonna*. The first part of this name might be traceable to either *bi*, *bier* = 'river,' or to *para* = 'mouth' in Naga; and if not to the Bengalese *Bara* and the Sanskrit-Pāli *Bara*, *Vara*. Cf. Ibn Batūta's *Barah-nagār* (pp. 400–2, note) I have also pointed out (above, pp. 400–3) a possible connection with the Bharu kingdom of the Phyū or Phrū.

<sup>1</sup> This toponym might, on the other hand, be traced, though very doubtfully I should think, to the Mōñ *K'dop* = 'head.'

<sup>2</sup> To St Andrew St John belongs the merit of having first recognized the Mōñ word *Bi* in Ptolemy's place-names of the Bē class. I am furthermore inclined to include in the same category such Ptolemaic toponyms as begin with Bēr or Pēr. Thus on the strength of the fact that Balbi (op cit, f. 133 verso) mentions a place at the mouth of the Martaban river, called *Cadaperpau*, as meaning 'head of the sea (or river) mouth.' The correct Mōñ form of the name should be *K'dop-bi-paiñ*; hence we see that Balbi transcribes *bi* by *per*, which would tend to show that in his time *bi* may have been pronounced somewhat like *bir*, *bier*. As a matter of fact, 'sea-mouth' or 'river-mouth' is rendered in Mōñ by '*paiñ-bi*,' and not '*bi-paiñ*,' and the genuine native form of the toponym recorded by Balbi was probably *Paiñ K'dop-bi* = 'Mouth of the sea head,' or else *K'dop Paiñ-bi*, 'River-mouth head.'



In this region exists a village bearing a similar name, to wit, Barrebam, and Mraboong river, a branch of the Lemro further up the coast

Nos 57, 58 Besynga (a mart and a river)

No 243 Bēsyingeital (people)

In both these names one can unmistakably recognize the Mōñ words *Bī ching* (*sing, saiñ, choiñ*) = 'Elephant River,' i.e. the Irāvati (Irawaddy), as connected with the *Singuttara* or 'Elephant Hill' of local legend (see pp 76-7 above)  
NB—The land's point bounding the western entrance to the Rangūn River preserves a relic of this name, it being known to this day as the Elephant Point

No 77 Berabai (a town) Similar considerations apply to the first part of this toponym as made above for the initial portion of Berabonna. In the second part *bai*, we may have either the Mōñ *paiñ* = 'mouth,' or the Chin *p'ayo*, and, yet better, the Tamil *aiy* with the same meaning. On the other hand, a similar term, *paracet*, exists in Tamil meaning 'bird'. On the whole, I am inclined to regard the toponym as entirely Mōñ, and to restore it to the form *Bī beit* (*Bier bait*), where *beit*, *biek*, etc., represent the Mōñ name of Mergui, corrupted probably from *mrit*, *mārit* (see above, pp 82-3). I have now no further doubt that this *Beit* or *Bait* (i.e. Mergui) is the hitherto unidentified seaport of *Mait* or *Mabit* mentioned by Ibn Khurdadbīh (A.D. 864), Captain Bozorg (A.D. 955), and Edrisi (A.D. 1154). *Bī beit* or *Bier bait* would thus mean the river of *Mrit* or *Mait*, i.e. Mergui, nowadays better known as the Tenasserim River.

No 77. Bepyrros (mountain range, corresponding to the Patkoi mountains) While not venturing to suggest a Mōñ equivalent for this place name, I tentatively enter it here along with the above-mentioned ones of the *Bē* or *Bī* class, on the supposition that it may belong to the same category as might be inferred from its initial syllable. If not Mōñ, it might stand for *Vaiśhrāja* or *Vēśhrāja*, the name of a mountain in *Plakṣa-dvīpa*, according to Indū cosmology.

## 2 Malay terms

We may notice the following —

No 81 Palanda (an inland town on the Golden Khersonese)

No 85 Palandas or Palandos (river)

Both these toponyms embody, as I have but lately discovered the name of the *Dilandas*, *Blandas*, or *Belendas*,

a tribe now still surviving in the Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan districts, on the Malay Peninsula, not far from Perak (between Selangor and Malacca). This tribe, of the Mentra or Sakei family, non-Negrito, may have been so named from the Pulindas of India.

As Palanda and the Palandos River are, in De Donis' map, located further along the coast beyond Sabana, the Palandos may, after all, be either the Klang or the Langat River, unless it is meant for the Pahang on the east coast of the Peninsula.

Nos. 88, 184. *Attaba* (river). Here we have the Malay word *attap* (*atap*)=roof, thatch. The name may have been given to this stream from attap palms growing on its banks. See, however, p. 105 above for another possible *raison d'être* of the name. Although in Kamboja a similar toponym exists, viz. *Attapū* (in maps *Attopou*), which is in reality a corrupt form of the Khmer *Ach-krahū*, 'buffalo dung,' I but little incline to see a repetition of the same here, on the Malay Peninsula, in the Ptolemaic *Attaba*.

No. 86. *Sabana* (a mart). This name suggests either of the Malay terms: *Sabah*, *Sapang*, and *Saban*. The first two occur as toponyms, while the latter is the Malay corruption of the name of the well-known ancient Indū potentate *Śaivāhana*. Ptolemy mentions another *Sabana* among Indo-Skythian towns, but the correct original of this may be *Savana* or *Śracana*.

### 3. *Tamil terms.*

A number of Choja settlements of immigrants from the Coromandel coast had grown on the seaboard of the Malay Peninsula, as evidenced by many a place becoming known as *Tail-kulā* (Choja brick buildings), viz. in the neighbourhood of Tathôn, at Tagala, at Takôpa, etc. Accordingly, we find many place-names transplanted from the Coromandel coast to the Malay Peninsula, among which I believe may be reckoned the following ones recorded by Ptolemy:—

No. 83. *Tharrha* (an inland town or village on the Golden Khersonese). The word meant is probably *Tarangam*; cf. *Tarangam-bādī* = 'Wave Town,' the name of Tranquebar, Skr. *Taranga* = a wave. We have identified it with *Trānganū*, Malay *Treng-ganū*, of the present day.

No. 87. *Maleu-kolon* (a cape) = *Malai-karram* or *Malai-kollam*. In Tamil *malai* means 'mountain,' and *kollam* = 'western'

Hence *Malai lollam* = 'Mountain of the West' The view adopted in "Hobson Jobson" (2nd ed., p. 545) that *Malayukulon* means 'Malays of the West' in Javanese is therefore, to say the least, very strange. On *Malaiikkuriam* or *Mala luta* see Burnell, op. cit., p. 127, note.

No 90 *Perimula* and *Perimulik Gulf*

Cf the *Perimuda* of Ælian in the south of the Coromandel coast, also the *Perimula* of Pliny = Ptolemy's *Symilla* (*Tiamula*), now Chaul. The location corresponds, on the whole, to the one we have assumed for the *Mula Jurah* of Ibn Batūta, in which the first portion, *mula*, of the name is, as likely as not, a survival of either of the two Ptolemaic toponyms forming the object of this paragraph (see p. 444, note 2, and p. 517).

4 *Khmer terms*

No 96 *Akadra* = *Kā trāl* ('Shuttle Island'), or *Kā Trang* ('Trang Island,' as opposite to the Trang district on the main)

No 123 *Zabai, Zaba* (a city) = *Sāi* ('mango tree'), or *Sai-thup* ('dwarf mango trees, the name to this day of a district in Kamboja). The term *Sai* probably still survives in the name *Sai rap* (*Sai rap?*) of the Saigon River.

We have, furthermore, some terms of the *Ba* or *Pa* class, where this syllable stands for *ba*, *pa*, *bah*, meaning 'great,' 'chief,' 'noble' in Khmer, Chām, and some of the Malay dialects especially Javanese ('abundant'), and 'river mouth,' 'confluent' in the Bahnar and other dialects of the semi-wild tribes in the interior of Kamboja. To such a class presumably belong the following toponyms —

No 91 *Balongka* (an inland town on the Golden Khersonese) = *Bā lanka* ('Large Island,' or 'Noble Island')? Probably the capital of the *Lanka* or *Kamalanlā* State mentioned in this region by Hwen tsang (Yuan Chwang).

No 93 *Pagrasa* = *Ba krua* ('Great Krat,' or else 'Krat river mouth').

An example of a Sanskrit P li name in Khmer form is

No 95 *Pithōnobastē* (a mart) = *Banthāi mās* or *P thai māi* ('Golden Citadel')

N B — In Malay *pantes pantas*, means 'coast,' 'beach,' 'shore,' and *Pantas māi* occurs as the name of a village on the west coast of Pinang Island, but the etymology is, as in the Khmer toponym above referred to, traceable to Sanskrit *dhātis*.

\* Cf. however the Mōn *pa* = the Tam *radu*, and the Chin *p ayō*

(Pāli *dhātta*) = 'wall' + Skr. *vṛṣa* (Pāli *vṛṣa*) = 'gold,' 'golden' Pithōnobastō is, nevertheless, a transcript of the Khmer form of this Sanskrit Pāli expression, and not of the Malay one

### 5 *Chām terms*

No 125 *Balunga* (metropolis) Here we assuredly have the Chām *bal* ('palace,' 'capital,' 'royal residence') + *Angur* (the Chām corrupted form of *Anga*, the adopted Indū classical name for the Champā kingdom)<sup>1</sup>

No 117. *Pagrassa* *Prakan* or *Pakam* Chinese, *Pi ling*; Annamese *Ti-lân* Hence it may be seen that the toponym is neither Chinese nor Annamese It might at first sight appear to be of Khmer origin, like the seemingly etymologically identical one, *Pagrassa* (No 97), on the coast of Kamboja (= *Bā* [or *Pā*] *krās*, *Pā grāsa*) But we have noticed that the same prefix *Bī* or *Pū* occurs in Chām as well I might suggest, as nearer the mark, *Pū-Kāzēh* ('mouth of the *Kāzēh* [River]' see above, p 310)

A trace of tampering through Chām lispings of the *s* has been noticed by us in

No 122 *Thagora*, which we believe to be meant for *Thāgara*, in Sanskrit *Sāgara*

### 6 *Terms from other languages of Indo China*

No 76 *Lasippa*, *Lassypa* or *Lasyppa* = *Sī poh* (Thibo), or else [Wieng] *Sipu kai*, *Lā sēp*, *Lā sēt* (?), probably a Thai term

No 74 *Doana* (town)

Nos 118, 182 *Doanas* (river)

No 226 *Doānai* (people)

From the *Tuan* or *Thūang* tribes The *Doans*, or *Doanai*, are the *Tuan*, 段, of the Chinese, one of the original ten families of the Ai-Lao, mentioned since before the Christian era

No 75 *Bareukora* (var. lect *Bareuāōra*) or *Bareuathra* The first form of this toponym is probably connected with the name of the *P'hū ōr*, *P'hū ō*, or *P'hūen* tribes (see next paragraph) If not we must assume a derivation from *Bharu vara* *Bharu vāsa*

No 224 *Barrhai* (people) = the *P'hū ō* or *P'hūen* tribes, in Chinese *P'u ér h* *P'u 'r h*

<sup>1</sup> To C O Blagden belongs the merit of having first discerned the Chām name *Bal Angur* in the Ptolemaic disguise of *Balunga* (see the *Journal R A S* for 1899, p 665)

No 172 *Damassa* (*var lect Damasa*), or *Dobassa* (mountain range)

No 218 *Dabasai*, or *Damassai*? (people)

The name assuredly survives in that of the *Tamansai* of the Indaw-gyi lake valley, Mogaung (Upper Burmā), evidently a tribe of Lawā. Either may, moreover, be traceable to *Dava*, *Davāka*, *Lāu*, *Lawā*, or to *Dārva*, a people in the north east region according to the *Bṛhat Samhitā*

No 220 *Kakobai* (people) Seemingly the Kiu-ku Miao of West Kwei chou. Possibly also the *Khalhu* or northern branch of the Kachins. *Khalhu* means 'head of river,' 'up river man'. There seems to be no possible etymological connection with the *Kakabalas* of Sanskrit texts (cf Wilson's "Vishnu-Purana," vol II, pp 179, 341)"

No 216 *Indaprathai* (people) Evidently meant for *Sindapratthai* = the Sinphos or Chungpaws, i.e. the Southern Kachins

No 223 *Kudutai* (people) The *K'a t'o* or *Kadu* who are probably the *Kuluta* mentioned by the *Bṛhat Samhitā* in the north east region. With them might also be connected the modern *Lo tē*, whose country lies on the border of China proper near Sz mao (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part I, vol I, pp 595-6)

No 73 *Lariagara* = Muang Lem, originally a Lawa town. The Ptolemaic designation, though traceable to a Sanskritized form *Lari agura* *Larugara*, seemingly contains in its initial portion *Lari*, the name of the Lawā tribe in north east Burmā, formerly known to the Chinese as *La wu* or *La lu* (= *La ru*?)<sup>1</sup> Less probably the *Lahu* of Upper Burmā are implied, who appear to be ethnographically connected with the *Kui* or *Mu Hso*, whom the Chinese term *Lo heir* or *Lo hé*, i.e. 'niggers,' according to the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (part I, vol I, pp 576 578-9). The same work relates (p 608) that the Panthay or Hui hui of Yun nan claim to be descendants of men from the *Lerru* country. Have we here a dim traditional reminiscence referring to the ancient *La ru* or *Lari* country alluded to above?

No 39 *Tugma* (metropolis) = Tammu or Tamu in the Kubo valley. The Ptolemaic toponym might be the transcript of a Sanskritized form, *Tugāma*, or *Tugrama*, of the name,

<sup>1</sup> See Sanson's transl of the 'Nan Tchao Ye che' Paris Leroux, 1904, p 176

which seems, however, to belong to the language of the country, whether Mōñ or other. There exist, in fact similarly named villages in several parts of Burmā, among which are a *Tokamā* (Tawhama) in Bhilū gyun Island, a *Tokma* or *Tuikma* in Kāma townshup, Thayetmyo, and again in Sinbaungwè, Myedè. See, however, Addenda below, note to p 471, for a possible form *Tumigama*.

- No 54 *Arisabion* = Shenbo, or Sinbo. The name may be however, Sanskrit derived (see p 63 above), or else it may be native in origin and Sanskritized afterwards.

### 7 *Sanskrit and Pālī terms*

The outcome of the above cursory examination is that the proportion of genuine Sanskrit or Pālī terms in the Ptolemaic lists of toponyms of his extra Gangetic India is very small indeed especially if it be taken into account that some of his place names which at first sight would be thought to be Sanskrit in origin turn out, after a diligent inquiry, to be merely Sanskritized forms of some native name. These facts well evidence that Indian influence, though already considerable in Further India in Ptolemy's time, had not yet spread so widely and deeply in that region as it did in the subsequent centuries.

It would be beyond the scope of the present appendix to deal with the Sanskrit and Pālī derived toponyms occurring in the Ptolemaic geographical lists of this region especially as they have been already thoroughly noticed and discussed in the foregoing pages. Suffice it to summarily subjoin here the principal of them —

- No 47 *Sambra* = *Sambra* (or *Sambhu*?)  
 Nos 51, 52 *Temala* or *Tamala* (a river and a town) = *Tamala* *Timira* (Ch i mi hla)  
 No. 55 *Mareura* or *Malthura* (metropolis) = *Mayura* *Moriya* or *Mathura*  
 No 56 *Sabara* = *Sabara*, *Savara*  
 No 69 *Adeisaga* = *Vidisa* *Vaidisa*, or *Telisa*, perhaps *Vaidēha* *Videha* or [*Pubba*] *Videha*  
 No 72 *Rhingiberi* = *Raviga vari*, or *Paniga pura* (Chieng Rung)  
 No 74 *Dasana* = *Dasārna*  
 No 89 *Koli* = *Koli* *Koli* (Kelantan)  
 No 92 *Samarade* = *S ma ratthē* *Sama rattha* *Sj i na rūstra*  
 No 93 *Sobanos* (river) = *Sobla ia* (Kap hong Som River)  
 No 41 *Trilingon* = *Tri* [*Kā*] *lu ga* *Telingana*

- No 113 Seros (river) = *Sarayu, Sarju* (Chinese *Hsi yu*)  
 No 114 Aganagara = *Agganagara, Agranagara* (or *Naganagara Uraga nagara*?)  
 No 115 Sinda (town) }  
 No 220 Indoi (Sindoi?) tribes } = *Sindhu, Sindh*  
 No 116 Dorias (river) = *Turyā*? (in Thai, *Tuu*, in Annamese, *Dau*)  
 No 117 Kortatha (metropolis) = *Kuthara Kauthara* (Kûu duk)  
 No 120 Throana = *Torana, Turana, Tusun* (Turân, or Tourn)  
 No 122 Thagora = *Sugara, Sagara*  
 No 129 Aspithra (a river and a town) = *Vanaspati* (Ho p'u, Hiep pho)  
 No 242 Zamirai (people) = *Samira* (Zabaing Sa mi, Sa mei)

### 8 *Hellenized terms*

I cannot conclude this review without devoting a word of notice to Hellenized terms, that is to say, to sundry attempts to render into Greek the meaning of Further Indian toponyms, and at times to disguise them in a Greek garb so as to express a meaning therefrom when their real purport proved to be unintelligible. There can be no doubt that this process of Hellenization was in most instances the work of the Greek Alexandrine navigators and travellers who for many years before Ptolemy's time, had been journeying to the Further Indian region and should by no means be ascribed *in toto* to our geographer. To this desire of striving after meaning which, being general in travellers of all times and countries, cannot very well be held to form an exception in the case of the Greek ones, we have already made allusion on p. 412 above, quoting in support of our view several Ptolemaic toponyms which appear to exhibit unmistakable traces of Hellenization. We shall here revert only to such as belong to Indo-China proper,<sup>1</sup> of which the following

No 43 **Pentapolis** Seemingly a translation of the Sanskrit *Pañca palli* = 'five cities' (*cide supra*, pp 35, 36)

**Argyra Khōra**, 'the Silver Country' = Arakan

No 127 **Argyrē** (the capital of Iabadios, or Sabadios, Island)

I have coupled with the continental toponym the second one from the insular region, in order to show that 'Silver' is very probably out of the question for both places, and that its introduction into the two toponyms is merely the outcome of Greek fancy, struck, as it must have been, by the impressive resemblance of the corresponding native place names to the Greek word for the white metal. On pp 40-1 and 658-9, 667-8 above, I have tried to demonstrate the linguistical identity of *Argyra* with *Parāṣa*, *Araṣa*, *Araḷḷha* - Arakan, and of *Argyre* with *Acchare*, *Acchayira*, *Acchera*, *Acheh* = Achin

Nevertheless, I do not absolutely exclude a possible connection with *plāṣa*, *palāṣa*, 'white,' from which *parāṣa*, *araḷḷha*, *raḷḷha*, as surmised above (pp 39-40 and 658-60, 668), in which case both Arakan and Acheh would mean 'the White (or, Silvery?) Region' of which meaning the Ptolemaic toponym would be a Greek rendering

**Khryse Khora**, 'the Gold Country'

**Khrysē Khersonesos**, 'the Golden Khersonese'

Nos 81, 186 **Khrysoāna** (river)

I also group together these three toponyms which evidently have analogous derivations. They are, in fact, either translations of the Sanskrit and Pali terms *Suvarṇa dvīpa*, *Suvarṇabhūmi*, *Suvarṇa nadī*, etc., or mere Greek travesties of place names sounding more or less like the Greek word *Khryse*. What such place names might be it is not easy to determine, but, arguing from the fact that Valentijn has disguised into *Chrysoarant* the name of the *Kāsang* River (see Addenda and Corrigenda, *infra*, note to p 97), Ptolemy's *Khrysoana* not unlikely is a rendering of some similar local name *Kasang*, *Kasom*, *Kusan* *Krṇā*, etc. On the possible etymological connection of *Khryse* or *Khruse* (Island and Peninsula) with *Kusa* or *Kusa-dvīpa* (= Sumatra), see pp 670-672 above. As regards *Khrysē* (Khora) in Lower Burmā, cf the [*Taing*] *Kutsu* district about Rungūn (see p 76 above), and the *Katha* (*Kasa*) district west of Tagaung

No 222 **Khalkitis** (people) Though at first sight the Ptolemaic designation of this people appear to be based upon *Khalkos* or copper, the metal which, according to our author, was mined



in large quantities in their country, there seems scarcely any doubt as to the real derivation being from the name *Kulalā* (= 'squirrel'), or *Kara* (*Kala*?) *laka*, i.e. Black *Laka* (or *Laka Lolo*), of the Black Lolos inhabiting the same country (Eastern Yunnan), the *Karajang* of Marco Polo. Their name *Kulaku* or *Kala Laka*, coupled with the information that their country produced copper (*khalkos*), naturally suggested the connotation *Khalkitis* for them to the Greek travellers, and, if not, to Ptolemy himself. See pp 356 and 358, n 2.

- No 227 *Lestai* (people) The conjecture put forward on p 156 above that this Ptolemaic ethnonym may really be meant for 'robbers' being possibly at the same time the transcript and rendering of some term current in the country (such as e.g. *latta* or *lataka*) and having the same purport, seemingly receives further corroboration from the fact that Chou Ta kuan in the account of his travels in Kamboja (A.D. 1296-7) refers to the Chong as *Chucang Tsei*, i.e. the 'Chong (or Chong) Robbers' (see *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extr. Or.*, t. II, No 2, p 156). It is, of course, possible that by 撞賊, *Chucang Tsei*—in Cantonese pronunciation *Chong ts'ak*—this writer may mean both the *Chōng* and *Sal* tribes. If not it seems pretty certain that Ptolemy's ethnonym *Lestai* should really be taken in the sense of 'robbers' and that the people meant are principally the *C'ōng*, as I have on other grounds inferred above (pp 157-9).

## APPENDIX III

ON THE DATE TO WHICH PTOLEMY'S INFORMATION ON  
FURTHER INDIA IS TO BE REFERRED

I thought it might be interesting to see whether the approximate date at which the information on Further India embodied in Ptolemy's work was collected can in any way be deduced from the indications he gives, or ascertained by way of inference from certain of the capital towns he names of which the date when they became the seat of government happens to be more or less accurately known from historical sources and falls not far earlier than Ptolemy's time. Such an inquiry as this presents a two sided advantage for in cases when the dates supplied to us by Oriental records are reliable they afford a clue wherewith to determine the approximate date to which Ptolemy's information goes back, whereas when they are doubtful they may be to some extent checked and rectified by the mere fact of the event to which they refer being alluded to or not in Ptolemy's work. It may, indeed in such cases be possible to class the event as a *pre* or a *post*

now Tonkin, as we have suggested on p. 332; and furthermore, if the seat of government for the Kiao-chi district was really removed in *circa* A.D. 25 thence to Mě-liñ as some historians assert (see pp. 323, 324), it would follow that Ptolemy's information on Tonkin would date from some time prior to that removal—say, from the first quarter of the first century A.D.

4. Ptolemy mentions, in W. Yunnan, a town Posinara which I have identified with the capital Pěh-ngai of the *Pěh-ts* State (B.C. 109–A.D. 225), corresponding to the present Hung-ngai about 20–5 miles south-west of Chao-chou in the Ta-li prefecture (see below, Addenda and Corrigenda, note to p. 121). Now in A.D. 69 the Yung-ch'ang prefecture was formed by the East Han, with the modern Chao-chou (in Ta-li Fu) as its capital, out of eight neighbouring districts mostly belonging to the ancient Ai-Lao country (see Ma Tuan-lin, *op. cit.*, p. 176). As Ptolemy seems to ignore this large Chinese circumscription of Yung-ch'ang, his information on this part of the country must date back to some time prior to A.D. 69.

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

p 6, bottom Our subsequent investigations have proved that even such a connection suggested by Yule of Zabai with Campi is inadmissible See article s v, pp 213 et seqq

p 9, l 18 Kamberikhon It strikes me that the last syllable of this toponym may stand for *guon*, the local (Bengalese) corruption of Skr *grama* = a 'village' If so, the name might be a loose transcript of *Kuma vari grama*, *Kambersi gāon*, or something similar This being the case, it is worthy of remark that a village Kewari (*Kewari gāon*?) exists near the left bank of the Haringhata River, on the Delta, after which this outlet of the Ganges may have been anciently termed the '*Kewari guon*' (River), whence Ptolemy's Kambērikhon In the event of this conjecture proving from local inquiry to be well founded, Ptolemy's Kambērikhon, or middle mouth of the Ganges, would become identical with the lower course of the Haringhāta River, the true longitude of which is  $89^{\circ} 50' E$ , and a corresponding correction would have to be made to our Kamberikhon base meridian, for which we have adopted a longitude of  $89^{\circ} 30' E$  only

p 35 Pentapolis The Catalan Atlas has a town *Penta* below *Bangala*, which might have been the historical continuation of the Ptolemaic one The northern entrance point of the Chittagong (Karnaphuli) River still bears a similar name, to wit, *Patunga* Point Furthermore, a somewhat similar toponym, *Patikkara*, identified with Chittagong, occurs in a Burmese inscription of A D 1184 (see "Inscriptions of Pagan," etc, Rangoon, 1899, p 4) See for other linguistical remarks Appendix II, section 7, above

p 36, l 8 from bottom Kutubdia In recent maps this name is spelled *Kutabdia*, a still closer approach to Ptolemy's Katabēda The correct form may be *Katabdia*, if not *Kutubaidu*, as Wilford wrongly suggested for Cheduba The river Ptolemy had in mind was apparently the Mamuri, which debouched by several outlets abreast of Kutabdia Island For other linguistical considerations see Appendix II, section 1, above

p 39, note 1 As regards silver in Arakan, the "Sommaro dei regni e popoli Orientali," translated from the Portuguese by Ramusio (vol. 1, p 334 verso), says of *Araquam* (Arakan) that "*vi si trova anche qualche argento*" Numerous are the silver mines in the adjoining Burmese territory, for which see the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part 1, vol II, pp 301, 302, 304, and part II p 527 McLeod in his Journal, p 79, mentions one in Muang Lam, and Dr Richardson likewise in his 'Journal,' p 143,

speaks of an old silver mine long abandoned since A.D. 1780 near Ye ngan silver mines in the Pathei range between Assam and Burma, have been noticed by Colonel Woodthorpe (Proc Geol Soc, Jan 1887)

I may further call attention to the fact that the Irāvati (Eravati), the continuation of the Chindwin in the valley of which exist several old silver mines is in the "Saśanavamsa" (p. 108 of Mrs Bode's transl.) called *Rajata valuka* i.e. 'River of Silver Sand'. To the Chinese it was known instead as the Great *Kin sha* (Gold Sand River) for the sake of contradistinction however, from the Upper Yangtze termed simply *Kin-sha* (Kaŭcana valuka). See, however, on this debatable point my remarks on p. 286 above, note

p. 39, note 2. Balas rubies. From *Balakshan*, a form of the name of *Badakshan* (see Ibn Batuta, in Defrem & Sang transl., vol. iii pp. 59, 394, Barbosa in Ramusio, etc.) The stones from that district, which is on the banks of the Shiguan, a tributary of the Oxus are said, however, not to be rubies but spinels, and the term *balas* seems to have been transferred to true rubies of a particular shade of colour. Chardin in his 'Voyages' (t. iv, p. 70, Amsterdam ed. of 1711) says in fact— On l'appelle aussi *Balacchans*, Pierre de *Balacchan* qui est le Pegu, d'où je juge qu'est venu le nom de *Balays* qu'on donne aux Rubis couleur de rose" (see Ball's "Tavernier" vol. i p. 382 and Yule's "Hobson Jobson" 2nd ed., 1903, p. 52, s.v.)

p. 40. *Balaka* *Balassia* *Baluchin* etc. as names for a part of Upper Burma. Traces of them may survive in the [Nam] *Philu* or *Hili-chaung* stream flowing west of the Inle Lake south of which latter spinels occur (in the west of Nam me kon State see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part ii vol. i, p. 310, and vol. iii p. 381). Again there is the *Maw li sat* River a little to the north of the Yong Hwe Lake of which Richardson in his "Journal" p. 137 speaks as the "*Bora thal* [Bora-at] or Ncaung Eue River". This is also called the *Ta law* or *Taw Yaw chaung*, the lake once extended up to *Maw li hant* or *Ta law* village, and there are traces of a large fortified town in the neighbourhood (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer" part ii vol. iii pp. 381 and 392). It will thus be seen that Barbosa did not make such very bad geography as he is taunted with in "Hobson-Jobson" (new ed., p. 52) when locating *Balassia* or *Balsrayo* in Upper Burma. I may add that the Chinese records mention a kingdom *Po lo so* or *Po-lo-so*, 波羅梭.

𑀧𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺 ( = *Pa-la-la* or *Ba-la-la*), lying to the west of *C'hih-t'u* (*Sukhada*, Siām, see p. 182, note 1), which evidently corresponds to Dr. Richardson's *Borathat* (*Borasat*), now *Maw-li-hant*, and to Barbo's *Balassia*, district. These terms, if not derived from the Sanskrit or Vedic *Plaksa*, *Balaksa*, and *Palaksa*, meaning 'white,' as surmised by us on p. 39 above, may somehow be connected with *Palāsa* or *Parāsa*, the well-known name of Magadha (derived from the *Palāsa* = *Butea frondosa* tree), which may have been of old introduced and applied to the district in question. It is interesting, nevertheless, to remark that the "Bṛhat Saṁhitā" mentions a people *Puruṣada* in the eastern region.

p. 14. Tokosanna River. See Appendix II, s v., for further linguistic remarks.

p. 45. Sambrā (city). A not very dissimilar toponym is that of the *Surma* Mountain on the coast below Rāmri harbour. It may, on the other hand, be observed that *Sambrā* is the name of the tutelary deity of the Chauhan Rājputs (see Crooke, i, 55). Other possible etymologies of the toponym may be found in *Sambhān*, *Sambhura*, *Samba*(-pura).

p. 45. Sada (city) and Sados (river). The name, better than in Sandoway and its river, appears to survive in that of the *Thate* (*Sats*) River (*Thate-chaung*), flowing immediately to the north of the Sandoway River and connected with it near the mouth through one of its branches.

As regards the legend told of Sandoway, see for ampler details the "Monograph on the Pottery and Glassware of Burmā," Rangoon, 1895, pp. 9, 10. I have since discovered that the whole story has been borrowed from the *Ghata Jātaka* (No. 454), q.v. Therein the city *Dvāravati* is described as having on one side the sea and on another the mountains. By goblin magic it used to rise in the air and deposit itself on an island in the midst of the sea; when the foe was gone it would come back and settle in its own place again. Therefore it was bound with iron chains, etc. There can thus be no doubt that the legend was, by local simple-mindedness, transferred to the credit of Sandoway merely from the possible fact of this city having at some time or other been named after the Indian *Dvāravati*. If such a name was really borne by Sandoway, it must have been after Ptolemy's time, for our author mentions it and its river by names similar to the common ones they bear to this day. N.B. that the *Mōn* name it bears is commonly pronounced *Sandōa*. There exists, moreover, a circle in South Sandoway district called *Satthua*, ဆတ်ဆွာ. As to the

identity of the *Thale* chaung or *Sade* River with Ptolemy's Sados, there seems to be but little doubt considering the fact that the latitude our author assigns to the mouth of the latter suits the embouchure of the former better than the entrance of the Sandoway River (see our remarks already made in this sense on p 47)

p 47, ll 7-9 Palura or Pakura (a town) This name, I have since discovered still survives in *Paloor* (*Palur*) village, marked in sheet 107 of the Indian Atlas in long  $85^{\circ} 11$  and lat  $19^{\circ} 27$ , just above the mouth of the Ganjam and close by Palur Bluff, better known to navigators of the Bay of Bengal It is, in fact, already mentioned by Linschoten as *Serra de Palura*, a name evidently applied to it by the Portuguese since the dawn of the sixteenth century, after the neighbouring Paloor village There can thus be no doubt as to this village being the historical continuation of Ptolemy's Palūra town His Aphetērion, or point of departure for ships bound for Khryse, must, accordingly, be located at Gopulpur, just a little below the mouth of the Ganjam

p 47 Berabonna See Appendix II for further linguistical remarks on this toponym

pp 48 51 Temala A people *Dumara* are mentioned in the 'Bṛhat Samhita' and located in the north eastern region Dr Levdén ventured the hypothesis of a derivation of Temala from the Malay vocable *tema* [*tī iah*] which signifies tin, and he accordingly inclined to identify this supposed 'tin country' with the Malay Peninsula which is of course inadmissible (see 'Essays relating to Indo China' 1st series vol. 1 p 88) For further remarks and its identification with the *Chou mei lin* or *Tan mei lin* of Chinese records see p 523, note 2

p 52 l 7 Cape Negrais This name has also been conjectured to be derived from *Naga rūsi* but I now think it was borrowed from *Nāgarāsa* the famous lake of Nepal where dwelt the serpent king Karkotaka (see Crooke vol 1 p 42) The derivation from *Nagarashtra* proposed in 'Hobson Johnson,' p 623 is inadmissible as this word would become *Nagarut* in the vernacular, and not *N ga rūsi*, *Negrais*

p 52 l 17 Yaw (Yo) tribes. From the fact that the Karens call the Shans *Yo* (see *China Review* vol xvi p 380) these tribes may be inferred to be of Thai stock *Yo* is however also the name by which Northern Chins call themselves (see Upper Burma Gazetteer," part 1 vol 1, p 454), whereas the *Yao* or *Y* proper claim descent from the Palaung (op cit., p 569)

p 53 List of peoples I have now to offer the following additional remarks on the subject —

(1) *Tiragrahas* as onomatologically connected with Ptolemy's Tilogrammon, identified by Yule with Jessore I have since discovered that such an identification is untenable, for Ptolemy locates Tilogrammon but 20' of his longitude (= about 9 true) west of the Pseudostomon mouth of the Ganges, and one half degree of his latitude (= about 18' true) further to the south of such an embouchure which, I am now pretty certain, corresponds to the mouth of the Tetulia River flowing to the east of Bakarganj. It should be noted that a branch of this river, detached but a short distance to the east of Bakarganj, bears the name Dhulea and flows into the Radnabad, which debouches into the Bay behind Radnabad Islands. Now, this name Dhulea (if not that of the Tetulia River itself) forcibly recalls the Ptolemaic one Tilogrammon (= *Tila grama*, 'Sesamum Village,' or, more likely, *Tira grama*, 'Shore Village?'), hence its position must be sought for somewhere



With their name may be connected the term *Jabrang*, applied, according to Balfour's *Cyclopædia* (vol II, p 393), to "a coarse description of silk, made by a wild tribe, who are the only people in Pegu that rear the silkworm and cultivate the mulberry." Evidently the Yabem or Zabaungs are the tribe here alluded to.

p 56, l 17 *Tu lo shu* = *Trisūlika*, *Tulaksetra*? See pp 31, note 2, 468, note, and Appendix II, section 7, s v. Triglypton Andrea Corsali's letter therein referred to is dated January 6th, 1510, and says (Ramusio, vol I, p 180) — "Pegu confina per la costa col regno di Bengala & Lique [= Arakan?] . . . Tiene dalla parte della costa Malacca, & da quella di terraferma il *Disuric* , il quale è signore infra terra, fino alla Cina"

Evidently, *Disuric* or *Disuric* = *Tu-lo-shu*, *Trisūlika*. Furthermore, *Tu' lo shu* and *Shé p'o* suggest, respectively, the *Tha-shish* and *Sopheir* of Biblical fame (cf our remarks on p 598, note).

p 57 *Daca*, *Davaka*. The "Bṛhat Samhita" mentions a people *Dacca* in the north east region. *Dacca* as the name of a region occurs in both the Mahabharata and the Viṣṇu Purana. The terms *Thafec* and *Tafau* referred to on the same page should be more scholarly spelled *Tufek*, *Tūfan*, or *Tūban*. Cf *Ducek*, *Laucik*, *Laraka*, on p 163 note. Not only *Daca*, but also *Dira* means a 'forest,' in both Pali and Sanskrit. For other and like forms *Dabag* (= *Dabag*?), *Zubag*, *Juraka*, etc., see pp 624, note 1, and 633, note 2.

p 58 *Dabasai* or *Damassai* (people) = the *Tamansai* tribe of the Lawā, or the *Dārta*? see Appendix II, section 6 s v. Cf also this and the name of the *Damasa*, *Damassa*, or *Dobassa* range with *Dumai* *Tamai*, the term by which the Khamti Shans denote the eastern branch of the Irawati (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part I, vol I, pp 7, 391).

p 61, l 20 *K'a t'o*. Cf the *K'a t'o* Kado, or Kadu tribes on p 357. In the *Katha* (= *Kasa*) district are Kadus and Kachins. Tagaung is in the *Katha* district, but according to an inscription of A D 426 (see below), this territory was called *Brahmadessa*.

p 61, last line of text Shenbo. Spelled *Sim bo* in the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (part II, vol III, p 170, q v), which says it was founded over 100 years ago by a Shan (p 171), but I doubt the correctness of this statement.

p 62, l 15 Tagūng or Hastinapura. According to the Burmese Royal Chronicle ("Mahārājavamsa"), Dhajarāja, a king of the Sāva race, settled at Manapura about 500 B C, and later on conquered Tagaung (Old or Upper Pagan). In circa A D 300,

a Gopāla of Hastināpura, on the Ganges in India, left his original home, came to Burmā, and after various successful wars with the semi-civilized natives founded New Hastināpura on the Irawaddy, apparently on the same site as the earlier Tagaung, or close to it. This is related in an inscription dating from A.D. 426, discovered among the Tagaung ruins, the author of which is King Jayapāla, a lineal descendant of Gopāla, the town founder, of the Candravamsa or Lunar dynasty of New Hastināpura. This, in the inscription, is stated to be in *Brahmadeśa*, on the Eravati (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part I, vol. II, p. 193). In A.D. 610 Hastināpura still existed, as evidenced by an inscription of that date found at Pagān (op. cit., p. 186), but the seat of power was evidently already at Pagān (*Arimaddana pura*)<sup>1</sup>.

This later capital is already referred to in an inscription discovered in one of its ancient Buddhist monasteries, dating from A.D. 481, and recording the erection of the temple of Sugata by Rudrasena, the ruler of *Arimaddana-pura*. In the later inscription of A.D. 610, already referred to, the reigning king's name is given as Adityasena.

As to the term *Pagān* more properly *Bhūlam* or *Bulām*, cf. *Vugama* or *Bugamati* in Nepal (see Foucher, op. cit.). A Pagān inscription of A.D. 1242 gives, however, an *ad usum Delphini* interpretation of the term, as follows: "This kingdom of Pagān is so called because it is the most pleasant and beautiful of all kingdoms [*Bhū lamāṣ*]. It is also called *Arimad lāna* because it is inhabited by people who are warlike and brave and are able to vanquish their foes" (see "Inscriptions of Pagān," etc., p. 134). Evidently the derivation of the name is here assumed to be from *Kīma bhū*, by inversion *Bhū lama*. Cf. *Kāmalānka*.

p. 62, n. 2. The classical name *Cinarattha* for Bhāmo already occurs in an older inscription dating from A.D. 1387 (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part I, vol. II, p. 194). The Kaung limu daw inscription of about 1636 states that "all within the great districts of *Bhan* [= Bhāmo?] and *Khucelawn* [= Kwe lôn village, on the right bank of the Iraying River] is the kingdom of *Zem* [*Cina*]" ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," part II, vol. I, p. 340). At a short distance to the north of Bhāmō are the ruins of Sampanago (*Campanagara*?), and at about sixteen miles further to the east the remains of the old town of Kōktha (*Kōlāṣā*) the rival of Sampanago in its flourishing days. Furthermore, at some ten miles to the

<sup>1</sup> According to the "Thayet myo Gazetteer" p. 30 the classical name of Old, or Upper Pagān was *Saukasia rattha*, but on what evidence this statement is based does not appear.

south-south west of Rl amō lies the town of Sawadi (= *Sivatthi*?), and below this are the ruins of Old Kaungton or Kounptaung, which I identify with the *Kadunaw* (*Kantunau*) gyī mentioned in a 1284 inscription of King Narapati of Pagan as then bounding his kingdom on the north<sup>1</sup>

Again, near Myothat up the Taping are the ruins of an old town which might be identified with old Bhamō or Man mo (Ban-mō), according to the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (part 1, vol 11, p 191)

p 63, n 2 Thamiem or Thaman gyī The "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part 11, vol 11, p 275, spells this toponym *Ta-ma-ming gyī*, and states it to be a Shan village of twenty nine houses

p 64, l 4 Yung ch'ang This name was applied to the district under the Ming dynasty, when Pao shan, its prefectural city, was established Old Yung ch'ang of the Han dynasty, a prefecture founded in A D 69 on Ai Lao territory (see pp 59, 60), is now Chao chou south east of the Ta li Lake

p 64, ll 5-10 *Videhi* as the western part of Yunnan seems more particularly to mean *Pubba Videha* or *Purva Videha* (= 'Eastern Videha'), the supposed fabulous continent of Buddhists That it was not altogether mythical appears from the statement occurring in Paramurtha's (19J 569) *Life of Vasubandhu* to the effect that Pindola the famous Arhat, was in *Purva Videha* in Vasubandhu's time (see *Toung Pao*, 1904, p 273)

Otherwise, Ptolemy's *Adesaga* may be a clumsy rendering of *Ahiksatra* (or *Ahicchatra*, *Ahicchatru*), the name of the ancient capital of *Uttara Pancala* north of the Ganges, in India, transplanted here<sup>2</sup>

As regards the other suggested derivation from *Vaidisi*, compare also *Vedisa* in India where the famous Bhulsa Topes have been lately found If not in *Yi hsi* as suggested on p 64, line 11, local traces of the name may be found perhaps in *Yuch hsi* 越析 (or *Yut sik*, *Wiez shak*) the name of one of the ancient six Chao of

<sup>1</sup> See Inscriptions of Pagan etc Yangon 1899 p 4 where the date of the inscription is wrongly made out to be A D 1184 By turning to the printed Burmese text of this inscription p 13 I found out however that the date is given as 616 of the Burmese Civil Era = A D 1284 while the name *Kadunaw* reads literally *Ka t an* It is probably the *Awang t an* of Chinese records though this may on the other hand correspond to Kantaw a place on a tributary of the Irrawaddy flowing further to the north of the Taping in Chinese territory

<sup>2</sup> The chiefs of Ch'eng Tung and Ch'eng Cheng (Ken, Cheng) are described in the titles as *Pancala rattha* governors (see Upper Burma Gazetteer part 1 vol 1 p 90) Their territory may have been likened unto Southern *Pancala* in which case the region to the north of it may have become known as Northern *Pancala* (*Uttara*) *Pancala*

the Nan Chao kingdom, also called *Mo-hsie*, and occupying part of the territory of the present prefecture of Li kiang (see Sainson's "Nan tchao Ye che," Paris, Leroux, 1904, pp 10, 11) In this part of North West Yunnan is also a district bearing a similar name, to wit, *Wei hsi* (for which see *Young Pao*, 1904, p 500)

p 65, l 6 *Suvannabhūmi* Cf *Suvarna bhū*, a region in the north-east of India according to the "Bṛhat Samhita," xiv, 31 "Suvannabhūmi is, in the Atthakāthā, identified with Sudhammapura, that is Thātōn" (Mrs Bode's "Sīsanavamsa," Introd, p 4), but this does not seem to be quite correct

p 65, l 12 *Timura* A *Timura* is mentioned in the "Kathī Sarit Sagara" (see Tawney's transl, vol 1, p 117)

p 65, ll 16, 17 *Sunaparanta* More correctly, *Sonaparāntaka*, *Śrōnāparāntaka* = 'west of (or, beyond) the Śronī River, in India' Cf the *Aparanta rattha* or *Aparāntaka* of classical (canonical) Buddhist texts When transplanting this name to the tract west of the Irāvati in Burmā, the latter river was seemingly assumed to be the Śronī, not improbably from a likeness of its Moñ name *Bi Sing* (or *Sōiñ*) to *Sronī*, *Sonī* The Kaung-hmu daw inscription of about 1636 gives a somewhat different list of the districts comprised within *Sunaparanta* to wit Sagu Sahn, L-gaing (Munbu district) Paunglin, Kale, and Thaungthwut (Chindwin), see the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part II, vol 1, p 340

p 66, ll 2, 3 As to gold in Burma, it is found in slight and unpayable quantities in most of the rivers, but washings of it from sands are "carried on fitfully in many parts of the country, especially in Katha [about Tagong] in several streams of the Ye u subdivision as well as in many parts of the Shan States" ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," part I, vol II p 304)

p 66, l 13 from bottom *Mareura Majūra* A *Mayura pura* was on the Ganges above Hastinapura (cf Taguung), and another in South India, i e Meliapur (St Thomé) NB that the peacock,

Po-U Daung inscription, but from the fact that the chief of Kale and Temnyin bears in his title the qualification of *Moriya*, we think ourselves justified in locating the northern limit of Sunā-paranta below, not only Kalē, but also Mwe-yin (= *Moriya*), which lies yet further to the south

p 68, l 2 The derivation of *Marammā* or *Mranmu*, the name of Burma,<sup>1</sup> from Brahma, may be accepted only provided it can be proved that the term *Brahmadēsa*, which we have seen applied in the fifth century to the Tagōng district, has been subsequently extended to the whole country This does by no means seem to have been the case, especially if the *Brahmadēsa* district be identical with the *P'o lo mēn* (= *Brāhmana*, *Brahman*) of Chinese records, as we have suggested on p 171, for in A D 802 these records speak of *P'iau* (Lower Burmā) bordering on *P'o lo mēn* (= *Brahma dēsa*, i e Tagaung?)

p 68, l 14 et seqq *Marai*, *Mro*, *Mru* (see also p 55) It should be noted that a race of people bearing the name of *Maru* (so called by the Chungpaws, they speak of themselves as *Lōng wō*) are still living at the present day in the basin of the Nmai kha River or eastern branch of the Upper Irāvati They are similar to the Burmese, so much as to suggest to Captain Pottinger the theory that both these races originally migrated from Tibet by the valley of the Nmai kha Are these people in any way connected with the older *Mro* or *Mru* of Arakan and the Chindwin valley, who seem to have been the pioneers of the Burmese race?

p 72, l 2 from bottom *Sabara*, *Śabara*, *Śavara* Of the town of *Sarurati* in India, to the south of the Middle Country (see *Journal R A S*, 1904 p 538)

p 73, l 13 *Śabara* or *Śavara* tribes The "Brhat Samhita" mentions a people *Śava girs* in the eastern region, and *Nagna-parva śavara* (= naked and leaf wearing—and not, I believe, 'leaf-eating' as has been said—*Śavaras*) in the south eastern

p 74, l 16 The correct date of the conquest of *P'iao* by Koh lo feng (= *Kulavarna*?) is A D 763 (see Chavannes in *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp 388, 430-1) On that occasion he conquered also the *Hsin fu* tribes (= Sinphos, or Kachins), and the *Lo man* or *Iue man* settled further west in the mountains (= the Nagas)

Houghton in his *Essay on the Language of the Southern Chinese* (p xi of Appen lix) gives the etymology *Mya n na* = *Mya ma*, the great tribe or race, which does not seem very tenable

(= A.D. 1108) Along sithu, king of Pagan on his return from a journey to Ceylon and various parts of India saw a huge white object near the sea shore. On approaching he perceived it to be a mound of ivory, which a gigantic centipede had erected for its residence. Such was the size and strength of the monster that it was in the habit of catching and devouring elephants the tusks of which it used to form a wall around its place of abode (See H. S. Pratt's "Monograph on Ivory carving in Burma" Rangoon 1901 p. 1).

These legends of the elephant and centipede appear to have an old origin. The germ of them is to be found in the Milinda Pañhā where there is a hypothesis of a *sulala* (some unknown sort of *lims*, insect or vermin whose name puzzled the eminent translator Rhys Davids, see vol. II, p. 180), attempting to drag the elephant towards itself with a view to swallowing it. As the simile was evidently widely employed in Eastern literature and folklore the *sulala* is very probably a sort of centipede or milleped.

At all events the above legends sufficiently explain the name of 'Elephant River' (*Di ching Erurati* etc.) given to the Irawaddy, and perhaps also why the western point of entrance to the Pangoon River is called to this day 'Elephant Point'.

p. 79, ll. 5, 6 Travelling by boat between Pak lau and Ban Don is absolutely impossible at any season as I have more recently ascertained. In the China Sea Directory, vol. II, 4th edition p. 338 it is stated that the watershed between Trang and the eastern main branch of the Ban Don River is so low as to allow of a boat being taken across with a very short portage. I now believe, however, that the old water communication between both sides of the Malay Peninsula was between Trang and the inland sea of Singora.

by Dravidians from India (See Pagán inscription of 1170 in "Inscriptions of Pagán," etc., Rangoon, 1899, p. 21.)

The 古里 Kū-lí, people and country of Chinese records (see Parker's "Burma," p. 80, and *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, pp. 142-4) are evidently the people and country of Ayethema and Thaton alluded to on p. 86, l. 1 et seqq., being described as settled to the south of Taungu on the sea and divided into *Ta Kū la* = *Tak-kulā* on the coast of Pegu, and *Hsiao*, or Little, *Kū la*.

p. 87, ll. 10 et seqq. *Tik la*, etc. The Pali *takkola* = Sanskrit *lakṣola* is a "drug so called from its colour, which is black like that of the crow" (Balfour's *Cyclopædia*, s. v. *Kakkola*). It, or the plant from which it is derived, is the *Laranga scandens*, *Hesperaloe* (see *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, t. iii, p. 466), and is called *laker*, *gagar* (= bastard cardamom) in Kumboja.

Further, *tagara* in Kanarese is a *taddhata* corruption of the Sanskrit *tamara*, *trapu* = 'tin' (see *Journal R. A. S.*, July, 1901, p. 540 note). But we have in India the town *Tagara pura* = *Kōṭi-pura* or *Kōṭhā pur*, whence the equation *kola*, *kōṭhā* = *tagara* = 'tin'.

p. 87, n. 1. In Chinese also we have *Ch'ien-lien* (*K'an lien*, *K'a lien*), a metal frequently mentioned in connection with the alloy of copper money (*China Review*, vol. xxiv, p. 101). *Kalien* means a 'mine' (more properly, 'tin mine') among the Chinese of Perak (*Journal Straits Br. R. A. S.*, No. 16, p. 316). In Manchu *sakhalien* = 'black'.

According to Dozy & Langlois's "Glossaire," p. 210 the Portuguese *calain* = 'tin' is from the Arabic *qalī*, which comes from the Malay *kalang* = 'tin,' according to Newbold (vol. i, p. 426). Certain Arabic writers state that *qalā*, 'tin,' was so called from a mine in India called *Kālā*. "In spite of the different initial and terminal letters, it seems at least possible that the place meant was the same that the old Arab geographers called *Kālāh* near which they place mines of tin (*al qalā*)." (Hobson Jobson, 2nd ed., p. 145, s. v. *Calay*).

There can be no doubt that the Malay *kalang* as well as its congener *larang* (used to express the lower beds of the tin-bearing drift in mines) are both loan words or, at any rate derived also from *kola* *kāla* *kakkola* *takkola*, *tagara* etc., as above, which plainly are all related together.

p. 89, l. 2. According to Kazwini (A.D. 1263-75) who reports a statement from the traveller Misir "le point de *Kālāh* serait tombé au pouvoir des Chinois qui y auraient introduit leurs croyances et leurs usages" (Reinaud, op. cit., p. lxiv). It does

not seem at all unlikely that Chinese immigrants had already settled on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in the thirteenth century without, however, holding sway there. In A.D. 1511 we know for certain the alluvial tin mines in the Malay Peninsula were already worked by Chinese labourers (see E. H. Parker in the *China Review* vol. xxiii p. 258).

p. 90 note. On *Mi ch'en* etc. I subjoin translated the following extract dating from A.D. 802, given in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extr. Or.*, t. iv, pp. 222, 223. "From *Mi ch'en* one reaches *K'un lang* where is the tribe of the *Hsiao K'un lun*. Their king's name is *Mang hsi yüeh* (Mong Saigar?). From *K'un lang* one arrives at *Lu yü* 羅羽 (*Luh io*) where is the realm of the *Ta K'un lun*. The king's name is *Ssu li Po p'o nan to shan na* (Śrī Bhavanandasana?). The plain is larger than at *Mi ch'e'i*" etc., etc.

On the *K'un lun* people and kingdom see further pp. 103, 260, 507-9 and 574 n. 3. In 1103 it offered along with Burma and *Po z* (a state bordering on it see p. 471) white elephants and perfumes to the king of Nan Chao, a fact showing that *K'un lun* must have been a continental (and not an insular) country, situated almost certainly on the Malay Peninsula. This view finds further corroboration in the fact recorded in the *Man-shu* of Nan Chao having waged at one time war against *K'un lun* (see *Bulletin Le Fr.* t. iv p. 226).

On *Lu yü* or *Luh io* (Nago, Nagor) where is the *Ta lun lun* (Takkola) kingdom (according to the *Bulletin* above quoted) see p. 525, n. 1. According to Ma Tuan lin's translator however *Ta lun lun* (Takkola) lies between *K'un lang* and *Lu yü* (see Hervey de St. Denys op. cit., p. 231 note).

p. 93 l. 13. For further particulars as to Takopa or Kopa its magnificent harbour antiquities etc., see Supplementary Note to my article on 'Siamese Archaeology' published in the *Journal P. A. S.* for April 1904 pp. 212-7.

p. 93 l. 21. *T'u liau lo*. I now find that the Chinese characters for this are 投 拘 利 which more correctly read *Tou kou li* (*Da : lau li* *T'u lu-re*) making it very improbable that Takkola is meant. Some port of *Tu-an* proper on the Gulf of Siam is evidently intended, not unlikely the mouth of the Rach gia or Kien giang River which lies opposite *Lakere* or *Telere* Island. The embassy despatched by the *Fu nan* king went to India between 240 and 241 A.D. (see *Bulletin Le Fr.* t. iii p. 271). For a possible identity of *Tou : kou li* with *Kou li* see p. 718 above, note, section 1.



p. 91, l. 10 from bottom, add:—This notwithstanding the clause in Article 10 of the British Treaty with Siam concluded in 1826, which was retained in the new treaty of 1856, with the further addition that "traders under British rule may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenasserim, Pegu, or other place, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may there trade with facility," etc.

Captain Forrest, in the Introduction to his "Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago," London, 1792, says (p. in): "the country about Kraw [Krah] was well inhabited, and the road across the isthmus much frequented, before the wars which, thirty years ago, between the Peguers and Burmahs or Burmahs, had greatly depopulated this quarter."

The account by Messrs Harris & Leal (1825-6) reproduced in Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam" says of Chump'hôn (p. 395): "It was formerly the entrepot of a very valuable trade with the coast of Tenasserim, but subsequently to the subjugation of Tenasserim by the Burmans, Ch'hoomphon has been little else than a military post, where a force was stationed to watch the proceedings of the Burmans"

p. 97, ll. 16, 17. *Kokanagara* Cf. *Koklonage* or *Kokrah* = Chutiā Nāgpur in Tavernier (Ball's transl., vol ii, pp. 457-9). The northern point of entrance to Gurbi Bay is called in Siamese *Lēm Hua-Nāl* = *Nāga-Head* Point. As regards *Kulkuras*, the "Brhat Samhita" mentions *Kalakoti-kulkuras* in the Central region. The name may be connected with the worship of Bhairava, who is said to be represented with a dog's head. Dog appreciation, if not worship, seems to survive in Indo-China among the Karens only, who still have prize-dogs. As regards Ibn Batūta's *Kakula*, which, he says, lay in *Mul-Jarah*, see p. 414, n. 2, and p. 518, n. 1, where I have given my reasons why it should preferably be identified with Ligor.

p. 97. *Khrysoana* (river) If a rendering of some local term meaning 'Gold River,' such as e.g. *Sungei Mas* in Malay, no such name now occurs, so far as my knowledge goes, in the tract where Ptolemy locates his *Khrysoana*, although it may have once existed and be now forgotten. The northernmost watercourse named *Sungei Mas* is a small stream falling into the old channel of the Mūda River, where buildings for a capital of Kedah began to be erected of old (fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth); see Kedah Annals in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii, pp. 256, 258.

However, *Khrysoana* may represent some local river-name

disguised by the Greek navigators in Hellenic vesture in order to express a meaning in a similar manner, as was done by Valentijn with his *Chrysorant* (see *Journal Str Br R A S*, No 13 p 50) which I take to be the Kesang just below Malacca, the *Cação* of Portuguese writers (see Danvers' "Portuguese in India," vol II, p 529, where, however, *Kesana* is incorrect for Kesang). Further up the Malay Peninsula we have a similarly named river, the *Kasom*, in the Takua thung district, where is also Kasom town, the governor's residence. It is not unlikely that in or about the Trang district a river may have existed with a somewhat similar name, which Ptolemy transformed into *Khrysoana*.

p 97 Palanda (city) and Palandas or Palandos (river). See Appendix II, section 2, for these toponyms, which survive to this day, as I have pointed out in the name of the local *Belanda*, *Blanda*, or *Belenda* tribes, about which see the *Journal Str Br R A S*, No 33, p 250, and No 34, p 35. Cf the *Palindas* of India. Their correspondence to Pahang and its river is not altogether improbable, judging from the location assigned to them.

(2) *Tawaran* River (see *Journal Str Br R A S*, No 11, pp 123-12)

(3) *Tahan* River and *Günong Tahan* Mountain (*ibid*, No 23, pp 67-76)

None, however, suits as well as *Tarāngana* or *Tringano*, in the immediate neighbourhood of which we have, moreover, such place names as *Kampong Tiroh*, *K Lubok Tiroh*, *K Pan Tari*, the *Trengin* and *Turong* Rivers, with *K Turong*, now destroyed, on the latter, etc

p 100 *Sabana* (a mart) See also Appendix II, section 2  
Similar toponyms in this tract are—

(1) *Sayang* River, a small northern affluent of the *Bernam* River (*Dennys*, *op cit*, p 391)

(2) *Sepang*, *Bukit* a hill in North *Sungei Ujong* (*op cit*, p 63) and a small river in extreme South *Selangor* (*ibid*, p 393)

(3) *Sempang* (= 'cross roads'), a hamlet in *Sungei Ujong* (*ibid*, 343), on the *Bernam* River, *Selangor* (p 393), and on the east bank of *Selangor* River (pp 343, 344)

(4) *Sembak* River, a netter northern affluent of the *Bernam*

p 104 ll 19-23 In the more recent map of the Malay Peninsula, issued in 1898 under the auspices of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S., Tanjong Peling or South Cape is called *Tanjung Gelang*, and located in 4° N lat., while the Tanjong Kuantan of older maps is called Tanjung Tembeling, and located further to the south just above the mouth of the Kuantan River. Such being the case, I think that Ptolemy's Cape Maleu Kolon should be identified with Tanjung Gelang so called from Bukit Gelang, the hill forming the promontory, which seems to preserve in its present name the old Tamil and, withal Ptolemaic designation. In fact, *Bukit*, a 'hill' or mountain = Tamil *Malai* - Ptolemaic *Maleu*, while *Gelang* resembles well enough allowing for secular corruption, both *Kurram* (or *Kollam*) and *Kolon*. Thus *Bukit Gelang* - *Malai kurram* (or *Malai kollam*) = *Maleu Kolon*. If *Malai kollam* be its correct original name, meaning 'Mountain of the West' in Tamil, this may have been applied to it from its lying in the western part of the Gulf of Siam, where it probably formed a landmark pointing out to navigators the almost unique place of refuge on that coast. In fact the neighbouring port of Kuantan a short distance below the cape, "is about the only safe port on the east coast [of the Malay Peninsula] during the north east monsoons the high promontory which stretches into the sea to the north of the *Kuala* forming a most efficient protection against the wind" (*Straits Times*, 1902).

There is further up the coast (in 1° 14' N lat.) Tanjung Guliga bearing a similar name but I should think Tanjung Gelang to be almost certainly the cape Ptolemy had in view. See p 535.

p 105 ll 1-10 Malacca A Punic name (?) see p 598 note. In Malay *Malaka* is the *Pl. Manthus pectinatus* (Hook.). Cf also *Malakala* = the country of the Malakas, also its inhabitants.

p 105 Attaba (river) See for further linguistic remarks Appendix II, section 2 & 7. In De Bona's map this stream is marked between Tharrha (i.e. Tringano) on the south and Koli (i.e. Kelantan) on the north, hence it must be, as pointed out by us, either the Trengganu (Tringano River) or the Kelantan with its principal tributary the Lebeh or Lilih which takes its rise in the northern watershed of Mount Batu Atap. Between the two above named large streams we have on the coast but petty watercourses such as the Tarong and the Besut which are absolutely negligible.

p 106 l 3 As to *Kola budara* = *Kulula*, *Kulola* = Ligor, see p 444 n 2, and p 518, n 1. As to *Kōli* = Kelantan, see p 518 n 1.

p 106 l 16 Two places *Kūla* are mentioned. One is

古 羅 mentioned since A.D. 971 (see p. 515, n. 1) as lying midway between *San fo-shih* and *C'hai-lih ting* (Harvey de St. Denys, op. cit., p. 496). This I have identified with Gūroh village in Rhio Strait (see p. 514).

The other one is 古 羅 mentioned in A.D. 1015 as the name of a high mountain and a kingdom called after it (op. cit., p. 514). This may be some place on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (Krah, Kurau River above Larut, etc.), in any case it has, like the first one, nothing to do with Kelantan. N.B. — *Kurau* in Perak is nowadays denoted with the characters 古 樓 by the Chinese settled in the Straits (see *Journal Str. Br. R. A. S.*, No. 42, p. 186). There is, finally, a doubtful mention of Kelantan as 訶 羅 旦, *Ho lo tan*, in the account of *Ch'ih t'u* (Sukhothai) at the dawn of the seventh century (op. cit., p. 466), but as *Ho lo tan* is said to be located to the south of *Ch'ih t'u*, whereas the sea is placed to the north, a clerical error has probably crept in here, so that the location intended may be quite the reverse. Cf., at all events, the State of 訶 羅 旦 *Ho lo-tan*, located on the island of *Shé p'o* and mentioned A.D. 430 and 452 (see p. 469, n. 3).

p. 107, ll. 19 et seqq. *Ligor*. For other particulars on its history, antiquities, etc., see pp. 444, n. 2, 518, n. 1, and above all, my article "The Nīgarakretīgama List of Countries," etc., in *Journal R. A. S.*, July, 1905, p. 487, s. v. *Dharma nagara*.

p. 110, ll. 13 et seqq. *Perimula* etc. For further linguistic remarks see Appendix II, section 3, s. v. On *Perimulang* see Dennys "Descriptive Dict. of British Malaya," p. 299 s. v., also p. 309. There is further a (Malay?) term *Pemuda* occurring in names of reefs etc., e.g. *Karang Pemuda* (see "China Sea Directory," vol. 1, p. 289). On *P'o li* (= *Pulau River*) see p. 495 and above. Addenda to p. 98, and on *P'o lo* (*Bara, Baru*) and *Po lo* see p. 366, note, and p. 403, note.

On *Lo yü*, or *Lo lu*, and *Lu yü* (*Langu River?*) see p. 520, n. 1.

On *Lo yüeh* see pp. 525, 526, note.

Neither of the above names seems to be in any way connected with *Ligor*.

p. 111, after line 2, add

*Perimulik Gulf, Head of* (97)

The figure for the longitude (169° 30') given in Nobbe's edition tom. II, p. 162, and presumably misprinted (as 168° 30') in McCrindle (op. cit., p. 198), is evidently a clerical slip for 162° 30' that has crept in some of the Ptolemaic MSS. For, not only in the Ptolemaic list of lib. VII, ch. 2, § 5, the *Perimulik* *Kolpos* comes in between *Perimula* (long 163° 15', lat. 2° 20') and *Samarade*

(long  $163^{\circ}$ , lat  $4^{\circ} 50'$ ), but in De Donis' map the head of the gulf is actually placed in long  $162^{\circ} 30'$  ( $= 101^{\circ} 6'$  true) and made to bend in bow-wise, towards the west, between *Perimula* and *Samarade*

Such being the case, and the rectified latitude as found in our Tables (see Table IV, No 97) being  $9^{\circ} 52' N$ , it will be seen that the head of the *Perimulik Gulf* almost exactly corresponds to the deep indentation of *Bîn-Dôn Bight* stretching between the mouths of the *Bân Dôn* and *C'hayra Rivers*, the most pronounced incavation of which lies in latitude  $9^{\circ} 12'$  to  $9^{\circ} 18' N$ , just below *C'hayra*. This is the region of *Mula-Jurah* of Ibn Batûta (see pp 441, n 2, and 517, n 1), and the *Perimulik Gulf* is unquestionably the Gulf of *Siām*, while its head corresponds to what is now called *Ban Don Bight*

p 111, l 11 *Balongka*, being an inland town, corresponds more exactly to *Krah* on the homonymous isthmus, and not to *C'humphôn*. As regards the old name of the latter, *Udumbara*, it is worthy of remark that it still appears in K. L. Hâwat's *Memoirs*, p 307 (list of provinces of the south, date, shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century). In A.D. 1675 it was already known, however, to Europeans as *Champone* (see Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," pp 125, 126)

p 111 l 24-6 *Krah* is the Siamese name for the hawk bill turtle, and not for the land tortoise, I must therefore correct this gross mistake

p 111, n 1 See the chronological errors referred to here duly exposed and corrected in my article on "The *Nāgarakretagama* List of Countries," etc., in *Journal R A S*, July, 1905, p 487

p 113, l 9 et seqq *Kumalanku*. Cf the name of *Pagan*, *Bu lam*, explained as *Bhū kuma* (*Kuma blu*), see above, in these Addenda, note to p 62. Eitel, in his "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism" (2nd ed., p 69, s v), locates *Kumalanku* at Chittagong! It should be observed that the Cantonese pronunciation of the Chinese transcription is *Ka mo-long-ka*, which comes considerably near to *Krah palānga* or *Krah pallanka*. In the "*Sasanavamsa*" (Mrs Bode's transl., p 71) occurs the toponym *Pollanka* [*Pallanka?*] *desa*, which, however, probably is meant for the country of the Palaungs or Paloungs. In the *Hamsavati* and *Pegu* districts are circles now called *Kāmalalul* (*Kamakalok*) and *Kamucc* (*Kamasc*), whereas there is a *Kamāke* in *Bhilū gyun* (*Balugyun*) Island. This shows how names similar to *Kumalanku* are not uncommon in this region

p 113 l 18 *Pan p'an*. I have since shown how this State, *Pan p'an* or *Pan p'un*, is to be identified with the *Sup'han p hām*

of Yun nan at that period since Jen kwo claimed descent from the dynasty of Magadha in India (see p 123) Jen kwo's capital was at 白崖, *Peh yai* or *Peh ngai* (= 'White Cliff' or 'White Precipice'), 90 li, i.e. about 30 miles, south west of Chao chou in the Ta li prefecture, and is nowadays called Hung ngai. Jen kwo appears later on, to have transferred his residence to C'heng chang south east of the Yun nan Lake (see Samson, op cit, p 28), which is, as likely as not, Ptolemy's Pandasa. However, as in A.D. 225 the capital of the State was again at *Peh ngai* (op cit, p 30), the above change was only a temporary one, and Ptolemy's Posinara must, from its geographical position, be identified with *Peh ngai*. See above, Appendix III, No 4.

p 124 ll 4-7 from bottom, p 121, first top l, and *passim*, Doanai = *Ts'ican*. I have since recognized that this is a mistake, that the *Ts'ican* were really Lolos, and that the Doanai must be identified with the *Tuan*, 土, or *Duan*, a people of Thai stock (see p 126, n 3) and one of the ten original clans of the Ai Lao descended, with Kiu lung, from Meng chu Tu long before the Christian Era (see Roemer in *Young Pao*, vol x p 13).

This family reigned later on over Yun nan from 938 to 1094 A.D. As regards the term *Duania* in Assam it is employed to denote half breeds (see Upper Burma Gazetteer part 1 vol 1,

Laotiennes", and McCarthy, op cit, pp 186 187) The jars were probably originally intended for burial Jars are, in fact used by the Yau tribes to keep the ashes of their deceased chieftains (see *China Review*, vol xix, p 165)

p 127, ll 1-4 I must here correct a gross mistake The first character in the name of Dien Bien p'hu is neither *Tien* nor *T'ien* but 田, in Annamese *Dien*

p 127, l 18 *Ho ché* In Ann *Hak ja*, referred to in the "An nan Chih luo" (Sainson's transl, p 443) as the name of a district (?) in A.D. 1011, on the Tonkin borders which they had invaded

p 128, l 3 See Marini (op cit p 456) who says that monarchy in Laos dates from about 600 A.D. Formerly the country was ruled after the manner of a republic (more correctly, of a federation of petty states) in which the Siamese (read *Thai*) element gradually predominated Shaking off the yoke of China (Yun nan) a king of Siamese (*T'ai*) race was then elected

p 128 ll 7 and 10 *Kanung* Cf Karen and *Karang* (a tribe of these) in Western Siam

p 128 n 2 l 9 *Khach* The Annamese *khach* 客 is the Chinese *khé* and the Siamese *khé* = a stranger guest visitor or new arrival It is a polite term by which the Annamese designate the Chinese Cf *Hé n khé* new guest greenhorn etc It is on the other hand used in China to designate the Hakkas (*K'eh chia* or *K'eh lia* = 'the guest families' or the 'recent arrivals') who in Siam are similarly called *K'héh* (or *Ché K'el Chin K'héh*) Shans call the Chinese *Ké* or *K'ieh* (*China Review*, vol xvi p 380)

In Annam *Ch'eh* 𪛗 (in Chinese *Chih* Cantonese *Ché*) is the impolite nickname employed to designate the Chinese So in Siam where the latter are in polite speech called *Chin* (i.e. *Chinas*)

p 130 last three lines *Ngí yén* Real 阮 *Ngwien* in Chinese *Jwan* a name most spread among the Annamese and that of the reigning dynasty The name *Jwan Ywan* (Yavana) for the Annamese apparently originates from the fact that a large part of them bears the name of *Jwan*, i.e. *Ngwien* (= *Javana Yavana*) See the *China Review*, vol xvi p 380 The term *Ywan Ywan*, or *Yavana* already occurs in an inscription of 987 A.D. in Eastern Kamboja (see Aymonier's "Le Cambodge" t. 1 p 283) and makes its appearance in Cham inscriptions in A.D. 1159 See for more particulars my article "The Nagarakretagama List of Countries" etc, in *Journal R.A.S.* July, 1905, pp 486 487

p 130 n 1 l 4 *Och'ang* These are the 𪛗 昌 *O ch ang*



or 阿昌, *A ch'ang* (see Devéria, op. cit., p. 167; and *Chinese Recorder*, vol. xv, p. 386, where they are noticed near Nan-tien). They evidently are the same tribe as the *A song* now at P'ū Fāng, Lai-chou district.

p. 131, l. 2. *Tai-nguyên*. Read *Tai-nguyên*, 西原, *Hai-Yuan*. A district of this name was in Southern Kwang-hsi and is now called Hsin-ning Chou. *Yuch-hsi* (see l. 10) is the literary name for Kwang-hsi.

p. 131, n. 2, ll. 1, 2. Moreover, the Karens call the Chinese Si, which reminds one of the Miao-tsz word *She* (*China Review*, xvi, p. 380).

p. 131, n. 2, l. 11. *Sia-po*, or 'Heterodox Females,' said to be the descendants of the ruling race of the Mongol dynasty of Yuan, A.D. 1280-1333 (see *China Review*, vii, p. 350). Their name is written 邪婆, *Hsie-p'o* (ibid., x, p. 74). An aboriginal race not far from Hui-chou Fu, near Canton, is similarly called *Ping-p'o* (ibid.).

p. 134, l. 7 from bottom. Dahan or Thuān-an River. Read *Dā-hān* ('Coral, or Rocky, Bank') and *Thwōn-ān*. Kua Thwōn-ān is the port of Hwā.

pp. 135, 136. On the names of the Me-Khōng River, see again p. 286, n. 1. As regards the Chinese characters for *Lan-ts'ang* given in n. 1, l. 1, on p. 135, I notice that in the "Nan-chao Ye-shih," the second one is written 汎, which means an 'expanse of water' (see Sainson, op. cit., p. 50, n. 15). The same work thus accounts for this name of the river (p. 208): "It [the Me-Khōng] enters the country of Tien [Yun-nan] by the Lā-kiang prefecture, in the now suppressed *chou* of Lan-chou [蘭州], which lay to the south-west of Lā-kiang; accordingly the river has been called *Lan-ts'ang*, and still nowadays it is erroneously termed *Lang-ts'ang* and *P'ā li-kiang* [白龍江]. . . It is stated in the 'Shan-hai-king': 'The Ērh-hai [Ta-li Lake] flows westwards towards Lo [洛, *Lo*, *Lā* - the Red River;] or else 洛, *Lo*, *Lā*, the ancient name for Tonkin? see above, p. 321], wherein it enters; thence it is called *Lo-shuei*.'" But the Lan-chou district only dates from the Yuan dynasty, whereas we know the name *Lan-ts'ang* to be much older; and the same work adds that the river is, in its upper course

in Tibet, termed *Tu ts'ang*, 鹿 汪, presumably from the *Tu shih* Shih range, in which it is believed to rise (see op cit, pp 60, 208)

The name *Khara nadi* alluded to on p 136, l 15, also occurs in the *Jinakūla Mahinī fasc 1v*

p 138, ll 7 and 9 *Jolana pura* and *Joti nagara* In the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part 1, vol 1, p 290, the name *Joti nagara* occurs in the title of the Ch'eng Rung Chief

p 140, last three lines For further linguistic remarks see Appendix III, section 6 above, s.v. *Lariagara* As regards a possible Sanskrit derivation of this toponym, of the following similar ancient ones in India —

(1) *Lauriya-Ararāj* and *Lauriyā Nandangarh*, on the road from Pataliputra to Népāl (see *Journal I. A. S.*, April 1902, pp 270, 271)

(2) *Lāra*, *Lada* = Mālava (South Lāra) and Vallabhi (North Lāra)

(3) *Lātī* = Karnaśuvarna, an ancient kingdom in Gundwana, near Gangapur

(4) *Lari* (or *Lari*?) in East Tibet

p 141, l 11 from bottom *Muang P'ōng* More correctly *Muang P'ōng Tūi* (= South P'ōng) or *Pōng Tūi*, it was founded in A.D. 1311

p 141, l 7 from bottom *P'yaggha* A *Rajagrha*, commonly *Yazagyo*, village exists also in West Burma in the Kale township and Upper Chindwin district The 'Upper Burma Gazetteer,' part II vol III p 393, speaks of it as having been "the ancient capital of almost forgotten kings, as it was in more recent years of the *Saebwa*." *Rajaggha* is a name, however, applied to both Legya and Kassay (*Kasēh*, i.e. Manipur)

p 142 *Lasippa* *Lassypa*, or *Lasyppa* A similarly named village, *Lo si pa*, is mentioned by Lefevre (op cit, p 60) between Muang Ha lun and M Ngai, in the U River Valley, lat 22° and described as inhabited by Kh<sup>2</sup> Halos, a variety of Khas much resembling the Lolos

The present capital of Si poh Thibo, or Hsi paw, was founded only in A.D. 1636, but an older one some two miles to the northward or westward called Ūng Pong or Unbuung is said to have been built in 1210 Local chronicles however, pretend to trace the existence of Ūng Pong and Si poh as far back as B.C. 58 and B.C. 423 respectively (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part II vol I pp 217-22) Si poh is rendered in Chinese by 錫 箔, *Hsi po*<sup>1</sup> (see *Ch'i* in

<sup>1</sup> It is however in my opinion probably already referred to in 1280 under the form 錫 播 *S po Si po* in the account of the Mongol campaign against Burma (see Manson op cit p 116)

*Revue*, xvi, p 379) The classical name *Siri rattha* occurs in the titles of the Chiefs of Sen wī and Thong c'hai Thônze or Hsum Hsai, see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part 1, vol 1, pp 290, 291, whereas the Si poh Chief bears in his title the term *Kamboja* (op cit, p 291), which evidences that his district is part of the tract so called (which includes also Yawng Hwe, Muang Pai, M Pan, Legya, M Pu, and Mawk mai) The classical designation *Kamboja* for this tract can be traced back to at least the twelfth century, for the *Kamboja sangha*, which was named after it, took its rise in modern Legya towards 1300 A D (see Forchhammer's "Jardine Prize Essay," Rangoon, 1885, p 63)

Arguing from the fact that *Lasypa* is, in De Donis' map, located immediately westward of the northern spurs of the unnamed mountain ridges which, according to Ptolemy, overhang the Golden Khersonese (and which evidently correspond to the mountain ranges dividing Siam from Burma), it seems logical to identify it with Si poh (Thubo) rather than with any similarly named town on the Siamese watershed On this latter we find mentioned in the Chinese records, as far back as 1280 A D, the State of *Pa-pe hsi fu*, which corresponds, however, to Chieng Sen (*Jayapavara nagara*, *Paivara jaya pura* [or *Jayasena pura*], whence the Chinese transcript, hitherto unexplained and unidentified),<sup>1</sup> and therefore does not suit On the other hand, the A D 1284 inscription of the Pagū ling Narapati sthu mentions that the latter's realm was bounded on the east by *Sapipati* (*Capipati*) which may be Si poh, and may somehow be historically connected with Ptolemy's *Lasypa* or *Lasippa*

p 144, ll 10-12 *Laksa guha*, *Laksa grha* Perhaps a corrupted form (through Lāu faulty pronunciation) of *Rajagaha*, *Rajagaha*, so called from its being the capital of Eastern Magadha, i e the part of Yunnan about the Ta li Lake (cf p 123 above)

p 144, n 2, ll 4-5 *Ho elé* This name appears in the Luang P'rah Bang Chronicle under the form *Ho ts* and is made equivalent to Nōng Si, i e the Ta li Lake or *Ērh Hai* (see p 64 above), the *Aravala daka* of the "Samaratama" (see Mrs Bode's transl, pp 161, 165)

p 146, n 1, ll 1-9 from bottom Buffaloes are sacrificed also

by the Wa tribes (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part i, vol. i, pp. 505, 506) and in Kamboja

p. 148, ll. 17, 18. The forms *hsiang*, *c'hang*, *ds'ing*, etc., may be linguistically connected, if not actually derived, from the Sanskrit-Pāli *Sindhura*. The Khmer language forms an exception, for an elephant is in Kamboja called *Damrei* or *Tamrei*.

p. 149, n. 1, l. 16. "The sacred *Bāng* statue." *Bāng* means 'hidden,' and the statue is so-called from its having had to be hidden many times in order to save it from being stolen by invaders. In Khmer *Bāng* has the same sense.

p. 149, note 1, ll. 19-23. *Wan-hsiang*, 萬象 (= a 'Myriad Elephants'), also occurs as a name for the Lúang P'hrāh Bāng-Wieng Chan State, and should not invariably be applied to Wieng Chan alone, as is done in the *Bulletin École Fr.* (t. iii, p. 473). This transcript shows that the Chinese had also heard of the wrong interpretation put by foreigners upon the term *Lān-c'hāng*. Teixeira, in his turn, mentions this State under the name of kingdom of *Olanion* (= *O Lanjão*), producing benjoin (see my article on "Some unidentified Toponyms," etc., in *Journal R.A.S.*, October, 1904, p. 719).

p. 150, ll. 6-8 *Muang C'hawā*. Lúang P'hrāh Bāng is already mentioned under this name of *Muang C'hawā* in the A.D. 1306 Sukhōthai inscription, as a dependency of the Sukhōthai kingdom

p. 151, n. 1, l. 9. *Lou-icen* River Loureiro, in his "Flora Cochín-Chinensis" (1793), speaks of the large river '*Latum*,' flowing between Cochín China and Laos, evidently the same as Wusthof's '*Lou-icen*' (see *Journal Str. Br. R.A.S.*, No. 35, January, 1901, p. 77)

p 100, ll 9-12 Barenkora, Barikan The district now known as Barikan or Borikhan was formed only in about A.D. 1860 at Nà Nê (Bản Nà Nê) village, it cannot, therefore, be Ptolemy's Barenkora or Barenuôra, which I have more aptly identified with Muang P huen or P hâ or (see above p 295, n 3, and p 364, n 2) See also Appendix II above, section 6

p 105, l 6 from bottom Po lo la In Chinese characters, 波羅刺 Cf the Palola, Bhilla palola, or Apalola, a people located by the Brhat Samhitâ in the north east region, presumably Pliny's Ubara, Ptolemy's Barhai, and the present-day Phuen or Phu ôr Cf also the Vilah, Bila, Bhal, etc, on pp 163 and 257, n 1, above, and the Pu la, Pu la in these Addenda, *infra*, note to p 364)

p 156 The Lestai Country Porcacchi (1576) mentions (op cit, p 196) the kingdom of 'Letturo' or Siâm, a term evidently borrowed from Ptolemy's Lestai, Lestôn J Schouten (1636) names (op cit, p 28) 'Lydure' among the principal cities of Siâm but this information is probably culled from Mandelslo, who writes 'Lidure' (op cit, p 306), and who in his turn has possibly drawn in this instance upon Mendez Pinto This famous traveller refers, in fact (op cit, pp 275-6), to a fortified town 'Lautor,' in A.D. 1545, situated about Bismulok and Chainath, which I take to be Lakhon thai (Lacontai) For Leston, see again p 208 above, note, ll 1 2

p 157, ll 1-12 from bottom Chong These people have been fortunately recently studied by my late friend Dr J Brengues, whose premature death has been a sad loss for Indo Chinese ethnology In his most valuable paper upon them (published in the *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol II, Bangkok, 1905, pp 19-47), he has proved them identical with the tribes termed Porr in Kamboja and says they name themselves Tamret, often transcribed Samret Samrek, Samrel and Samre He has also shown that they actually occupy the whole tract from the Kampot district, on the east coast of Siâm to the mountains lying westward of the great inland lake of Kamboja But by far the most important result of Dr Brengues' researches is the ascertainment among the Chong or Chong of a remarkable proportion of individuals (about one twentieth) of unmistakable Negrito type low stature (1.59 m. on the average) flat nose, very dark skin (Nos 41-3 of Broca's scale) and crisp, frizzly, almost woolly hair and mesocephalic skull (maximum index 79 or 78-82), all characters which forcibly differentiate them from the taller, lank haired, and sub brachycephalic Khmers My conclusions as to a Negrito population

occupying of old the Kambojan coast have thereby received a most ample confirmation, and there can be now no further doubt that the forbears of these dusky robber (and perhaps also to some extent piratical) tribes are in the main the population described by Ptolemy as being in occupation of his *Ἀγροῦν χώρα*, i.e. 'Robber Country'

p 157, ll 3 5 from bottom Such traditions can be correct only in so far as they refer to the immigrated non-Negrito element now forming so large a proportion of the present Chōng. Other traditions state, on the other hand, that the Radz have been the first batch of immigrants that reached Kamboja from the north

p 157, n 1, ll 3, 4 As regards the origin of the name Kamboja, cf *Kamboja* in the Mahābhārata, etc., and *Kamboja*, a country and a people in the south west region, according to the Brhat Samhitā

p 158, l 6 from bottom. Cuirasses seem to have been almost generally employed of old in Indo China, and are yet the fashion in some parts even nowadays, as may be gathered from the following evidence I have collected —

(1) "Au Nan tehao, tout homme arrivé à l'âge adulte et suffisamment robuste est soldat. Ils portent des jambières et des casques rouges, des cuirasses en peau de rhinocéros et des bouchers de cuivre. Ils marchent pieds nus" ("Nan chao Ye shih," composed in 1550, Sanson's transl, p 19) This refers to the period 649–1382, during which the Nan chao kingdom in Yun nan lasted, and probably applies also to an earlier epoch

(2) "Cuirasses faites de lames d'ivoire" were taken by the Chinese from the Cham at the time of the latter's defeat in A.D. 808 (Bouillevaux in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, t. iii p 79)

(3) The cannibal and crudate P'u, 濮, "portent des cuirasses de cuir cru" (Ma Tuan-lin's "Ethnography," published 1310, Hervey's transl, p 299) In the *China Review*, vol. xix, p 293, it is stated that these tribes "were clad in coats of mail" The above extracts refer to a period going as far back as the third century A.D., and these caudate P'u or arboreal P'u, located at 1,500 li south-west of Yun nan, were evidently Lawā or Wah

(4) The *Ko Kuo lo* 葛獠獠, a tribe of Lolo, "portent cuirasses" ("Nan chao Ye shih" 1550 Sanson's transl, p 169)

(5) The *Tu jen* 土人, i.e. the Tho of North Tonkin, "emploient comme presents de fiançailles des couteaux et des cuirasses" ("Nan chao Ye shih," 1550, Sanson's transl, p 183)

(6) The *Li-su* employ hides hardened in the sun as cuirasses (E Roux' "Aux Sources de l'Irraouaddi" p 27)

(7) The *Breh*, *Brch* or *Lala*, a tribe of Karens "a generation or two back carried *shields* made of plank covered with buffalo hide and studded with brass nails" ("Upper Burma Gazetteer," part 1, vol 1, p 533)

p 159, l 3 "Inland sea of Kamboja" This is an oversight on my part, and must be corrected into "inland sea of Singora," to which the generic term *Thalē Sib* is also applied. On its cave-dwellers, see Annandale's criticism of Warrington Smyth in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol xvi, 1900, pp 519-520

p 159 ll 7, 8, and n 1, on cave dwellers. Add, furthermore, the following evidence —

(1) According to a Chinese account, the "inhabitants of Pulo Condor subsist by fishing and gathering fruits. They have their abodes in nests and *holes*. Their appearance is monstrous and their colour black" (*China Review*, vol iii p 325). This troglodytism of the Pulo Condor people is further confirmed by Dampier in his account of that island.

(2) It is stated of the old kingdom of Ai I on the coast of Annam (corresponding to the territory of the present Muangs Kham Kot and Kham Muen on the Iāu Annamese watershed) "Les habitants de ces territoires habitent pour la plupart *dans des grottes*, et ces troglodytes cultivent les rizières sans instruments aratoires" (Dumoutiers 'Un Portulan Annamite du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle,' Paris 1896, p 50)

(3) In the *Wu lo* 烏洛 country, whither Meng hu proceeded for assistance against Hung ming (in A.D. 225) according to the "San kuo Chih" were no houses every one living in *caves* or *holes* (see *China Review*, viii p 49). This country of *Wu lo*, *U lo*, *U la* (lit 'Black Spear' or 'Crow Spear'), the name of which at first sight would seem to be the transcript of some Sanskrit Pali toponym (e.g. *Ullala Ullala Ullala* see p 94 above) was probably on the upper waters of the Red River not far from modern Yuan chiang judging from the fact that the San kuo Chih locates a river *Tau hwa Shuei* 桃花水 in the said *Wu lo* country which strikes one as identical to the *Tau chiang* or Red River (see p 317 above). NB moreover, that there were then *Wu mo* tribes settled about Yuan chiang, and *Ko Man* (probably *Ko* or *Aka*) quite close by to the westward. Hence, *Wu lo*, *U la*, may mean country of the Akas (*Alha Alhō*). The original home, or at any rate the last centre of emigration of the Akas is, in fact believed to have been at, or round about, Ia lang which lies but a short distance to the south west of Yuan chiang (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," part 1, vol 1 p 590)

(4) On the cave dwellers of Eastern Sz ch wan, see Parker's "China," p 9, where it is further stated (loc cit) that 'some of these tribes still exist to the extreme south east near the Kwei Chou frontier'

(5) At Tong Po on the Red River, on the Yun nan frontier, and at Tu yen quan and elsewhere in Upper Tonkin prehistoric stations have been discovered in caves

p 159, n 2, l 1 *Kan chō* Red *Kon chō*, which appears to be but the Khmer Annamese detractory corruption of their name *Kan c'lo* or *Ka'ja* as Aymonier prefers to write it (see his "Cambodge," t 1, p 296) They don't seem however, to be so uncouth and brutalized as Moura describes them

p 160 l 7 On the possible identity of the *C'ho'ig* or *Chong* with Chou Ta kuan's *C'wang Tsai* (AD 1296-7) i.e. 'Clong Robbers' see Appendix II above, section 7, s.v. *Lestai* But I have my doubts as to whether the expression *Chwang Tsai* or *Chong tsai* really should be so interpreted or else taken to mean the *C'long* and *Sak* tribes as I have already observed (loc cit) It should be noticed in fact that the *C'long* and *Sak* are often spoken of together in popular ditties as e.g. to point out an instance which may easily be verified in the extract from the versified story of Mala Janaka, quoted by Leylen *C'long sak na lai* (see 'Essays relating to Indo China' ser 1 vol 1, p 146) which means 'the *C'long* and *Sak* with tattooed faces' For the *Sak* tribes see p 160 above last five lines at bottom Chou Ta kuan actually says 'The savages are people of the mountainous solitudes They form a separate race called *Chwang tsai* [or *C'long Tsai*]' without adding any further comment as to their possessing robbing proclivities or not This seems to me almost an indication that what he means is the 'Chong and *Sak* tribes' and not 'C'long Robbers Of course if the latter interpretation could safely be maintained it would establish a most valuable historical and ethnographical link in the connection between Ptolemy's *Lestai* and the present *C'long* of unhybridized Negrito blood

p 162 not II 10-14 *Ba loi* This is the Annamese way of reading the Chinese 婆利 *Poli* the name of the State which I have since identified with the territory of the *Pulas River*, north of the old Singapore Strait (see p 495 and Addenda to pp 98 and 110 above) It has therefore nothing at all to do with Campa this is a pure fancy of the author of the *Gia dinh Thung chi*

p 163, l 2 *Pras* These people are mentioned in a *Lo Nagar*



inscription of King Vikrantavarman Finot ("Album Kern," p 383) renders the expression *Vrlah kirata irla* as "sauvages montagnards appelés *Vrlas*" On these, see further, p 257, n 1, and these Addenda note to p 155, above)

p 164, n 1, l 4 *Kim-trân* This is the Annamese way of pronouncing the Chinese characters 金陳, *Chin ch'ên* (*Ken-ch'ên*, *Kim chin*), constituting an alternative name for *Chin lin*, according to Chinese records *Kim chin* may be an attempt at rendering the Sanskrit *lancana* = 'gold' = *Suvarna*[-*bhūmi*] ? Kāśyapa, the commentator, lived in the eighteenth century For a possible identity of *Chin lin* (*Kam lan*) with *Camelan*, see p 113, n 3, and these Addenda, note to p 113, above

p 165, note, l 1 After "Chindwin valley," add "and the Shan States"

p 168, ll 10-12 *Chên la* The Chinese characters for this toponym, 真臘, *Chên la*, represent, in my opinion, allowing for differences inherent to old Chinese pronunciation, a form *Chên rā*, *Chên rai*, or *Sên rai*, evidently intended to render the name *Sōras* by which the Siengs to this very day designate Kamboja I have good reason to suppose that this name for Kamboja, which appeared in the seventh century A D, originated from the *Charas* or *Jarai* tribes which must have invaded it and held it under their sway, and which to this day hold the privilege of possessing lire kings (see pp 342, 343 above) I cannot here dilate any more on this subject, which I am working at and fully developing in a paper I am preparing for the press

p 175, l 13 and p 176 *passim* *Syam lak* M Finot who has again verified these inscriptions, says that *Syam lak* is a misreading and that *Syam lat* is the correct one for both (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t iv, p 236 n 2)

p 175, n 2, ll 9-12 On face tattooing of the *Li* of Hainan The *San tsh* (people of North Hainan) tattooed their ears, according to a Chinese writer of the sixth century (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t iii p 231) As regards the *Liau*, the 'An nan Chih luo,' p 96 transl states that some of them "tattoo the forehead and fill their teeth"

p 177, n 2 The original expression for the 'Great Black Mountains' in I tsing's text is, as I found out elsewhere, *Ta hêh Shan* 大黑山 These are also mentioned by Kia Tan in one of his itineraries compiled during the period 785-805 A D, as lying between *Piao* (Lower Burma) and *Kāmarūpa* (Assam) (See *Bulletin Ec Fr* t iv, p 371) They must correspond, therefore, to the Iushu Hills bounding on the west the Kuba valley

p 178, ll 1-5 *Syāma* Cf on this term

(1) *Syāmula*, a people in the Northern region, according to the *Bṛhat Samhitā*

(2) *Sāmaṣamṛ*, one of the townships of the Śākya clan mentioned in the most ancient Buddhist texts

(3) *Sayam* = 'the black One,' Skr *Syama*, is the godling of the land and soil (*Bhumīya*) in the hills of North India (Crooke, vol 1, p 105)

(4) *Dàng thố* = 'Black Earth' (*Syama dhū*) An Annamese expression at times employed to designate Kamboja and her people (see Bonet's Diet Annamite, vol 1, p 134)

p 181, ll 7-10 from bottom The countries of *Lvo* (=Larô), *Diui* (for Dvarapuri Dvāravati?), etc, are mentioned in a Lop khuri (Larô) inscription of cired 950-1000 A D (see Aymonier's "Cambodge," t II, p 83)

p 181, l 3 from bottom *Siam* Cf *Sim* of Hayton the Armenian, who states it to be a kingdom lying between China and India (see De Backer, op cit, p 127) This may however, refer to *Chin* (Pegu)

p 183, ll 18-20 The designation *Syāma padēsa* for the Sukhōthai kingdom occurs under the date of about 1360 in the "Jinakula Malinī" (composed A D 1516)

p 184 l 3 *Thai* The terms *Thai* and *Muang Thai* ('Country of the Thai, or Freeman') already occur in the oldest Thai inscription of A D 1306 found at Sukhothai

p 185 n 1, ll 7, 8 from bottom *Thai* has been thought to be represented by 𑜋𑜨, *Ch'ai* or *Ts'ai* in *Shan Ch'ai* 山 柴, 'Mountain Thai (?)', the name applied to themselves by the Man Kao lan tribes, who speak a modified Thai jargon (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t II, p 268)

*Adl Thōi* (*thây*) = a 'master,' in Annamese

p 190 For a much fuller treatment of the historical questions connected with ancient Siam which have been hardly touched upon in this section (pp 169-90) I must refer the reader to several of my publications quoted in the foregoing pages and chiefly among them to my articles on 'Siam's Intercourse with China,' which appeared in the *Anatolic Quarterly Review* for 1900-2, also for January, 1898, and January, 1899

p 190, ll 9-14 from bottom As regards the *Pyaya* of Chām inscriptions, see, however, below, n te to p 281

p 190 *Pagrassa* For further linguistic remarks on this toponym, see p 309 above *Krus* in Khmer means 'thick,' 'dense,' 'hard', *sat krus* = 'sea turtle' (Siam *Loah*), and a 'shell'

p 192, ll 12-14 The form *Sobannos* also occurs in some of

the Ptolemaic MSS, which argues a derivation from *Soranna*. Cf also *Suparna* River in India (Wilson's "Vishnu Purana," vol II, p 154) *Suparna Supanna, Suban*, is an epithet of Garuda. As to its identity with the Kaphong Som River it is worthy of remark that Hamilton in 1720, refers to this stream even though by mistake, as the *Cupang Soap* (see Pinkerton's "Collection of Voyages" vol VII, London 1811 p 177)

p 193, ll 2-3 *Pthu* and *Banthu* mean in Khmer, besides a 'wall' a 'citadel'

p 193, ll 1-5 from bottom and p 194 ll 1-6 from top. In a separate paper now in the press, I have gathered all necessary information and historical references to prove that a branch of the Western Me Khong detached a little above Chaudoc, flowed through an old channel (corresponding roughly to the present Chong Kanchum canal) into the Banthum River thus discharging its waters into the Gulf of Siam. Suffice here to point out that in 1544 and 1595-6 Siamese fleets proceeded from Banthum to Lawek, the then capital of Kamboja, through the above mentioned old channel of the Me Khong as recorded in the 'Ayuthia Annals,' vol I pp 161 and 194. The dates I have given are corrected ones. The discovery I have made of the existence of the old channel is likely to help in the better understanding of the hitherto obscure routes followed by ancient sea trade in the parts

p 195, n 2 after 1715. Read "in 1714"

p 197 l 16 *Phi Kuok*. This name came to be given the island from *Phu Kuok* (Phu quoc) village founded thereon by *Mak Kuu* 莫九 in about 1700-15. It is therefore a modern one. *Mak Kuu* also founded *Kampot*, *Rachja* and *Kaman* villages.

p 198 l 2 *Trol* or *trâl* hence *Kâ tîl* or *Koh Trol* = 'Shuttle Island'. NB that in *Moû dara dharu* = a 'spool' such as put into a weaver's shuttle and that this term even more approaches in sound to the final syllable of Ptolemy's *Aka[dra]*. Thus in *Moû* [*T*] *kâ dara* or [*L*] *kâ dara* (*Aka-dra*) would mean 'Spool Island'. Garnier in *Journal asiatique*, 1872 p 144 spells the name of the island '*Ca Tion*'.

p 199 l 12 *Jakatra* or *Jakarta* but both are a corruption of *Skr Jâjakarta*.

p 199 l 4 from bottom *Ujong Tiah* corresponds to Johore territory and is distinct from *Tamasa* the old name of Singapore Island. For the identity of this with the *Tumauk* of the 'Nagarakretagama' (circa 1380) etc., see more fully my paper 'The Nagarakretagama List of Countries' etc., in *Journal R A S*, July 1903 pp 500-11.

p 200, note, last 5 lines Cf., however, the Strait of *Chih* (*Chek* or *Sik*), 𣶒, mentioned by K'itan in one of his Itineraries (A p 785-805, see *Bulletin Ie Ti*, t II, p 231), which seems to be somewhat onomatologically connected with the [Tuma]sik of the Nāgarakretāgama, although it may be intended to be an abbreviation of *Chih-li*, *Sil lit* (*Selat*)

p 201, ll 10-20 from bottom *Kōmār*, more correctly *Kmar* De Barros (Dec III, lib II, ch 5) has a curious passage as follows "There are two kingdoms adjacent to each other, and both of them maritime, which have each a peculiar language, the first is termed *Como* and the second *Camboja*." (see Leiden's Essay in "Essays relating to Indo China" ser I, vol I, p 150) Here *Como* (unless intended for *Klom*, another name for Kamboja which is unlikely) presumably corresponds to the territory of the Khmau district, and, taken in a more extensive sense to the western part of the M. Khūng Delta, and thus to the *Kmar* of the Arabs which we have located in the same position NB that although in a preceding note (to p 197) the foundation of *Khmau* village is put, after the "Gia dinh Tung chi," to the credit of Mu-k'uu, and does not go further back than A D 1700-15, the name *Khmau* for the district, the river flowing through it, and the cape, is far older

Another name similar to De Barros' *Como* is that of the *Kramān* Sō (now Rach ja) district, spelled *Kramansa* by Garnier in his translation of the 'Chronique Royale du Cambodge,' and *Kar-min sa* by Crawford (op cit, vol II p 230) Its river now called the Tek sia, or Rach ja I have elsewhere identified with the *Man shan*, 𣶒 山, River of Chinese records (A p 1015, see Ma Tuan lin, op cit p 578) But I think that De Barros' *Como* is really *Khmau*, as I have hinted at above

p 202, ll 7-11 Compare Mas'ūdī's passage here with the following one from Aubret's "Gia dinh Tung chi," p 86 "Les Chinois avoient autrefois l'habitude de donner le nom de *sa nu pieds* aux habitants de *Gia dinh* [Lower Cochinchina], et cela tenait à ce que les mandarins seulement ou les personnes fort riches ou bien les grands marchands, portaient seuls des chaussures"

p 202, l 6 from bottom *Kih mick* In Chinese characters: 吉 蔑, *Chi mie* (*Kat met*, *Keik mick*, *Kil miol*, Ann *Kiet miet*), which is the spelling made use of in the "T'ang Shu" both old and new recensions, compiled during the ninth and eleventh centuries respectively (see *Bulletin Ie Ti*, t II, p 125) This seems to represent the form *Kmir* (for *Khmau*) appearing in some

of the Cham inscriptions but certainly neither *Keur* nor *Kur* which have quite another origin (i.e. from *Kuru* the *Kuru* people of the Indo-Chinese *Indraprastha* the medieval capital of Kamboja) as I shall more fully explain elsewhere

p 217 l 19 *Zija* Cf *Ennar Jordanus Clopa* (Habl Soc ed p 41)

p 217 l 11 from bottom *To-pei* In the Sung Annals (see extract in *Tsing Pao* vol ix p 380) this toponym is spelled 施備 *Shih-peï* *S bei* a form yet more approaching to Ptolemy's *Zabai* (*Zabi* *Zabei*) Cf with Dimashki's *Tubt* one of the cities of *Sa'if* (Campā) See Mehren, op cit, p 228

p 220 l 12 from bottom The stela here referred to has since been (1902) transferred to Hanoi into the Museum of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient

p 221 l 14 *Johor* This is not the *Belumah* of the old Arab navigators which must be identified instead with Singapore Island as I have more recently shown (see these Addenda note to p 199)

p 221 n 1 1st line See further *Tsing Pao* May 1903 p 140 where a Chinese official author of a voyage to Tonkin scouts the usual interpretation put upon the term *Kiao chi* See also Clavannes in *Sema Tsai* vol i p 38 quoted there On *Kochi* *Kuchi* Cochin China as derived from *Kiao chi* *Kiau chi* and not from *Kun chon* see *Pulletin Ec Fr* t iii p 299 See also *Koki* *Kochi* p 90 above, and p 321 for other remarks In the 'An-nan Chih-luo' *Yuan-chi* 元池 (in Annamese *Zien chi*) and *Nan chiao* 南交 are given as ancient names for Tonkin (see Sanson's transl pp 11 12 50 51 131 132) date AD 975-80 The first one is I think connected with the *Chu Yuan* 朱鳶 (in Ann *Clôti Zie*) tribes said to have been settled of old on the slopes of Mount Ba-vi (see Dumoutier's *Etude hist et archeolog sur Co-lon* Paris Leroux 1893 pp 3 4 The same writer p 3 states that the *Kiao chi* (*Jiu chi*) tribes occupied the territory of the modern districts of Ha noi Hung yen and Nam din Of course *Seny* and *Chencl* on pp 245-6 note *supra* and remark moreover that the second character 交 in *Yuan chi* is the same as employed betimes in writing the term *Kiau chi* thus 交池

As regards the term *Fuel* (*Fiet*) this occurs in *Fuel shang* 越裳 (Ann *Fiet thuong*) or *Fuel shang Shih* (= 'Fuch-shang tribe') the name of a people and district mentioned in history from sec 214 which Dumoutier (op cit p 4) renders as 'Those beyond

the old *Huan wang* The *Huan* River, 環江 (the first character being identical to the one employed to denote the *Huan* kingdom, i.e. *Campa*), referred to above is mentioned in the Annamese records in A.D. 1008 in the neighbourhood of Vĩn (see Dumoutier's "Hoa lu," p. 53), and probably corresponds to the present Van-ch'ũang, between Vĩn and Hà tĩn

p. 228, ll. 1-8 from bottom *Chan-ch'êng* (the 'City of Chan') = *Campa pura*

The name *Campa* appears in local inscriptions since A.D. 479-577

p. 228, n. 3, ll. 4, 5 *Bal Hangov* This must be the Châm citadel existing at about two miles south-west of Hwê, on the right side of the river, just opposite the Luuk lam village. Between this and Hwê, on the same side of the river, are the ruins of brick buildings (An kieu and Thàn p'hũ). Other ruins are to be seen at Gĩm bieu, south-west of the Hwê citadel (see *Bulletin Ind. Fr.*, t. II, p. 105)

*Bal Hangov* (or, *Hingui*) was 'unsi appelée, parait-il, des pins qui abondent encore aujourd'hui aux environs de la capitale actuelle des Annamites [Hwê]" (Aymonier in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 32, p. 150). It appears to have been founded in A.D. 1007

A yet more ancient capital is mentioned in Châm tradition, to wit *Bal Thieu* (or *Sruh*) *Bal Lai* (*Excurs. et Recon.*, No. 31, p. 153), which may correspond to *Bal Sri Banov* (*Fanaya Palaya*, *Sĩrĩlaya* i.e. *Huan wang*?). NB that the *Ron* River is not far to the north of Đông hoi, the supposed site of *Sĩrĩ Banov* or *Sĩrĩ Banovĩ*

p. 229, l. 3 *Dũng Hoi* The ramparts of *Dũng Hoi*, or *Dũng-Hui* 洞海 (= 'Sea Grotto'), were built, according to an Annamese Geography, in the reign of Hsiao Wen ti (B.C. 179-56) see Dumoutier's 'Portulan Annamite,' p. 52

p. 229, l. 6 *P'hot thẽ* Pero Cadiere writes 佛逝, *P'hát thẽ* (= *P'hot thẽ*, in Chinese *T'ò shih*) in the *Bulletin Ind. Fr.*, 1903, p. 201, and adds that it was taken in 1644 by Lí thai ton, it being then the capital of Campĩ, thus confirming what I had written in antecedence on p. 229 above. NB that 佛逝, *T'ò shih*, as it is spelled in Ma Tsuru lin means 'Buddha's death,' and may thus allude to *Kusinara* where the Buddha died. On the other hand it may be a transcript of some term like *Bhoja*, *Bhojya*, etc. Again, as the Châm inscriptions mention a city or district *Amaravati* in the north, as Finot makes it out (quite the reverse of Aymonier, who understands it to have been in the south), the term *T'ò shih* may be a clumsy rendering of it (as *Marācati*, 'Death's abode'), or

a simple attempt to phonetically transcribe the last part *cati* of the name, perhaps more accurately represented in the Annamese form *P'hôt-thê* or *P'hôt-thê*. On an ancient capital *Tu ch'un*, 富春 (Ann *P'hu c'huôn*), founded before Hsiao Wu's reign (A.D. 373-97) near Hwê (west or south west) and on a site apparently corresponding to that of *P'hôt-thê* see Dumoutier's "Portulan Annamite," p. 55. However, according to the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française* t. II, p. 199, this information cannot be traced further back in history than the period of the Annamese Ngwien (Nguyễn) dynasty, seventeenth-eighteenth centuries.

p. 229, n. 1, l. 3. *Dòng* = 洞. This is incorrect, for *Dòng hoi* is actually represented by the characters 洞海, *Zong Hui* (in Chinese *Zong Hai* = 'Sea Grotto'), and sometimes spelled 洞酒 *Zong Hui* (in Chinese *Tung Hwei* = 'Fairy Cave') see *Bulletin Ec. Fr.*, t. III, p. 180. These are, presumably, mere clumsy attempts to render an old Châm name, unless 回 *Hui*, is intended, which is used to designate Mohammedans and also Mongols.

p. 230, l. 2. In 1371 the Cham king Chu Bong ngi attacked and totally destroyed Hwê, the then capital of Annam (see Dumoutier's "Portulan" pp. 54, 55) which was not rebuilt until two centuries later. *Clu lan*, or *Bal Angre* the Châm capital of the time, is presumably "the city of *Bal*, called *Metakat*," of the "Malay Annals" (Leriden's transl.).

p. 230, l. 5. *Bal Batthinong* became the seat of government after 37 years' interregnum, according to Cham tradition i.e. in circa 1508. But this date probably requires a correction of some 100 years less. From the Chinese records we learn of the death, in A.D. 1505, of the Châm king *Ku lai*, who had been deposed some time prior to A.D. 1481 in favour of his elder brother, and driven out to seek refuge at Chi Khram and Pinrang. On the other hand, the Annamese Portulan of 1477 A.D. already locates the Châm capital at Panring, which evidences that the latter already stood there since at least some years say from 1467 or even earlier (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 64).

p. 231, l. 19. *Hai tu*. These tribes are by some Chinese writers identified with the *Hê ch'ih*, 黑齒, or 'Black Teeth' so called from their habit of staining or blackening their teeth black (see *Bulletin Ec. Fr.*, t. III, p. 281). This custom is common to the Annamese, Khmer, Lau, Siamese and in general to all betel-chewing populations of Indo China, hence the difficulty of identifying the *Hai tu*, who may have been, however, part of the forbears of the present Khmers.

p 231, l 12 from bottom The "An nan Chih luo" (p 213 transl) states that the Chinese expedition of A D 603 (60?) landed at the seaport of *Pi ling* (*Ti lañ*, see p 311 *supra*), and ferried the *Shi li* or *Tu li Kiang* (in B chañ = modern Kwang biñ and Kwang tñ) where the frontier of Campa then stood (p 63) This must have been either the Song ki at Viñ or else the Song giang River A battle here ensued, in which the Cham king was worsted Thereupon, the Chinese invaders proceeded onwards to the *Tu yuan* (= the Song giang or the Kwang biñ River?) where they again defeated the Cham who had taken position there The army then passed Ma yuan's brass pillar, and eight days' march further it reached the Cham capital

p 233 ll 13-15 The contemporary inscriptions of Chō diñ, Mi son, and Hon kuh, belonging to circa A D 400, all three mentioning the name of the same Cham king (Bhadravarman), and coming the first one from the district of Twa hwa just above Cape Varella (13° N lat) and the other two from places in the south west of Turan (16° N lat) prove that at any rate the region comprised between Cape Varella and Turan obeyed a single ruler (see *Bulletin Le Fr t n* p 131)

p 234, l 19 Since this passage was written there has been discovered the stela of Sambhuvvarman at Mi son in South West Turan, which is the oldest dated inscription hitherto brought to light in the whole of Indo China (A D 479-577) In it the name *Campa* already occurs The earliest mention hitherto found was on the stela of Yang Tikuh A D 799 (see *Bulletin Le Fr t n*) As regards the term *Mi la Cai jō* this reappears, brought to light in the Annamese form *Drū Chis* 大古 (Chin *Tai Can*) in the Annamese Portulan of 1477 as the name for the seaport of Fai fo (present Kwang nam below Turan) see Dumoutier's 'Portulan,'

l 57

p 239 l 3 Chang Sheng the author of the revised edition of Ma Huan's 'Ying yai Sheng lan' in noticing the seaport called *Han-clou* says that on its shores a stone pagoda was erected as a beacon Ma Huan mentions it as well (see *Poung Pao*, 1901, p 374, and, for a fuller description the *China Review*, vol III, pp 321-322)

l 243 n 2 last line I lowered *Pi tie* cloth is woven by the women of *Tu jo* Island (= Borneo see p 245 above) according to Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 513

p 245 l 11 In the 'An nan Chih luo' (Samson's transl, p 228) in 1291 A D the Sea of China is called *Yen Hai*, 炎海, the 'Blazing Sea,' with reference perhaps to Yen ti (the 'Fiery



As regards Tena<sup>ss</sup>erim, the oldest recorded form of its name is *Tanansari*, တနင်္သာရီ, which appears in the A D 1248 Pagan inscription of King Narapati athu (see text of the "Inscriptions of Pagan" etc., p 200, l 6) So much for those writers who pretend (like e g., in the *Bulletin Le F.*, t 11, pp 407 and 470) that the right name for Tena<sup>ss</sup>erim is *Nankasi*, which is by the Peguans pronounced *Nankasidi*. This is a mere faulty transcript for which the Rev A O Stevens is responsible (see "Vocabulary English and Peguan," Rangoon 1896 p 138, ll 5-7) The real Mōn (Peguan) name for Tena<sup>ss</sup>erim, as ascertained by myself, is *Tnang si*, တာဏာငယ်, pronounced *Tnang soi* or *Tunang soi*, and occurs in the Mōn Annals called the "Hajadhiraj" It well enough agrees it will be seen, with the *Tanang sari* of the 1248 Pagan inscription, which in its turn quite agrees with the *Ti na ssü li* of the Chinese map of about 1400 published by Phillips (see n 406

Annales d'Annam," p 230 Its name pronounced *Sai fu lyt* in Cantonese, is a surprising approach to Nowairi's *Sida bu lit* especially

p 251, note § 3 *Shang ching* According to the *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t iv p 188 n 1, this is a misprint for *Pi ling* for which see p 312 above

For other ancient seaports in this region see An nan Chih luo ' pp 178 207 219 Des Michels, op cit, pp 198, 200, 219 220, also p 311 above for *Lu jung* which was the principal seaport for *Jih nan* whence ships sailed southward bound

p 252 ll. 1-3 *Hò ton* The name of this people is spelled 猓 狒 (in Chinese *Hu sun*) or 猓 狒 精, *Hó ton Tiñ* (Chiu *Hu sun Ching*), and in Annamese legend they are identified with the Simian nation, which assisted Rama in conquering the demons of Lanka They are believed to be a monkey race from which the modern Chams are descended (see *Bulletin Ec Fr* t v p 168) Their country is thus thought to be the Indian kingdom of Kiskindhya where in Rama's time reigned Sugriva The transference of this legend to Campa probably arose from a tradition as to the primæval inhabitants of the country being Negritos, as we have already inferred from other indications (see pp 256 257 above)

p 255 ll 12 13 With *Ha hitari* etc, cf also the Persian *Ind* (whence *Hind Hindu*) which is synonymous with 'black' according to Balfour's Cyclopædia vol ii, p 56

p 256 ll 8 13 For *Tiao* or *Tiao* read *Chrau*, for *Kan cío* read *Kon cho* and as regards true Negritos see what has been said above in these Addenda (note to p 157) of the Chong Porr or Samre

p 256, n 1 Add also *Iyaghra mukha* (= 'tiger faces') a people in the eastern region according to the Brhat Samhita, which may be compared with the *Hu tou* or *Hó dao* ('tiger heads') tribes on the Black River in Tonkin (see p 390 above) The *Osthakarnaka* tribe may also be compared with the [Khā] *Ut* As regards ichthyophagi it is well to call attention to the fact that fish and shell eating populations occupied the lacustrine stations of the Neolithic age discovered in Kamboja as proved by the sort of detritus of which the strata of their Kjekken moddings are composed

The raw fish eating attributed in the Ramayana to eastern islanders and ascribed in the Catalan Atlas to the populations of the Formosan channel is by no means a myth, for it is yet

of dwarfs is mentioned in the south. Its name is *Tsiau-nau* [i.e. *Chiau yau*]. The dwarfs are, says Kwo-pu, 3 feet high, the height given in the *Shi-ki* [n.c. 100]. Lie-tsz says the same people are one foot and a half high, and he states that their country is 400,000 *li* distant." "According to the *Hill and Sea classic* [i.e. the '*Shan-hai King*'], sect. iii, 4, the *Chiao Yao* or *Chow jao* were a tribe of cap-wearing pigmies 3 cubits high whose country was situated to the east of the country of the 'three-headed men'" (*China Review*, vol. xv, p. 157). I scarcely doubt that this 'Country of Three-headed Men,' or 'Triple-head Kingdom,' hitherto unidentified and which presumably is denoted in Chinese by the term *San-t'ou*, 三頭, in Cantonese *San-t'au* (= 'Three Heads'), is the *Săm-thău* district north-east of *C'hiêng Tung*, inhabited by the *Khă Săm-thău*, the *Plang*, etc.; wherefore the habitat of the *Chiau-yau* pygmies would become fixed eastwards of the *Mé-Không* at *C'hiêng-Khếng* and *Muang S'ing* in the tract now

tract between the M<sup>o</sup>-Kh<sup>o</sup>ng and the Black River under the 21st parallel of N latitude. Whether these people should be racially identified with the Y<sup>au</sup>, the K<sup>h</sup>ā Kh<sup>o</sup>ng, or other tribe settled in that tract, is a question which must be left to future ethnologists. It should be noticed, however, that north of this, on the Red River, is the habitat of the dark and dwarf P<sup>u</sup> la tribes, which seem to be the remnants of an extensive pygmy race (see below, note to p 364). The P<sup>u</sup> mang or K<sup>h</sup>l Dam, calling themselves Sant<sup>o</sup>m, and recognized by all the surrounding populations as being the true aborigines of Yun nan and Laos, are also a very dwarfish race, described as "very small in size with flat faces, noses without bridges, and black skin. One of their peculiarities is their rounded forehead and their protruding lips" (see "Upper Burma Gaz.," pt 1, vol 1, p 620).

p 260, l 15 Ku lun, K<sup>u</sup>n lun. See pp 89, 90, 103, 261 (n 1), 507-9 above. Cf

(1) The Kallar, Kallan, Colleri, the sylvestres homines, monkey-faced tribes in South India (see Balfour's Cyclopædia, vol II, p 274).

(2) The Kalang, Kallang, or Gelang tribes settled in the old days on Singapore Island and in the Riau Langa Archipelago, possessing affinities with the Semang Minkopi, and Aeta who have thence also emigrated to Java. Meyer ("Negritos," pp 40-1) thinks they might have come to Java from India and Celebes (?), and asserts they are not Negritos.

(3) The Karon or Karun, a Negrito race in North West Guinea. From the above it would appear that Kalan, Kaling, Karon, Karun etc (= Ku lun K<sup>u</sup>n lun Ch<sup>u</sup>eh lun of the Chinese) is a pretty general term in South East Asia for Negritos or very dark tribes and was probably imported there from Chola or Choromandel.

p 262, l 10 Odoric of Friuli says of his pygmy, bidun, budin, or bidim pygmies from Kansuh (Kan chou district) that they have a stature of three spans (see De Backer, op cit, p 118). Carletti speaks of *cinan* pygmies and hairy men, by which he seems to mean (if not Zenji) the Sing sing, 猩 猩, apes of Chinese legendary folklore.

p 262, ll 11-15 from bottom C<sup>h</sup>adang Salang. See pp 272-273 *supra*, and note thereon in these Addenda *infra*.

p 265, ll 13-19 The name Sugara (Ptolemy's Thagora) probably still survived in that of the now forgotten seaport Thai lon or Thu lôn, 茶 芹 (in Chinese Shu chin, J Shu gon = Saugor, Sugara?), of the Annamese Portulan of A.D. 1477, situated at one day and one night's sailing south east of D<sup>u</sup>i C<sup>h</sup>am.

(Maha Campa) i.e. Fai fo (see Dumoutier's "Portulan" p. 7). This sailing distance fully agrees with that from Fai fo to Nà trang Bay

p. 269, ll. 17, 18 *Bal* This term *Bal*, like the Malay *Balei* (a 'hall,' a 'platform') and *Balei rong* (i.e. 'court' a 'hall of State'), and the Khmer *Banlea* (a 'belvedere,' a 'pavilion'), may be derived from Skr. *talaya* = a 'ring,' an 'enclosure', in any case, the Malay *Balei rong* is almost certainly the corruption of Skr. *Valay [r] angana*. At the same time it should be noticed, as regards the Cham *Bal* especially, that in India *Bal* is a synonymous term for *Īśvara*, i.e. *Śiva* (see *Journal R A S*, July, 1899, p. 545, and of the Phœnician *Bal*, *Baal* = the 'Sun, the 'Sun god'), and that *Balei* may just as well be derived from *Bal alaya* = 'Īśvara's Mansion,' the 'Lord's Abode' i.e. the 'capital', mayhap also 'Śiva's (i.e. the King's) dwelling,' Kings being in Indo-China likened, as a rule to *Śiva*

p. 271, l. 2 *Pundurunga* This term corrupted into *Pandaram*, is used in India to denote a Śaiva devotee and means 'light yellow (or pale) complexioned' from these individuals smearing themselves with ashes according to Balfour's *Cyclopædia*, vol. iii p. 103

p. 271, l. 19 In A.D. 1170 the capital of King Jaya Hari varman of Campa was very probably at Bal Angwê (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t. iii, p. 639)

p. 273 ll. 12-20 *Salang* These were evidently the *Hsu lang*, 徐浪 (called also 狼脬, *Lang hucang*, and 狼脬, *Lang yen*), described as occupying the headwaters of the rivers of *Lan t*, i.e. the hill tracts west of Campa (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t. iii, pp. 280-2). Cf. the names *Lang hucang* and *Lang yen* with those in note 4 to p. 272 and note 1 to p. 273

p. 273 n. 1 ll. 9, 10 For cannibalism in Fuh kien see Marco Polo. Cf. also the name of the *Tung jen* and *Yau tung* savage tribes of *Kwang hsi* with the 撞 *Chucang*, or *Chong* of Kamboja (see these Adlenda note to p. 160, and Appendix II section 7, s.v. *Lestai*). N.B.—That the character 撞, *Tung*, is read *Chucang* by *Bezaux* (see *Toung Pao*, ser. ix vol. iii, 1902, p. 69) who locates the *Chucang* near Lieu chou Fu in *Kwang hsi*

p. 275, n. 3, l. 8 Chou Ta kuan (the author of the account of Kamboja here referred to) speaks, however, of a recent war with Siam which had laid Kamboja waste (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t. ii p. 173) which argues that the country had been, at any rate, temporarily under the sway of Siam. As regards the employment of human gall to sprinkle royal elephants the custom is mentioned

also by Marini (1663) as being likewise in honour among the Lāu of Lān-ch'ang. A drop of the gall, mixed with wine, was used to rub on the head of elephants (op cit, p. 153).

p. 280, ll. 9-12. Turān. Cf. the *Turān* of Alhīrūnī, Edrīsī, etc. = Jhalavan, and also a name of the province immediately east of Mahrān (see *Geographical Journal*, June, 1896, pp. 670-1). The "An-nan Chih-luo" (transl, p. 96) mentions, among neighbouring states and dependencies of Annam, a country *Tau-lan*, 道蘭, or *Tau-ram*, which may be Turān or Turon.

p. 280, n. 2, ll. 6-12 *To-nang*. Dumoutier in "Hoa-lu," p. 40, spells this name 沱 羅 (which would literally mean 'water flowing in bygone days,' whereas the other form would convey the sense of 'muddy flowing water'); but evidently these transcripts, which may also be pronounced *Du-lang*, *Du-long*, are mere phonetic renderings of *Tu-rān*, *Tu-ron*. The Annamese Portulan of A.D. 1177 already mentions *To-nang Min*, 沱 羅 門 (in Ann. *Dà-nang Môn*), i.e. the seaport of Turān, which name is by Dumoutier ("Portulan," pp. 30 and 56) translated 'Port du Grand courant.' The same "Portulan," we have already observed, calls Fai-fo 大 占 門, *Dài-C'hlem Môn*, i.e. 'Port of Mahā-Campā' (and not, as Dumoutier translates on p. 31, 'grand port du Tchampa'; he is right, however, on p. 57 in his other rendering 'Port du Grand Tchampa'). This is to me conclusive evidence as to an old capital of Mahā-Campā having stood in the neighbourhood, and precisely between Fai-fo and Turān, as attested by many ancient remains scattered about this tract, for which see below. As to Fai-fo, it is (or rather was) a comparatively new foundation; in fact, Tosi ("Dell' India Orientale," vol. ii, p. 165) says it was built by the Japanese (?).

The earliest European mentions of Turān that I know of are—

(1) In 1615 as *Turam*. On the 6th January, 1615, two missionaries (i.e. Diogo de Carvalho, a Portuguese, and Duzomi, an Italian), appointed on the Annam mission, sailed from Macao and landed on the 18th of the same month at *Turam*, a seaport of Cochīn-China. There they established a church, but were soon ejected. Nevertheless, they came back in 1631, from Kamboja, to Turān (see "Noticias summarias das perseguições da missão da Cochinchina," etc., Lisboa, 1700, quoted in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 15, pp. 482-3. See No. 12 of the same publication, pp. 509 et seqq., for events at Turān and its bay in 1635 and later).

(2) In 1669 as *Turone* by Tosi (op cit, vol. ii, p. 166), who speaks of it as being already a very frequented place in his time.

p 281, l 2 Ancient remains have been noticed so far according to Lajouquière's *Atlas Archéologique de l'Indo Chine* Paris, 1901—

(1) South of Turan near its river at Phong le (a building with sculptures), Bo mang (stela) Marble Mountains (sculptured grottoes) Qua Giang (brick building)

(2) West and south west of Fai fo Bang an (three brick buildings) Hon kuo (rock inscription, for which see *Bulletin Le Fr t u* p 185) My Son (about twenty five brick buildings, sculptures eight inscriptions) Clum Son (brick building) Tra lieu (vestiges of *Sinapura* a Clam citadel numerous sculptures)

Basing his opinion upon an inscription (A D 1170) of the Cham king Jaya Harivarman in which he mentions his conquests of

Yavana Vijaya in the north Amaravati, in the south, Pandu ranga in the west the Rade Mada etc Finot reads in the north *Amaravati* (quite the reverse of Symonier) and identifies *Imaraviti* with *Uison* (south south west of Turan) or at any rate with the modern province of Kwang nam (see *Bulletin Le Fr t u* p 639) But I have shown above in these Addenda (note to

p 299 l 6) how Amaravati very possibly corresponds to modern Phothe the *Fo shih* of the Chinese (A D 1007) situated some

two to three miles south west of Hwe which was in A D 1044 the capital of Campa and thus probably is the Cham *Bal Hangov*

Otherwise we must identify *Fo shih* (i.e. Phothe and Bal Hangov) with *Tyaya* which alternative would be linguistically supported by the fact that *Fo shih* may also be pronounced *Fot shai*

*Vai zi = Bi jet Vai-zei = Tyaya* In such a case Amaravati must be shifted far to the south perhaps to *Uior* the modern Kan tho on the Me Klong Delta Be it as it may the position of Ptolemy's Throana if not actually identical with that of *Uison* (south south west of Turan) must have been not far away from the present Turan and its bay especially if it be considered that in De Donis map Throana be located quite on the seashore which fact argues it to have been a seaport

l 281 n l last two lines Fresh water dolphins (Planistom) inhabit the rivers of tropical countries The *Iravati* possesses a dolphin the *Orcella fluminalis* which perhaps exists also in the Me Khong Chou Ta kwan says of Kamboja (1296-7) There are crocodiles as big as ships which have four paws and quite resemble a *Dragon* except that they have no horns etc (see *Bulletin Le Fr t u* p 169 170)

p 286 n l l 16 'Black Water' Above in these Addenda (note to pp 130 136 l v) we have seen that the Chinese words

for this expression are 黑水, *Hēi Shuǐ*, as recorded in the "Nan chao Ye shih," 1550 (Sainson's translation, p. 208). The *Hēi liang*, or 'Black River,' into which the *Lhāi* (Ta li Lakt) is drained by two streams (*Journal China Br R A S*, vol. xxv, p. 487), can hardly mean the Black River of Tonkin, as we have already noticed, but the Me Khōng, which at this point (and from 22° to 25° N lat.) was called the *Hēi Shuǐ* (as both the "Nan chao Ye shih" and Colborne Baber inform us). All the same, it should be noticed that Hu Wei, the reviser of the "Nan chao Ye shih" in 1775, makes the Lan ts'ang (Me Khōng) River flow by way of Ching tung T'ing (on the Black River) and Yuan-chiang (on the Red River) to the Tonkin Gulf, thus confusing it with both the Black and the Red Rivers of Tonkin. According to him, in fact, the Me-Khōng would, from the Yung ch'ang prefecture, turn eastwards towards Meng hwa T'ing follow the course of the Yang pi to Shun ning Fu, then cross again eastwards to Ching tung T'ing, follow the course of the Black River (Pa pien) to Yuan Chiang, and thence flow through the Red River to the Tonkin Gulf. This is an instructive specimen of geography as understood by the Chinese till recent times, and readily explains how Ptolemy could, at a more remote period, fall into a similar error. However, as the stream identified by Hu Wei with the *Hēi shuǐ* or 'Black Water' is in this case the tract of the Lan ts'ang west of Ching tung T'ing the Me Khōng is evidently meant. Anyhow, see also the last part of the note on p. 287 above, where it is pointed out that the term *Hēi shuǐ* is likewise applied to the *Ta Kīn sha* (Irravati, or this confounded with the Brahmaputra). See, again, n. 1 on p. 314 above for the name *Hēi Hō*, 'Black River,' applied to the Black River of Tonkin before it joins the Red River, which is, however, apparently of



(Hwañ Son), i.e. 'Thwart, or Transversal, Range,' forming Cape Bung ki hwā, in 18° N lat. This is a little more reasonable. On *Pi ling* see our further remarks below (note to p 311, line 14).

p 294, n 2 *Min, Mén* The *Mén* tribes and a *Muang Mên* (country of the *Mên*) are mentioned in Khun Luang Ha wat Memoirs pp 157, 159. In the C'hieng Mái Chronicle, under the date 1701, the natives of C'hieng Tung are termed *Khon Men Meng* or *Imeng* is said by Warry and others to be the real name of the so-called Miao tsz tribes, also *Mung*, '*Méng*' (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt 1, vol 1, p 597). In the *China Review* vol ix, p 341, Parker states that the Miao tsz call themselves *Hmung Meng shih* 蒙氏, the *Méng* clan or tribe that built the old city or *Pu t'ou*, 步頭, or *Pa tien*, 巴甸 (= modern Lan in Yu, south east Yunnan), close to the Tonkin frontier (see *China Review*, vol xvi, p 301), is certainly not *Manzi*, but the *Meng* or *Muang* clan of the Nan Chao State (less likely the *Meng* or Miao tsz). See, however, also n 5 on p 299 and n 1 on p 300 above.

p 296 l 19 *Hsiang lin* There was, however, an 'Elephant River,' *Hsiang Shuen* 象冰, or *Hsiang pu* 象浦 (see *Bulletin Ec Ir*, t iii, pp 273-274) mentioned in A.D. 446, which flowed probably within *Lin*'s territory. I think it might be the same as the *Sóng Fô* ('Elephant River') of the Annamese Portulan, in 19° 5' N lat. Hence the *Hsiang lin* district must be located here, i.e. about Cap Falaise in North Nge an.

p 297, n 2, l 11 Between A.D. 336-47 King Wen 文, of *Lin* is stated in the 'Tsin chu' to have conquered several countries, among which *Ch'ü tu ch'ien*, 屈都乾 (*Küt tu lan*) - *Kafala*, or *Kortatha* (?) (see p 570 above, note). Cf 乾 harbour (*Kün Mon*) in the Annamese Portulan (Dumoutiers "Portulan," pp 18, 41) mentioned in Annamese records since A.D. 569. It is now called *Dap Harbour*, and lies in 19° N lat. not far below the northern limit of modern Nge an.

p 297, n 2 ll 20-21 *Mahosadha Jutaka* This is better known as the *Mahā Ummagga J* (No 516). Cujani Brahmadatta was according to this story, reigning over the kingdom of *Kāmpilla* in *Uttarapāṭṭā* city.

p 298 ll 2, 3 from bottom In the "An nan Chih lüo" (transl. p 317) the name of *Ch'ü lien* is spelled 區憐, and this personage described as a brigand of *Mán* race. Order was restored in A.D. 138.

p 299 n 5 *Tang ming* The name of this kingdom is spelled 空明, characters which may also be pronounced *Tong ming*.

*Tung-mang*, etc. The correct date in which it first sent tribute to China, together with *Lin-i* (Campā) and *Fu-nan* (Kamboja), is A.D. 213 (see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, pp 251 and 303). In the history of the T'ang dynasty *T'ang-ming* is made conterminous with *Chên-la* (Kamboja) on the north and with *Huan-chou* (= modern Hā-tiñ district) on the north-east (see Rémusat's "Nouveaux Mélanges As.," vol. 1, p. 84). This, coupled with the information already collected by us to the effect that *T'ang-ming* was situated on the seaboard, would argue for it a position in modern Kwāng-biñ (17° to 18° N. lat.). Now, it should be observed that the Annamese Portulan of A.D. 1477 locates just below the southern limit of Khwāng-biñ the seaport *Ming-ling* (= *Manrang*?), in Annamese *Miñ-liñ Môn*, 明 靈 門, which corresponds to the present *Kúa Tùng* (or *Tùng*) in 17° N. lat. (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," pp. 28, 53). This term *Ming-ling* looks much like a survival of the ancient *T'ang-ming* or *T'au-ming*, the full name of which may have actually been *T'ang-ming-ling* or *T'au-ming-ling* = *Tamalanga*, *Tamalinga*, *Tamaranga*, *Tāmra-raṅga*, *Tāmra-lankā*. It should be observed, however, that the character 靈, *ling*, which occurs in *Ming-ling*, is the same as employed in *Ling-Shan* (the transcript of *Linga parvata* = Cape Varella, as I have elsewhere demonstrated) in the Chinese map of 1319, published by Phillips (see *Journal China Br. R.A.S.*, new series, vol. xxi, p. 40). Hence, *Ling* = *Līnga*, and as *T'ang* denotes a 'hall,' 'court,' or 'shrine,' it is just possible that some sacred *linga* shrine existed at *Kúa Tùng* (or *Tùng*), which seems somehow to preserve in its name (*Tùng*) a relic of the old *T'ang ming* or [*T'ang*]-*Ming ling*. *Ming-ling* was, furthermore, from 1075 the name of the modern Viñ-liñ district near the *Kúa Tùng*; prior to that period it was called *Ma-ling*. The *Ling-kiang*, 靈 江, River of Annamese records is, therefore, the river debouching here, and not the *Sông-jāng* as stated in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. iii, p. 166

p. 303, n. 1, ll. 8-10. See also the *Journal R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 66, Dr. Hirth's article.

p. 304, l. 4 from bottom *Viñ*. Read *Viñ*, 永 (Chinese *Yung*), and see the Annamese Portulan of 1477 (Dumoutier's "Portulan," p. 48)

p. 305, l. 10. According to the "An-nan Chih-luo" (transl., p. 209), in A.D. 446 the Chinese took the fortified city *K'iu su*, or *Ch'ü-su*, 區 粟 (Ann *Khā tuk*), or *Ch'ü-su Ch'eng* (p. 347), from the Chām. This might be Kortatha or Kāṭha (see pp. 569, 570 above), albeit the name *Ch'ü su* (*Ku-sok*) suggests something

like *Kusala*, *Kusaya* or *Guyala* (nagara), *Ku'u* (vatu), *Khasa*, *Khasala*, *Kusila*, *Kutala*, etc., thus arguing a possible connection with *Ka-eh*, i.e. [Pa]grasa

In AD 43, according to the same work (p. 206), Ma Yuan reached *Cha feng Hsien*, 居風縣, in Ann K'u p' hōng, which we know to have been situated in Chiu chen, i.e. in North West Thāi hwa (20° N lat.)

p. 300, n. 2 *Ló d'ung* *Lu jung*, also a seaport, see note to p. 311 *infra*

p. 308, l. 6 from bottom *Krus* *Kras* in Khmer means 'thick,' 'dense,' as we have already observed (see these Addenda, note to p. 191), but in the present instance it evidently stands for *Ka-eh*, *Khasa*, *Kusa*, *Kasi* (see above and also note below)

p. 309, n. 2, l. 2 *Bu shéh* This may be a corruption of the Pali *Upagghaya*. If so the same applies to the Siamese *Bu ji*. The Khmer *Bu lu* = Siamese *Bu Khru* = *Vara Guru Pan chie*, 班 𑖀𑖦𑖪, *Ban ch'i*, in Chou Ta kuan's account of Kamboja, cannot mean *Pandit*, as is queerly surmised in the *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. II, p. 148, n. 4, but *Bu ji*, *Bu shéh*, i.e. a Brahman teacher

p. 309, n. 4, last line, add Chou Ta kuan in his account of Kamboja (1296-7) says "In this land it is women who understand trading" (*Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. II, p. 167)

p. 310, last nine lines *Ka-eh* See p. 293 and note thereon (l. 13) in these Addenda, also above, remarks on pp. 305 (l. 10) and 308 (l. 6 from bottom). The term, as already observed, is the same as applied to *Kaseh*, *Kraseh* (Kassay), i.e. Manipur and Assam in general. Evidently this latter is somehow connected with *Khasa*, or, at any rate with the *Khasia* Hills separating Manipur from the Assam valley. But the former (if not both) may be perhaps more logically referred to *Kusa*, *Kasi*, in India, whence it was seemingly transplanted into Tonkin.

p. 311, l. 4 *Kha lot* This is a clerical error for *Khu tuk* or *Ch'u su*, 𑖀𑖦𑖪 (see next note below), originating in the fact that in some Chinese texts this name is misspelled 𑖀𑖦𑖪, *Ch'u li* (*Khi li*) see *Bulletin Éc. Fr.*, t. IV, p. 192, n. 2

p. 311, ll. 4-5 I now somewhat incline to identify Pagrasa with the old *Ch'u su* (*Kusul*) or [Pa]grasa stronghold, mentioned since AD 446 by the "An nan Chih luo" as belonging to the Cham (see above note to p. 300, l. 10). See, however, below, note to p. 334 l. 17

p. 311 ll. 8-9 *Ló d'ung* This is *Lu jung*, 𑖀𑖦𑖪, a seaport and the embouchure of an homonymous river in *Jih nan*, mentioned

Annamese and Lín pronunciations of the second character, which are *lan* and *lan*, *lung*, respectively) The location of this seaport, mentioned since A D 605 as being then formed into a *chuan* by the Sui has been the object of much speculation In Chinese itineraries it is described, however, as lying south of Huan Chou, 環州, a district of the T'ang period, the capital of which is located at modern Duk thi, near the Song ka River and south west of Vĩn (in about 18° 37' N lat) On the other hand, according to the "An nan Chih luo" (p 213), in A D 103-5, the Chinese fleet was sent with an army against Campi The expedition, having landed at *Pi ling*, proceeded on foot and crossed the *Shi li* or *Tu li Kiang* in Bô chian, where the frontier of Campi was (p 63) This river is no doubt, the Sông jang (Song giang of maps), the mouth of which (lying in 17° 12' N lat) is termed Bo chian Mon in the Annamese Portulan (see Dumoutier's 'Portulan,' p 51) We would thus obtain for the *Pi ling* seaport a position between 17° 42' and 18° 37' N lat But as the distance on foot from Huan Chou to *Pi ling* is stated to be about a fortnight, and by sea only five or six tides, it will be seen that making due allowance for exaggerations the position of *Pi ling* should become fixed about Cape Bung ki hwa in 18° lat *Pi ling* might thus be identified either with the ancient seaport of Heng Shan<sup>1</sup> at that Cape itself or with the mouth of the Rong River (Kua Ron) immediately below

It should be observed however, that there is a 嶺, *King* or *Kan*, Hill near the Song ka River in the Nam dzuang district west of Vĩn (see Dumoutier's 'Portulan' p 48), on the summit of which stands a temple built, it is said by an Annamese army The Annamese Portulan mentions furthermore a Kân Bridge in Tha hwa (op cit, p 16, No 101), but this would be too far north to be in any way connected with *Pi ling* Finally, there was a Kân district (Kân Chou), 坎州 during the T'ang and Sung periods which corresponded to the modern Hwe province (see Dumoutier's 'Hoa lu', p 40) but this lies too far south for our purpose

p 314 n 1 Add *To shies* in the 'An nan Chih luo,'  
1 p 72 467

p 315 n 1, No (5) Add See 'An nan Chih luo' under date  
A D 1075 (pp 72 223)

<sup>1</sup> It was at Heng Shan that for a long time past (A D 347) the precious wares brought in by ships from far outlying countries for barter had been landed (Ma Tuan lin op cit p 47) It is well therefore to take note of this entrepôt for ancient oceanic trade

p 315, n 1, after No (7) Add

(8) *Lu?* ("An nan Chih luo," p 71)

(9) *Kwei-hwa Kiang* (Anu Kwí hwa) = the Red River near Hung hwa (see op cit, pp 54, 72)

p 316, note, l 8 *Pé t'ing* This is the Băch jăng (actual Thū bñ) River of the Annamese (see op cit, p 178) It was also called *Fou lú* (see Des Michels, op cit, p 221, and cf. with *Fan liép* at end of same note)

p 317, ll 4, 5, and n 1 The river *T'au hwa Shuei* 桃花水, mentioned in the "San hwo Chih" as being in the Wu ko country (= country of the Akas or Khă Kô, south west of Yuang chiang on the Red River, see these Addenda, note to p 159), is evidently the Red River

p 319, l 9 *Phong Chôu* The site of this capital is still marked by the present Băch hăk village (白鶴, *Paí hau*, *Pe lo*) on the northern side of the confluent of the Red and Clear Rivers lat 21° 28', due north of Sôn toi (see Dumoutier's 'Etude hist sur Co loa' Paris 1893 pp 3 6)

p 321, note, l 4 *Ou-lu* In Dumoutier, op cit, p 8, this name is spelled 歐路 (*Ou-lo*) and *Lâk iet* (*Lo-yueh*) is spelled 絡越 (*Ho yueh*), these being the forms, he says, which obtained during the (Chinese) Chou dynasty (till n c 255), under the next one of the Ts'in (n c 206 '06) the country came to be called *Tô Ou*, 西甌 (*Hsi Ou*), or *Ou lîk*, 甌貉 (*Ou ho*)

p 322, l 2 Cities built in a form which it is fancied resemble a conch shell are by no means rare in Indo China Two more instances occur in Siam viz Sukhothai and Lamp'huā (see my 'Siam's Inter-course with China' in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, p 373) Dumoutier, op cit, p 9 says the name of Kô lwa was due to the elliptical outline of its walls which recalled the shape of a *Licé* shell (i e a *sankha* shell)

p 323, ll 11, 12 Since writing the lines here referred to, I have had an opportunity of paying a personal visit to the vestiges of Kô lwa or Lw í thañ, in December, 1902 (see the brief account I have given of that visit in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1903) The remains of the ancient triple enceinte of earthen walls with vestiges of a royal palace etc, lie in the Dong an

city It is the only spot uncovered with jungle The geographical position is about long  $105^{\circ} 50' E$ , lat  $21^{\circ} 6' N$

p 325, n 1 "Hanoi, s'il faut en croire les annales chinoises, était un port de mer vers l'an 600 de notre ère Il y a deux siècles à peine le golfe du Tonkin, beaucoup plus retreci, présentait sur le littoral la ville de Hung-yen où les Hollandais avaient établi des comptoirs puis, successivement, grace aux apports du Songkoi, émergèrent des eaux les vastes territoires de Nam dinh, de Ninh binh, de Hai-duong, de Haiphong, de Quang yên'. 'La génération actuelle,' écrivaient MM Bouin et Paulus, 'a été témoin dans la province de Ninh binh de la formation du canton de Kim son depuis 1831' Le minimum des dépôts limoneux [du fleuve Rouge] serait de 1728 millions de mètres cubes [par an]" (*L'Indo Chine Republicaine* of Dec 11th, 1902) The delta of the Red River would gain about 30 metres seawards each year, if we are to judge from the actual site of the stela commemorating, in A D 1010, the erection of a temple at Bô Hai, 勿里 (Pu Hai), which stood then, as declared in the inscription, on the seaboard, whereas it is now about 30 kilometres inland (see Dumoutier's "Portulan," p 40) Bô hái arose on the site of the present Kì bô village, in the Vu tien district (see Dumoutier's "Hoa lu," p 3), just a couple of miles due east of the present Nam-diñ, and on the opposite (eastern) bank of the Red River Hence, the seaboard in Ptolemy's time must have been quite close to Ha nôi and Ko-lwa, stretching thence almost due south in the direction of the present Nín blũ and Chin zai, which latter, as we shall see directly, is not improbably Ptolemy's Sinda No wonder, then, that in De Devis map Aganagara (Hả nôi or Ko-lwa) is marked close by the seashore

p 331, ll 14, 15 La thañ and Dāi la stood on a site corresponding to the present north western part of Hà noi town, as I have personally ascertained on the spot itself

p 334, l 10 According to the 'An nan Chih luo' p 89, however, in A.D. 1284-5 *Lo ch'eng* (i.e. *Lwá thañ* or *Kó lwa*) was retaken by the Annamese, which means that at this period it had again become the Chinese seat of government

p 334, ll 17 et seqq Sinda

It was only after this section had been in print that I discovered that the latitude of Sinda given in Ptolemy's text, after the Nobbe edition, as being  $16^{\circ} 40'$  is almost certainly an error for  $13^{\circ} 40'$  or thereabout. For not only is Sinda placed in Ptolemy's list between Kortatha (lat  $12^{\circ} 30'$ ) and Pagrasa (lat  $14^{\circ} 30'$ ) but it is also marked in such a position in De Donis' map (see p 346 above). Such being the case, the rectified Ptolemaic latitude of Sinda would be  $16^{\circ} 40' = 19^{\circ} 25'$  true, and bearing in mind that in De Donis' map this town is located near the seashore its position would become fixed at the Hua Bung Bay, within Cape Bang (Cap Rond of French maps)

If however, Pagrasa is the old Chu su stronghold on the northern bank of the Song Voi ('Elephant River') in  $19^{\circ} 5' N$  lat, as we have suggested (see these Addenda above note to p 311, ll 4, 5) the site of Sinda would have to be sought for nearly half a degree more to the south i.e. somewhere about Vĩu, close by the mouth of the Song k'i River. Here no ancient name similar to Sinda is recorded except the very ones of the 'Elephant River' (*Hsiang shuei*, *Hsiang p'u*) and of the adjoining territory (*Hsiang lin*), provided the term *Hsiang*, 'Elephant,' in these can be proved to be the translation or transcript of a local toponym *Sindhura* (=Sinda). But this is very doubtful, nor is any evidence at hand as to the Song k'i River bearing of old the name *Sindhū*

(see above, p 250, n 1) In any case, its name *Shen-t'ou* looks much like a transcript of either *Sindhu* or *Sindhava*, and forcibly suggests not only Ptolemy's *Sinda*, but also the *Sender-fulāt* of the Arab navigators (*vide supra*, p 248, note, and p 346) It should be observed that *Shén t'ou* (and its historical continuation *Chñ dai* of the present day) lies in proximity to the spurs of the low hills bounding on the south the deltaic plain of the Red River, and close by the *Kua Dāi*, its westernmost outlet into the sea It must thus have been a very important seaport and centre of trade in the old days

If, however, we locate *Sinda* at *Shen-t'ou* or *Chñ-dai*, we must look for *Pagrassa* further to the north, where there are no ancient places on the low deltaic plain towards the seaboard except *H'ü duong* (ancient *Yang ch'uen*, 陽泉, Ann *Zuang twien*) and *Kwáng-yen* (ancient *Ning-hai*, 寧海, Ann *Niñ-hai*), both mentioned since B.C. 200 The only toponym resembling *Pagrassa* lower down is that of the *Bieh*, 碧, *Pi* (*Pek* or *Pag*) seaport, mentioned since 208 B.C. (see Dumoutier's "Portulan Ann," p 42), corresponding to the present *Lach Fran* outlet of the *Sông Chu* in 19° 53' N lat This place, which would suit very well for *Pagrassa*, would prove too far south if *Sinda* is to be located at *Chñ dai*

In conclusion, it is very difficult, nay, well nigh impossible, to settle the location of *Sinda* until the figures for its latitude as given in the Nobbe edition of Ptolemy are critically corrected by referring to a certain number of reliable old manuscript copies of Ptolemy's work

p 336, l 12 *San-ch'ü Chiang* In the "An nan Chih-luo," pp 72, 467, and 472, occurs a mention of a 三帶江, *San-tai-chiang*, district or territory and river, which latter is formed by the union of the Red, Clear, and Black Rivers (*T'ao-shuei*) with the *Lung* River This refers to A.D. 1300

p 342, n 1, l 3 See the more recent account of these potentates by Capt. Cupey (in "Mission Pavie, Géographie et Voyages," t III, pp 297 et seqq., and also map on pl xv) The 'Water King,' termed *Palao Ia* by the Jarai and *Sadet Lâm* by the Lâu, resides on the Lâu slope of the Campā-Kambojan mountain range, in long 107° 59' E, lat 13° 32' N, he can, by means of his charms, cause a universal flood The 'Fire King,' called *Palao Ngo* by the Jarai and *Sadet Fai* by the Lâu, resides near by, but on the Campā side of the same range, in long 108° 5' E, lat 13° 32' 5" N., he can by means of his magic sword, destroy by fire and slaughter the whole country



An Annamese work written at the end of the eighteenth century locates the two dreaded sorcerers at fourteen days' march west of Cape Varella (i.e. in about the same position as above), in the kingdom of *Nan p'an*, 南 蕃 (*Ann Nām ban*) in the west of the Blū diū province, and adds that in the same country is a mysterious city *Peh shih*, 白石城 (*Ann Bak thak*) – *Ba sak*, perhaps Basak in North Kamboja? (see Dumoutier's "Portulan Ann," p. 61)

The above references prove that the 'Fire' and 'Water' Kings of both Cham and Annamese tradition were the same personages as are found down to the present day among the Jarai

p. 344, n. 3, l. 3 *Tān wien* The first character of this name is 緄 in the "An-nan Chih luo," p. 63, but it is practically equivalent to the other

p. 346, ll. 16 et seqq. See above, note to p. 334 l. 17, in these Addenda, as regards the ancient port *Slen t ou* (*Sindhu* or *Sindhara*) which existed on this tract of sea coast

pp. 348, 349 *Indoi Sindoi* Cf. *Sindhu saucira*, a people in the north east region according to the "Bṛhat Samhitā", and see p. 346, ll. 10, 11 from bottom, as regards the location of the *Sindoi* in De Donis' map

p. 351, n. 1 According to the "An nan Chih luo," pp. 96 and 102 (date 1267) some of the *Liau* on the Tonkin borders (*Shan Liau*, etc.) filed their teeth (like the Jarai and Rade of East Kamboja nowadays)

found them allied to the *Sak* or *Sel* (Thek) of the Kulādan valley in Arakan their speech belonging to the Kachin-Naga sub group

The *K'a to* are on the other hand, by several recent writers connected with the *Lo lo*, but this view seems to me hardly plausible, for, though they speak dialects derived from the *Lo lo*, they have been distinct from the *Lo lo* for centuries, and racially belong to the dark complexioned Wah *Ho m* group. A clan of the Palaungs (who are practically Wah) round Nam San the Palaung capital, bears, in fact, the name *Kadu* (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt 1, vol 1, p 486)

p 358 n 2 ll 13, 14 See also *Ko Kuo lo* 葛獠羅 (for *Ka la la*) in the "Nan chao Ye shih" (p 168 transl)

p 359, l 2 'Tiger Heads' Cf the *Tyaghrakha* ('Tiger Face') people in the east region, according to the "Bṛhat Samhita"

p 359, ll 4-6 *Kulāṭa* becomes *Kolula* in the Rāmāyana, iv, 43, 8, of Gorresio's edition. The "Bṛhat Samhita" locates the *Kulutas* in the north western region and a people *Kuluta* in the north eastern, these latter are seemingly Ptolemy's *Kudutai*, unless they are to be identified with the *Kolita* or *Kulta* tribes in Western Assam and northward of Sadiva

彭濮, of the commencement of the Chou dynasty<sup>1</sup> would be racially identical. There can be no doubt as to the people now called *Pu*, *Pu jen*, arboreal and caudate *Pu*, being Wah or Lawā, for the habitat assigned to the *Pu* or *Pu* (west of Chieng Rung and P'u erh) corresponds to the Wah territory while the somatic characteristics (very dark complexion, etc.) ascribed to the *Pu* or *Pu* also agree. The *Pu* or *Pu* may, and very likely are at the same time racially connected with the *Pu erh* or *Phā O*, as I have suggested on p. 369 above.

p. 368 note 1 6 E. Roux, in his "Aux Sources de l'Irraouaddy," p. 62 speaking of their kinsmen the *Kiu tsz*, living about the headwaters of the *Kiu Kiang* or *Lam Kiu* (the western branch of the Upper Irrawaddy), says that their women have blue designs tattooed round the mouth and on the tip of their noses. The *Kiu tsz* are, in reality, the tribe more properly known as *Turong*.

p. 369 ll 1, 2 *Palaung* The Palaungs says Colonel Woodthorpe in the *Geographical Journal* (June, 1896, p. 536), are scattered all over the Shan States. They are Buddhist and are the gunmakers of Chieng Tung. In the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" (pt. 1, vol. 1, pp. 483 et seqq.) they are also termed *Rumai*, and described as being both linguistically and racially connected with the Wah, as well as with the *Khā Mub* (*Kh mu*) and *Khā Met* (*Lamet*). The name *Parauk* or *Parōga* for one of their clans (see *Journal R A S* July, 1897, p. 456) occurs, in fact, also among the Wah (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. 1, vol. 1, p. 494). It is from the former that the *Yō, Yōga* (*Rōga*) claim descent (op. cit., p. 569). Another clan of the Palaung is termed *Kadu* (op. cit., p. 486) but this seems to have no connection with the *Kadu* of the Katha district in Upper Burma, who as we have seen are classed with the Kachin-Naga sub-group. It must, on the contrary, be attached to the *Ka to* and *Ho ni* group (Ptolemy's *Kudutai*).

p. 375, l. 6 from bottom A *Ngan nan Kiang* is, however, mentioned in the "An nan Chih lue" p. 193 transl., under a date corresponding to A.D. 1284-5.

p. 384, note, ll 7 8 et seqq. See these Addenda above note to p. 84, l. 18 et seqq. In "Hobson Jobson" new ed., p. 29, I find the bewildering statement that the Arabic dual form *Andām in* is said to be from *Agarutae* the Malay(?) name of

<sup>1</sup>The *P* of the Chou period were settled in Hupch and assisted Wu Wang against Chou Hsin (the last emperor of the Shang dynasty) in B.C. 1102.

the aborigines"" The originator of this etymology positively deserves a *prix de rosier*

p 388, note, l 4 *Batu Berhala* This is also the name, according to Balfour's Cyclopaedia, vol 2, p 299, of "a stone idol highly venerated by the Dyaks" One, called *Batu Kasea*, was discovered at a point of the Sarawak River, North West Borneo, at about six miles above Sarawak town Another one occurs "on the Samarhand river, near Ledah Tanah" and is called by the Malays *Batu Berhala* or the Idol Stone

p 388, note, ll 13 et seqq *Zam* In "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed, p 448, the value of the *zam* is given as 12 of a geographical degree or 12 nautical miles, and also as a nautical watch of three hours The former estimate is certainly purely theoretical in point of actual sailing distance In this respect we are unable to assign to the *zam* a practical value of anything above 10 miles, but should think that 7 to 8 is nearer the mark Example Distance *Serira-Kalah* (Palembang-Takpa) 120 *zam* Actual distance about 900 miles Value of the *zam* =  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles This is taken from "Hobson-Jobson," loc cit The value of the *zam* should furthermore be compared with that of the *King* or Chinese nautical watch which as we have seen above is equal to 60 *li* (i e about 10 miles), or to 2 1 hours

p 391, l 17 In cited 1330 Friar Jordanus (Habl Soc, 1863), p 30, speaks of an island where all the men and women go absolutely naked, and have in place of money comminuted gold like fine sand

p 392, ll 1-3 The quotation here given is from Yule's preface to Friar Jordanus' "Mirabilia Descripta" (Habl Soc, 1863), pp xvii, xviii

p 396 l 8 from bottom *Tilan chong* Capt Hamilton, in 1709 20, speaks of it as *Tallang jang*, the uninhabited island" Further on he refers to "*Chilly anderman*, which is the southern most of the Andemans" And he adds The middle cluster is all but one, well inhabited They are called the *Somerera* islands because on the south end of the largest island is an hill that resembles the top of an umbrella or so *erera* [read *Sombreiro* *Sombrero*] (Pinkerton's 'Collection of Voyages' vol viii, p 431)

p 397, note l 16 In the 'Voyages of Sir James Lancaster' (Habl Soc) p 12 the *Pulo Sambilar* referred to (in 1592) are those in Malacca Strait and not as the editor remarks in a foot note the *Nikobars* He adds Little Nicobar Island is so called [*Sambelong*]

p 397, note l 16 from bottom *Shom den* Cf the *Carma*

*dipa* people alluded to in the "Bṛhat Samhitā" Carman (Pāli *Camma*) = 'shield,' 'buckler,' 'leather'

p 398, n 1, ll 6-10 Correa ("Lendas da Índia," vol iv, p 306) tells of an expedition having been also sent to the 'Island of Gold' by governor Afonso de Sousa, in 1543 See, moreover, the story he relates about the *Ilha do Ouro* in vol iii, pp 240, 241 (A.D 1528) Mendez Pinto ("Voyages," London, 1692, pp 15-25) locates the 'Island of Gold' near the east coast of Sumatra, in 5° S lat, and refers to several unsuccessful expeditions sent on its discovery

p 399, ll 21, 22 'Island of Coconut Trees' "The coconut palm was brought into India from Ceylon, and originally most probably from the Nicobar Islands In the Tamilian languages it has no name except *Tenna maram*, 'the southern tree' Its fruit is called *Tennankai* and *Tenkai*" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1897, p 100)

p 400, n 2, l 18 *Nulikera* Islands The "Bṛhat Samhitā" locates a *Nulikera* people in the south eastern region, thus leaving no doubt that the inhabitants of the Nikobars are intended It also mentions a people *Carma dipa*, inhabiting a shield shaped island (see these Addenda above note to p 397, l 16 from bottom) In A.D 645 Hwen tsang refers to a *Nulikera dipa* In the 'Katha sarit sāgara' (Tawney's transl vol i pp 525, 527, 551) a large and beautiful island *Narkela* is alluded to, in which are four mountains named *Mainuka*, *Fraxabha*, *Calra* [= Sombrero?], and *Bakalak*

p 400 n 2, l 20 from bottom Cape Negrais Probably from *Auga rusa*, see above in these Addenda, note to p 52, l 7 Taranātha's *Balgu* (1608) may be either *Baragu* or *Bhilu gyun*, but certainly not Pegu proper, which he terms *Hamsavati* (q v in 'Hobson-Jobson,' p 184)

p 400, n 2, ll 1-13 from bottom *Barahnagar* In "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed, p 623, this toponym is conjecturally connected with *Barra de Negrais* as in Balbi (1583), Fitch (1586), and Bocarro (1613)

p 401, note ll 7-19 In the "Voyages of Sir James Lancaster" (Hakl Soc, 1877, p 72) the natives of the Nikobars are described as follows (date, 1602) — "The people of these islands goe naked having only the priunties bound up in a peece of linnen cloath, which commeth about their middles like a girdle, and so between their twist They are all of a tawny colour, and annoint their faces with divers colours, they are well limmed," etc Their priests or sacrificers (devil dancers?) wore a pair of

painted horns on their heads, and behind them a tail was hanging down

p 402, note, ll 19-24 *Barahnagar* Cf *Bar-nagar*, *Baranagara*, or *Vyaya nagar* in Āśīm, in 1580 If so, *Barahnagar* = the old *Byanagar* or *Bisnagar* kingdom on the east coast of India (?) This is not altogether improbable, while tribes of people in the undress style, described by Ibn Bātūta, are settled in the neighbourhood "In the Chānda district of the Central Provinces of India the women in the wilder tracts wear no clothes at all, but only a string round the waist, to which they suspend a bunch of leaves before and another behind The same practice is reported to exist in the Kōl country, and also in Orissa" (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol iv, 1875, p 376, note) Cf the *Nagna parna Saiara* people, mentioned in the "Bṛhat Samhita" as settled in the south east region This term I take to mean 'naked and leaf-wearing *Saiaras*,' and not 'leaf eating *Saiaras*,' as has been conjectured by other writers

p 402, note, l 3 from bottom *Narḥondam* In "Hobson Jobson," p 617, the strange etymology *Naraka-lundam*, 'Pit of Hell,' is recorded and endorsed with the suggestion that it better applies to *Barren Island* I feel unable to accept it, and prefer mine till proof of the contrary

p 406 To the list of names relating to the *Nikobārs* add the following entries —

A.D. 1050 *circa* *Nakkaiaram* in the great Tanjore inscription of the eleventh century ("Hobson Jobson," p 620)

A.D. 1514 *Nicubar* (Giov da Empoli), *ibid*

A.D. 1529-31 *Nicobar*, *ilhas de* (Correa, t iii, pp 368, 469)

A.D. 1592-1602 *Nicubar* Islands ("Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," *Hakl Soc*, 1877, pp 10, 15, 27, the people are *Muhammadans* (p 27) and go naked (p 72))

See also *infra*, remarks on p 506 in these Addenda for a Chinese reference to *Kar Nikobar* and to the *Nikobār Archipelago* in general, in the eighth century A.D.

p 410, ll 11-14 from bottom The "Muhit" A.D. 1554 (see Renaud's Introduction to *Abū l Fedī*, p 436) refers to an island *Saryal* as one of the *Najbari* (*Nikobār*) group It was sighted on the route from Ceylon to Malacca Renaud thinks it may be the Great *Nikobār* Cf the island of *Zolore* touched by Giovanni da Empoli (1503) on his way from *Carsupa* in Malabar (= Carhula?) to Malacca (see De Gubernatis' "Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani" Livorno, 1875, p 114)

p 421, n 2, ll 7-11 I have since discovered that the

Philippines—or, at any rate, Luzon—were already known in A.D. 982 to the Chinese under the name *Ma yi Ma yi*, 麻逸, 摩逸, and probably also to the Arabs as *Manil* or *Mand* which forms occur in Dimashki in *circa* 1300. I propose to offer the full demonstration of this at an early opportunity.

p 423 ll 6 et seqq. Cf the names of the mountains in *Narikela* Island as given in the 'Kathā sarit sagara' (see these Addenda above, remarks on p 400 n 2, l 18) *Mainaka* (= *Malhan* (?) cf *Manjak Maniolai*) *Ṭṣabha Cakra* (= Chauri i.e. Sombrero?), and *Bal laka*.

p 423 n 1 l 17. In my *Nagarakretagama* list of Countries etc., in the *Journal R A S*, July, 1905, pp 503-511, I have shown that the date of the foundation of Singapore must be put down between 1280 and 1320 and is possibly 1284.

p 426, table third entry on left side *Pei ping tou Shan* lit 'North level head Island'. I now think this is Chauri i.e. Sombrero, which is low on the north and rises steep with a rocky pinnacle on the south end.

p 435 ll 7-19. The term occurs likewise in Khmer in the form *Pumsen Bumsen* (pron *Pumsen*) where it designates the *Betonica* or betony plant. *Pumsen tis* (*Bhimsen deśa*) is refined camphor (exotic) whereas common camphor is termed *Karbūr* (written *Kurpur*). In the 'Ain i Akbari' (*circa* 1590) occurs the passage 'Of the various kinds of camphor the best is called *Ribahi* or *Kaisari*'. In some books camphor in its natural state is called '*Bhimsini*'. On this the editor of 'Hobson-Jobson' new ed p 152 remarks '*Bhimsini* is more properly *Bhimseni* and takes its name from the demigod *Bhimsen* [*Bhimasena*] second son of Pandu'. In Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed, vol II p 304 *Bhimseni* is explained as meaning Sumatran camphor so known to the Indus. A view of Abu l Fazl the author of the 'Ain' is moreover quoted according to which *Bah* is the worst camphor.

p 438 continuation of n 3 on p 426 l 5. Edrisi (op cit pp 80-81) names *Herij*, *Harj* or *Haranj* (as he severally spells this toponym) along with *Jubah* and *Salukat* (Sumatra). Cf Hamilton's (1720) *Bocca de Cingera* = the Basak mouth of the Me Khong in South Kamboja termed *Clarachina* by Mendez Pinto (1540).

Teixeira (Sinclair & Ferguson's transl p 2) refers to camphor in Achin (1500).

According to the 'Mahavamsa' (ch 58 Wijesinha's transl p 98) camphor was sent in *circa* A.D. 1066 by the king of Ramanāna (Pegu) to Ceylon.

p 151, l 7 *Sūn-t'a* Chao Ju kua also mentions a piratical State *Sun-t'a*, 孫他, evidently *Sunda*, among the piratical States of the Archipelago (see *Toung-Pao*, 1903, pp 239, 240)

p 151, note *Tai-pin* and *Jung ya lu* In another passage, referred to in *Toung Pao*, 1903, pp 238, 239, Chao Ju kua says that the *Tai-pin* State borders to the east on *Ta Sh'p'o*, called *Jung-ya lu*, 戎牙路, also termed *Chung-la-lu*, 仲里里 (*Jungali* or *Jalali*—Malacca, see pp 519-21 above) The same writer, moreover, enumerates both *Tai-pin* and *Jung ya-lu* among the States bordering upon *Chao-ka*, i.e. Java All this shows that neither of them could be situated on Java Island

p 151, n 1 Teixeira (1600) mentions pepper in Achin (op cit, p 2) Lanschoten (1592) says much pepper comes from Pedir, which lies twenty miles from Achin ("Voyage," Hakl Soc, 1885, vol 1, p 110)

p 160, ll 1-14 The views I have here expressed find confirmation, I now notice, in the following passage occurring in "Hobson-Jobson" (p 868) "The Sunda country is considered to extend from the extreme western point of the island to Cheribon, i.e. embracing about one third of the whole island of Java Hinduism appears to have prevailed in the Sunda country, and held its ground longer than in 'Java' a name which the proper Javanese restrict to their own part of the island"

p 163, l 4 Friar Jordanus (1330) in his "Mirabilia Descripta" (Hakl Soc, 1863, pp 30, 31), evidently includes the whole of the Archipelago under the denomination *Java* (*Jawa*), for he says that there "are produced eubebs [which grow in Java proper] and nutmegs and mace [as well as cloves] and all the other finest spices [which are all produced in the Moluccas and not at all in Java] except pepper"


p 463, n 1, l 3 This embassy of 433 was sent by *Ho lo tan* (on *Shé p'o* or *Tu p'o* Island?) which had already appeared at the Chinese Court in 430 (see Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 505) The "Sung shu" quoted in the *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t iii, p 255, gives the date as the 11th year *Yuan chia* = A.D. 434, instead of the 10th year (= A.D. 433) On this *Ho lo tan* State see our further remarks on p 469 above and n 3 to same

p 463, n 1, ll 10-12 *Po ta* Two similar toponyms occur in the Chinese records viz (1) 蒲達, *Po ta* (see *China Review*, vol xiii p 337), (2) 拔達 *Pa ta*, a dependency of *San fo ch'i* (Palembang) according to Chao Ju kua 1205-58 (see *Toung Pao* 1901 p 135) This last may be the Batta or Battak country



p 463, n 1, l 14 See p 470, n 1 Also my paper on "Some unidentified Toponyms," etc, in *Journal R A S*, October, 1904, pp 720-2

De Barros (in Ramusio, op cit, vol 1, p 391) mentions a *Pedam* (Padang?) between *Quedam* (Kedah) and *Pera* (Perak) This may be meant for Cape (*Tanjung*) *Piandang*, on that coast just below Krian

p 467, ll 6, 7 *T'u lo shu* The Peguan Annals ("Rājā dhīraj") mention a town and province, , *Talac'hi* (*Dhalaji*), conquered along with Prome, etc, by King Rajādhiraj in A D 1397 during his war against Burmā This *Talac'hi* can hardly be Thayet myo (written *Tharet*, *Saret*), though it seems difficult to suggest another equivalent for it

p 469, n 3, l 9 from bottom *Ko-lo-tan* The first character should be read either *Ho* or *K'o*, and not *Ko* as done by Ma Tuan-hu's translator (op cit, p 466), and its Sanskrit equivalent is *Ha*, as in *Ho-li Tsau* (the '*Harī* Plant,' i.e. the *Haritaka* = *Terminalia chebula*), Harivarman, etc The Sanskrit and Indo-Chinese equivalents of *Ho lo-tan* would thus be *Ha-la ta*, *Ha-ru ta*, *Āratia* (*Harat*, *Airat* the local vernacular name of Gujarāt), *Haryāta*, *Aradha*, *Hala tunah* (country of the *Hala* or *Ala* tribes in central North Sumatra?), etc The most agreeing toponyms would therefore, be Krut and Gurot as I have pointed out above (p 469, n 3), while Aru, Haru, or Ghore (as it is severally spelled in Malay records), on the north east coast of Sumatra, seems to be out of the question, even in the possible compositum Aru-tinah or

a kingdom in which the *Mi-no*, i.e. Manipur River, rises according to the "Man-shu," circa A.D. 860 (quoted in *Bulletin Ec. Fr.*, t. iv, pp. 171, 172). Flowing thence in a southward direction, this river comes to *Tou-mi chia mu*, 兜彌伽木, and separates into two branches encircling it. It is quite clear to me that the State here referred to is Manipur, while *Tou-mi chia-mu*, or *Tu-mi la muk*, *Tumigima* (?), is Tummu or Tamu, Ptolemy's Tagma (see p. 33 above, and Appendix II, section 6, where we have conjecturally suggested *Tugima* as an equivalent). Also *vide infra*, note to p. 568.

On this kingdom of the 'Lesser Brahmans' the "Man-shu" remarks that there no beef is eaten and that future events can be predicted (see *Bulletin*, vol. cit., p. 180), a description which well agrees with the one given in other Chinese records of the *P'o-lo-mén* State lying in the neighbourhood of *Shé-p'o* (see p. 470 above). There can thus be no doubt that in the latter instance *Hiao P'o-lo-mén*, i.e. Manipur, is meant, and that *Shé-p'o*, its neighbour, cannot be Sumatra, and much less Java, but Upper Burma (*Dacula*, *Shwebo* ?), see p. 467 above.

After the above considerations the conjectural connection we have ventured to suggest between *Brahmadeśa* (Tagōng district) and *P'o-lo-mén* is no longer tenable, evidently the Chinese in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. ignored such a designation, which very likely was already forgotten in the land itself, or else its range, which probably originally comprised the whole tract to the west of Tagaung to Añām, may have become restricted to the westernmost portion of it (Sylhet, Manipur, Kachar, and other States which remained longer and more intensely under the influence of Hinduism).

As regards *Po-sz*, it may not be altogether useless to recall that *Pasulula* was a name for Burma, or part of it (see p. 40 above). Whether this term is in any way connected with *Pasupula* a people in the north-east region, mentioned in the "Bṛhat Samhita," xiv, 29, I am unable to judge.

p. 478, note, ll. 12, 13. Herbert, in his "Voyage de Perse," p. 493 (A.D. 1627), already suggested that Malacca was part of Ophir.

p. 482, ll. 5-9. The "Nan Man Chuan" is simply the chapter on the Southern Barbarians in T'ang history. *Chun t'u-lung Shan* is, before this, mentioned in Chia Tan's itinerary (A.D. 785-805) in the form 軍突弄 (*Kun-dur-rung*), and located at two days' sailing from Panduranga (Phanrang on the Cochin China coast). Thence, in another five days' sailing the *Chih*, 質, Strait is reached (see *Bulletin Ec. Fr.*, t. iv, p. 217). This, as we have already

seen, is the Singapore Strait, and Chia Tan adds, in fact, that on its northern shore lies the kingdom of *Lo yach*, 羅越 (i.e. *Ligor* or *Liger*), or possibly *M Polo s* [*Ma*] *la-ur*, the *Larens* of Arab navigators, while, on the southern shore is the kingdom of *To-shih* (Dhoya, i.e. Palembang). *Chan t'u lung* cannot, therefore be Kundur Island in Durian Strait, as I had conjectured before the translation of Chia Tan's itinerary had appeared in the *Bulletin Ec Fr*, but is, most assuredly, Pulo Condore (Kundur) off the Lower Cochinchina coast, alluded to under the form *K'un lun* by other Chinese writers.

p 482, l 18 The value 2 1/2, here given within parentheses should be corrected into 2 1/2 or 2 5, for it is a question of Chinese *ch'ih*, 'feet,' of 10 *ts'un*, 'inches,' each. The gnomonic data referred to would yield by calculation, after rectification as just pointed out, a latitude of about 5° N, which evidences that the gnomonic observation was made on the north coast of Sumatra, either at Achin or in the neighbourhood of Paser.

p 495, ll 3 et seqq. *Po lu*, or *P o-lu* (= *Palei*, *Pulai*), has been subsequently identified by me with Teixeira's *Poh* River and with the *Pulai* River (*Sungei Pulai*), flowing from the homonymous mountain range (*Gunong Pulai*) to the Sea of the Straits, into which it debouches between *Tanjung Bulus* Cape and the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait. See my paper on "Some unidentified Toponyms" etc., in the *Journal R A S*, October, 1904, pp 719, 720.

p 497, n 1, ll 13-16 *Lo-ch'at*. Cf also *Nuchi*, *Nunchit*, *kwala Nuchi* or *Nochi*, below Chanah on the same coast, on a western branch of the Patani River, which formerly was the main river (see *Journal Str Br R A S*, No 11, pp 123 124). *Nuchi* or *Nunchit* is the local Malay form for the Siamese *Nóng chit* district.

p 498 l 20 *Ch'ang yau* Island. This, I have afterwards found, is very likely Pulo Senang better known as Burn Island and not Singapore Island, which, as I have shown is marked *lan ma hu* (Lamasah) in the Chinese map referred to (see *Journal R A S*, July, 1905, p 501).

p 499, ll 7, 8 Cf also *Semuyong* an alternative designation for the *Sungei Ujong* district above Malacca, according to the *Journal Indian Arch*, vol 1, p 322. In Leyden's "Malay Annals" p 88, it is termed *Semang yong*.

p 505, l 15 *Lang pi-ye*, *Lang-pi ya*. A *Lampiya* village exists in the tin works tract of Jala or Jalor on the east slope of the Malay Peninsula, in about 6° 30' N lat (see *Bangkok*

*Calendar* for 1873, p. 118) The phonetic equivalent of *Lang pi-yo* should therefore be *Lampiga*, *Lampyt*, or other similar term

p. 506, l. 12 et seqq., and n. 2. *Sêng-chih* Chia Tan actually mentions in his itinerary (A.D. 785-805) a *Ko lo-sêng-chih*, 葛洛僧祇, kingdom, situated west of *Chih* Strait, on a [rocky] island off the north-west corner of *To-shih*, and adds "Men in this kingdom are plunderers and cruel: they are feared by navigators. On the north coast [of the Strait?] is the *Ko-lo*, 葛洛, kingdom, west of which lies *Ko-lu lo*, 葛谷羅. From *Ko-lo-sêng-chih* the *Shêng-têng*, 生丁, Islet is reached in four or five days' sailing. Thence, five more days' sailing in a westward direction bring one to the *Po lu*, 婆露, country. Next, in another six days one reaches the *Chia lan*, 伽藍, Islet of the *P'o*, 婆, kingdom. Beyond that, after four days' navigation in a northern direction, one comes to the 'Lion Kingdom' (Ceylon)" (see *Bulletin Le Fr.*, t. iv, p. 373). I shall attempt to locate the above toponyms, which puzzle and mislead the translator of Chia Tan's itinerary.

*Ko lo sêng chih* is the *Chi ku* or *Ki-lu*, 鷓鴣, Island (*Chi ku Hsu*) of the Chinese map of A.D. 1400 cited published by Phillips (see *Journal China Br. R. A. S.*, vol. xxi, 1886, p. 38, No. 16), wherein it is marked south-west of Malacca in a position corresponding to Pulo Medang and its southern counterpart, Pulo Rupert or Segaro (west of the mouth of the Siak River, east coast of Sumatra). On the north-east coast of Pulo Medang still exists a hamlet *Kulo-Burong* (the *Kuku Burung* of the "China Sea Directory," vol. 1, 4th ed., 1896, p. 107), the name of which means, in Malay, 'bird crow.' This signification is almost identical with that of the term *Chi-lu*, which is, in Chinese, 'cock crow.' I have but little doubt that Pulo Medang is one and the same with the hitherto unidentified *Pulo Kulor* mentioned in the Paser chronicle translated by Marre ("Histoire des Rois de Paser," Paris, 1874, pp. 97, 107). *Kulor* was thus the old name of Pulo Medang still represented in the *Kulo* (or *Kalu*, 𪛗𪛗) Burong hamlet standing on its coast. (N.B.—The name Medang comes to this island from Medang village, lying at its northern extremity, this is no doubt a modern settlement, and the name for the island a new fangled one.) The old designation *Kulor* for Pulo Medang explains (the first part, at any rate, of) Chia Tan's *Ko lo sêng chih*, and the *Ki lu* of the Chinese map referred to above.<sup>1</sup>

*Shéng tung* is the *Seidang* district on the same coast, further north, towards Deli. *P'io lu* is possibly Perlak, still further up the coast.

*Chia lan* (*Ka ran*, *Kara*) Island is *Kar-Nikobar*. It may be noticed that the second character in this name is one and the same as employed in *Ts'wei lan*, i.e. *Tilan chong*, another island of the *Nikobār* group (see pp 385 and 396 above).

*P'io* simply stands for *bar*, *tar*, and is thus a contraction of *Nikobār*, if not actually meant for *Bharu*, in which case *Chia Tan's* *Po* kingdom would recall the ancient *Bharu* kingdom (see p 399 above).

This mention in the eighth century A.D. of *Kar Nikobār* and of the *Nikobār* Archipelago is both very instructive and interesting.

But no less important is the reference to the *Ko lo seng-chih* Island, if this should prove to be the full form of the name of a district *Séng chih* where the homonymous slaves and dancers were recruited. In such a case *Siak*, of which *Seng chih* is possibly a clumsy transcript (*Ko lo séng chih* = *Kulor Siak*, 'the *Kulor* Island of *Siak*'?), would be the district in question, along with the neighbouring islands, among which *Kundur* in Sabong Strait, whence perhaps the alternative designation *K'un lun Ts'eng chih* and *Seng chih Nu* for the same class of menials. It is known that there are wild and hairy tribes in *Siak*, while the islands off the coast of the same district are inhabited by *Orang laut*, known locally as *Rauah*, but termed *Sika*, *Selah*, or *Sehat* farther south in the Archipelago (e.g. in Bangka and Billiton). This very term *Selah* may be the one transcribed *Ts'eng-chih* or *Séng-chih* by the Chinese, its old local form may have been *Sengla* or *Sinla* (as in *Salat Sinla*, the channel of the strait south of Singapore Island). But all this is by no means certain, and we must await

Nagarakretāgama list of Countries," etc, in *Journal R A S*, July, 1905, pp 485-511

As regards the term *Seng-chih*, 僧祇, M Pelliot observes in the *Bulletin Ecole Franç*, t iv, pp 290, 291, that this is a misspelling for 僧祇, *Seng ch'i*, *Seng k'i* (= *Zanggi*), due to the almost perfect similarity between the second characters in both names, as evidenced by the best editions of the Chinese texts where the name occurs, wherein it is spelled *Seng-ch'i* (*Seng k'i*). In the whole of the Malay Archipelago, he adds Negroes are still termed *Zanggi* or *Janggi* (which is also pronounced *Jenggi*, in Battak *Jonggi*), and '*Jenggi*' already occurs in a Javanese inscription of 860 A D. All this, however does not quite explain the terms *K'un lun Ts'eng sz* or *K'un lun Ts'eng ch'i* (or *Ts'ên-k'i*), which may also denote *Zanggi* (Niggers) but which he deftly skips over. As a matter of fact these as we have seen were dancers and musicians, more especially dancing girls. I may now add to what I have said in the note on p 508 above, that the term *Srengkea* (which is quite similar to *Seng k'i* (in Cantonese *S'g-lai*)) denotes in Khmer a lady of the royal harem (see Aymonier's "Cambodge" t iii, p 546, and his "Dict Khmer-Français" s v) and that such ladies often take part in theatrical exhibitions. Again, in old Khmer, *lai* is a word for female slaves 'blyaders' (see Aymonier's 'Cambodge,' t iii, pp 546-547, ii, p 291). This may be compared with the Cantonese pronunciation *Seng tai*, of *Seng chih*. As Khmer was the language prevailing in the south of the Malay Peninsula and adjacent islands from the time of the extensive conquests of *Fu nan* in the third century A D (see my paper on "The Nagarakretāgama list of Countries," etc, in *Journal R A S*, July, 1905, p 502, n 1) till well nigh the end of the thirteenth century (see op cit, p 508), while Môn its sister tongue, still held its own during the same period in the remaining portions of the Malay Peninsula and the northern half, at least of Sumatra, it is not altogether unlikely that both terms *Seng chih* and *Seng k'i* denoted not exactly dark-complexioned or Negro people from that region, but more particularly female dancers and musicians.

p 509, note, l 10 *K'un lun*. In the *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t iv, p 226 it is stated that, according to the "Man-shu" (published in circa 860 A D), the Nan Chao kingdom (in Yun nan) made an expedition against the *K'un lun* country. Thereupon the *K'un lun* people let the enemy's host advance well into their country, then they cut through a dam and thus drowned most of the Nan Chao forces. They cut off at the wrist the right hands of the survivors

before sending them back to their country. The 'Nan chao Ye-shih' wisely refrains from mentioning such a defeat, but puts on record a little later that in A.D. 885 the *K'un lun* kingdom sent a very handsome girl to the Nan Chao king (Simson's transl. p. 78) a fact which evidences that the two enemies had by this time become reconciled. Again the same work mentions in 1103 that the three kingdoms of *Mie* (Burma) *Pa-s'* (a neighbour of Burma on the west see p. 171 *supra* and note thereon in these Addenda), and *K'un lun* offered white elephants and perfumes to the king of Nan Chao (*ibid.*, p. 101). The perfumes here alluded to seemingly included a large portion of *Costus* the best of which came from *K'un lun* according to Chinese writers (see *Bulletin Le Fr.*, t. ix, p. 226). The *K'un lun* State alluded to was evidently the Lesser (or *Hiao*) *K'un lun* i.e. *Taik kula* (*Gola mattika nagara* the present Ayethema) on the coast of Pegu (see pp. 89-90 above) which lies in a region where the multifarious waterways permit the sort of warfare described above. Cutting of dams and skilful taking advantage of bores and tidal waves formed later on a feature in the wars between Pegu and Burma (thirteenth to fifteenth century) described in the *Iyathury* or *Peguan Annals* of this period.

In proof of the identity of the *K'un lun* kingdom above referred to with the *Taik kula* State I may adduce the itinerary translated from the *Man shu* in the *Bulletin Le Fr.* loc. cit. According to this from the *Liaoy Siwei* valley (probably west of Ning-chou in South Yunnan) one came to the *Lung* River (龍河, *Lung Ho* evidently the *Me Khong* or *Chiu lung Kiang* at Chieng Rung following the well known Tung hai - *Pu-erh* Sz-mao route). Then further south one took the route of the *Tsing mu haiang* (*Costus*) Mountains (i.e. the Chieng Tung-Mone route across the *Me Khong-Salwin* water-beds) and straight southwards (via *Shwegun* and *Sittang*) the *K'un lun* State was reached (i.e. *Taik kula* or *Ayethema* south east of *Sittang* town). In another passage of the *Man shu* the *Costus* Mountains are located three days south of *Ying ch'ng* that is to say in the region west of *Pu-erh* and *Chieng Ping*.

On this and other *K'un lun* States see also pp. 89 (n. 5) 90, 103 260 261 (n. 1) 507-9 574 (n. 3) and *supra* in these Addenda remarks on pp. 74 (l. 16) 90 and 260 (l. 15).

p. 514 ll. 1-6 from bottom *Ku lo*. This is *Guroh*, see above in these Addenda note to p. 106.

p. 517 n. 3 Java. The *Po-sah* stela of A.D. 1306 discovered in *Clam* territory mentions a *Jari* kingdom and a quite distinct

*Yata-ditya* or Insular Java (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t iii, p 611, n 1) The first one of these countries, i.e. *Jaca*, was evidently the *Shé-p'o* on the Malay Peninsula, and withal Ibn Batūta's [*Mul*-]*Jacah* visited in 1345

p 521, n 1, ll 2 et seqq *Jakola* Nieuhoff possibly intended to connect Malacca with Ptolemy's *Takola*, after Herbert who, in his "Voyage de Perse" (1627), says (p 493) that Malacca is probably Ptolemy's *Tacola* (sic) He often follows Castaldi in such fanciful Ptolemaic identifications See, nevertheless, above in these Addenda, remarks on p 506, concerning the *Ko-lo* kingdom referred to in Chia Tan's itinerary (A.D. 785-805) If the name *Jakola* really existed locally in Nieuhoff's time, it must have meant, not Malacca proper, but the *Jugra* territory near by, the *Ch'ung la li* (*Jungara*, *Jugara*) of Chinese accounts For the appearance of this term as early as the first half of the thirteenth century under the forms *Jung-ya-lu* and *Chung la lu* in Chao Ju kua's work, see above in these Addenda, remarks on p 451

p 525, n 1 *Lo-yueh* Chia lan's itinerary overland states that from Water *Chen li*, i.e. Lower Kamboja, after crossing a small sea (Gulf of Siam) in a southern direction, one comes to the *Lo-yueh* country (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t iv, p 372) On the other hand, in his itinerary by sea, Chia Tan locates *Lo-yueh* on the northern coast of the *Chih* (*Sih*, *Sak*, i.e. the Singapore) Strait, which is only 100 *li* (about 20 to 30 miles) wide, and on the southern shore of which is the *Lo-shih* (Bhoja, i.e. Palembang) kingdom (op cit, pp 372, 373)

The "Hsin Tang shu," in its turn states that *Lo-yueh*, on the north, lies at 5,000 *li* (i.e. from 900 to 1,300 miles) from the sea, south west of it is *Ko-lu-lo* It is a meeting place for merchants that go and come Every year junks sail thence for Canton Customs are there the same as at *T'o-lo-po-ti* (Dvaravati in Lower Siam, see pp 176-80 above) (Op cit p 232)

It is legitimate to infer from the above indications that the *Lo-yueh* State extended from the north of the Malay Peninsula at the Kra Isthmus or even further up at about Mergui, down to its very southern end i.e. to the shore of the Singapore Strait If so, this State could not be other than the *Ligor* or *Lugor* kingdom, which included many petty principalities now and then mentioned as if they were separate or independent States, in the Chinese records

Otherwise, we must assume the existence of several places *Lo-yueh*, viz., one near Mergui (which may be *Lenya* or *Lanya*) on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, one at *Ligor* on the east



coast, and one on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait (which would then have to be identified with [Ma-]larir, the Chinese [Mo-]lo-yu, and the Arabic *Lārerī* or *Lurī*)

But this second hypothesis seems less plausible than the first one of a single *Lo-yueh* State holding hegemony over well nigh the whole of the Malay Peninsula (On the paramount rôle played of old by Lagor in the Malay Peninsula, see my monograph "Historical Retrospect of Junkceylon Island," in the *Journal of the Siam Society* for 1905, pp 130-5) Cf anyhow note to p 110, l 13, on p 760 above

p 528, l 4 and n 1 *Ka-ch'a* There does, indeed, exist a tiny islet *Pulo Kacha* just off the mouth of the Kedah River in 6° 4' N lat, but Old Kedah lay much further down the coast in 5° 42' N lat Both by reason of *Pulo Kacha* being, so to speak, merely a "geographical expression," and because of its lying out of the usual ship route from the Straits to the Nikobars and the Koromandel coast, I find it necessary to maintain my identification of *Ka-ch'a* with Kerti or Kitrea on the north coast of Sumatra On *Ka-ch'a* and Kedah see, furthermore my paper on "The Nagarakretagama list of Countries," etc, in *Journal R A S*, July, 1905, pp 495-500

p 533 ll 19, 20 *Pentam* Despite the existence of a village *Bentan* on the north shore of the Old Singapore Strait, I have in my paper on the "Nagarakretagama List of Countries" etc, in the *Journal R A S* for July, 1905, preferred to identify (pp 508, 509) Marco Polo's *Pentam* island with *Be-Tumah*, i.e. the *Timasal* or Singapore, Island On *Malatir* and *Malayu* see also the same paper, pp 492, 493

p 535, synoptical table, add the following entry —

End of 644 or beginning of 645 The *Mo-lo-you*, 摩羅游, kingdom sent an ambassador to China to offer products of the country (*Bulletin Le Fr*, t xv, p 324)

IP 536 537, synoptical table, add the following entries —

1275 Haji Kertanagara, king of Java undertook a war against *Malayu* He died the same year, but the war did not end until 1293 — "Pararaton" (*Bulletin Le Fr*, xv, 333, n 1) This is presumably the *Chaita* (Javanese) invasion of the southern Siamese provinces (on the Malay Peninsula) repelled in about 1279-80 by the Sukhothai king Ruang (see p 548 above, and my paper on the "Nagarakretagama, etc, *Journal R A S*, 1905 p 492)

Beginning of 1281 *Su la man* (=Sulaimān?) was charged by the Chinese Court with a mission to the *Mu-la-yu*, 木剌由,

and other kingdoms Six months later *Chan-<sup>1</sup> ling* (= Shams-ud-din?), sent on a mission to *Mu-la-yu*, when reaching Champa was shipwrecked (*Bulletin Le N*, iv, 326)

1299 *Mo-la-yu*, 沒里 由, dispatched an embassy to China contemporaneously with *Huen* (Sukhōthai) and *Lo-hu* (Lavo i.e. Iophuri in South Siam) (Op cit, loc. cit.)

1301 *Ma lai lu*, 馬里 呂, and other Sea Islands sent ambassadors to China (ibid.) Whether *Malayu* is here implied I somewhat doubt

p 539 ll 10-13 On a somewhat earlier Chinese navy knowledge of Java see my remarks below in these Addenda, note to p 586, ll 4-7

p 511, synoptical table *Po-ta* In my paper on "Some unidentified toponyms" etc., in the *Journal R.A.S.*, October 1904, I have preferred (p 722) *Pitalor* (Bin-Don) as an equivalent for both Tavernier's *Bata* and Teixeira's *Pato* See, however, p 543 above, n 1, for a possible faint indication in favour of *Bardia* On a *Pi-t'a* State, name spelled with different characters, see p 627 above, No 10

p 515, synoptical table l 5 from bottom The armies of *Java* here referred to must have been from the [continental] *Java* kingdom, as distinct from the insular *Java*, which, we have seen, is termed *Java dīpa* in another Cham inscription discovered in the Lanrāng district itself (see above in these Addenda, remarks on p 517 n 3)

p 545 n 1, l 3 In the *Bulletin Le N*, t iv, p 223, the name of the king of Lesser *K'un-lun* (Takhula) is given as *Mang Hui-yuei*, 茫 慧 越 (= *Mong Sagu*?) but more probably the Moñ *H'mōiñ Chagū*, and that of the *Ta K'un-lun* (Takhola = Takopi) ruler is recorded as *ling Sz li Po p'o-nan to shan na* (= Śrī Bhavanandaśana?) This relates to the time when the first account of *Piao* (Lower Burma) reached China (A.D. 802), see p 467, n 7, above


p 548 synoptical table add the following entry —

1274-1306 *Java* kingdom (i.e. continental *Java*), as distinct from the realm of *Java dīpa* (i.e. insular *Java*) Po-sah inscription discovered near Panrāng South Champa (see above in these Addenda remarks on p 517, n 3)

p 568 n 2 see (1), ll 3-6 In a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1767 a *Tumalitti* is mentioned among the tributary States of Burma This may be *Tumu* or *Iummu*, q.v. *supra*, p 33, also above in these Addenda, remarks on p 471, ll 2-8

p 570, note ll 11-13 *Kafīha* Cf. also *Chū-si* (*K7u tu*)

the fortified city, *supra*, p 305, and note thereon in these Addenda, as well as remarks in the same on pp 311 and 334

p 574, n 3, l 10 *Krung* In Mōn , *Krung*, pron

*Krōng*, where it means a small river and also a creek, a canal, whether natural or not This word *Krung* occurs also in Chām and in the language of Achin, in both these tongues it means a 'river' It does not occur in any other language of the Archipelago In the parlance of the Bahnar tribe of Kamboja it is pronounced *Krong* M Pelliot, in the *Bulletin Ec Ir*, t iv, p 230 n 3, begs to doubt my assertion (in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1902 p 135) that *Krung* is a Mōn Khmer word, and is somewhat sceptical as to my having met it in Mōn As regards this last point, I may easily refer M Pelliot to Steven's "Vocabulary English and Peguan," Rangoon, 1896, p 24, s v 'creek', while concerning the Mon Khmer origin of the word, I hope the evidence I have given above of its wide application in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and even North Sumatra, will suffice to establish its paternity But what has hitherto escaped lexicographers is the fact that *Krung* though originally denoting a 'small river,' came in the course of time to be employed in the sense of 'lord of the river' or 'lord of the basin (or valley) of (a particular) river' i e 'king' and this meaning it still retains, at least, in Khmer and in Siamese, into which it has been introduced •

(Sukhothai), and at 3,000 *li* (500 to 1,000 miles) north of *P'o-li* (Pulau on the Old Singapore Strait), which indications argue for it a situation on the east coast of the Gulf of Siam, either at Bing Pli-*ai* (Chonlaburi, Jalapuri) or lower down at either Pasu or Chanthaburi. This location is further confirmed by the trend of the itinerary, which proceeds thenceforward by way of the following places: *Tan tan* (= Tantalum?), *Mo ho-hsin* (Mahisun?), *To-lung* (= Kwala Tarong in North Fringano?), *Chi mai* (= Kemā man?), *P'o-lou* (= Kwala Baloh in North Pahang?), *To-lang* (= Kwala Tembeling in Pahang?), *P'o-luan* (= Pahang?) *Mo-lo-shih* or *Mo-lo-yü* (Malayu State south end of the Malay Peninsula), *Chin-la* (south-east coast of Kamboja), *Lin* (Campi), *Kiang-chou* (Canton). If the above toponyms are correctly recorded in the itinerary, *Tan tan*, *Mo-ho-hsin* etc., would all appear to be places on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. But the sea route laid down is, to say the least, a very odd one, and it is not improbable there is an error in the position ascribed to *Chin-li-pi-shih* in respect to *Ch'ih-t'u* (Siam) which may have to be corrected to 1,500 *li* west, instead of east. In such a case *Chin-li-pi-shih* would have to be sought for on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula perhaps at Ghurbi (-Kauri), see p. 95 above.

As regards the toponym *Tan tai*, it may have been employed by the Chinese to denote a number of similarly named places. Besides those already referred to on p. 585, I may mention the following —

- (1) *Tulang* River (= Musi?) east coast Sumatra *supra* p. 530 n. 4)
- (2) *Ta tan* River below Brunei north west coast of Borneo
- (3) Hamilton's 'Pullo *Tetanq*' (= Pulo Tenggol near Pulau Berhala, off the Fringano coast west part of Gulf of Siam), see Pinkerton *op cit*, vol. viii p. 463 etc.

p. 586, ll. 4-7. It behoves me to slightly amend the views expressed both here and on p. 539 ll. 10-15, as regards Chinese ignorance of Java before A.D. 1292-3. When they were written and sent to print there had not yet appeared Chao Ju kua's account of *Chao-wo* (Java) published in the *T'oung Pao* for 1903, pp. 233 et seqq. This shows that some hazy knowledge of Java had indeed reached China in the first half of the thirteenth century. But the information is so muddled and shallow as to justify the inference that it was acquired second hand from foreign merchants trading at the Chinese seaports. According to Javanese tradition it is stated (see *T'oung Pao*, 1903 p. 233) the Chinese traded with Japara (north coast of central Java) as early as the tenth

century. Even granting this, the fact remains that the first substantial knowledge of Java was not obtained by the Chinese until 1292-3, on the occasion of an unsuccessful expedition sent thither by Kūblai Khān, while the earliest mention of the island occurring in Chinese literature is to be found in Chao Ju-kua's work, in *circa* 1240.

p. 598, note, ll. 9-12. *Tarshish*. See p. 681, ll. 2-6, and p. 706 above.

p. 599, l. 2 and n. 1. *Lin-ya-sz*. Possibly the same as *Lin-ya-sa-ka*, which I have more recently identified with *Langka-suka*, the earliest capital of Kedah. On this and the topographical questions connected with the location of *Po-lo-an* and neighbouring States, see, for a fuller treatment, my paper on the "Nagara-kretāgama," in the *Journal R.A.S.* for July, 1905 (pp. 495-8). *Vide* also p. 626 above, and *infra* in these Addenda, remark on p. 626.

pp. 615, 616. *Saṃbhōja*, *Saṃbhujā*, *Kambojā*, etc. In Gavampati's book I have met the form *Kambojara* for *Kamboja*, which may or may not be meant for *Kamboja-rattha*. In Burmese records the term *Sambujara* occurs for the part of Burmā classically styled "Kamboja," as exemplified in the following extract: "When Alaung-sithu of Paukkan (Pagan) was on his way back from the *Sambuthara* country (Kambawea), he arrived in Tawng Peng on his magic barge" (Translation of Tawng Peng State history in the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. ii, vol. iii, p. 251). From the foregoing evidence it is legitimate to infer that *Kamboja* (or *Kamboja*, *Kambojara*, *Kambu-jaya*) and *Samboja* (or *Saṃbhujā*, *Saṃbhujara*, *Saṃbhu-jaya*) were interchangeable terms, or, at any rate, were considered to be so in Further India.

p. 616, note, ll. 4-9. See my paper, "A recent Trip to the Ancient Ruins of Kamboja," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1904, p. 363.

p. 624, n. 1, ll. 10-15 from bottom. *Jaraku*. *Jaraka* is the Pāli form according to Professor Kern, who considers, naturally, the people so called to be Javanese. We have, indeed, seen (above in these Addenda, remarks on p. 536) that in 1275 Haji Kertanagara, king of Java, undertook a war against Malāyu, but it is difficult to conceive that his exploits did extend as far as Ceylon.

p. 626. Dependencies of *San-fo-ch'i*. On *Tan-ma-ling* (= Temiling or Tembeling, on east coast of the Malay Peninsula), *Lin-ya-sz* (= *Lin-ya-sz-ka* = *Langkasuka*, the original capital of Kedah on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula), and *Po-lo-an* (= Beranang on the Langat River, west coast of the Malay

Peninsula), see my paper on the "Nagarakretāgama" in *Journal R A S*, July, 1905, p. 498

p. 627, l. 4 *Jih lo-t'ing* There is a *Jelutong* district on the south-eastern end of the Malay Peninsula (above Ramenia Point), and a place *Jelutong*, as well as a *Sungei Jelutong*, near the mouth of the Sepang River, Selangor (west coast Malay Peninsula)

p. 627, l. 15 *Pa t'a* See also p. 541 above, n. 1, for another *Pa t'a* State, the name of which is spelled with the second character different (= Batta, Battak?)

p. 633, ll. 17, 18 Add also *Pāli Jaiaka*, and cf. *Dabag* (*Dabag*?) with *Tafak*, *Tufan*, on p. 57 above

p. 641, n. 2 The second term *Bapis* recalls *Mais*, *Mabit*, *Mafiz* (see "Merveilles de l'Inde," p. 203), which we have shown to be meant for *Beit*, *Bait* = Mergui. The transition from *Mafiz* to *Bapis*, and *vice versa*, is, philologically, quite possible

p. 643, ll. 8-10 *Samudra* Cf. also *Diura-Samudra*, the capital of the Belila dynasty in India till 1354 or thereabout. In the Burmese inscription of about 1636, extant at the Kaung-hmu-daw temple, 6 miles north of Sagaing town, a province *Ihamodaya* (*Samudara*, *Samudra*) is mentioned as forming part of maritime Burmā and comprising the great districts of Mayi and Madak (see "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt. II, vol. 1, p. 341)

p. 653, l. 1 According to Herbert ("Voyage de Perse," p. 506), Alvaro Telerzo (a Portuguese) was the first European Christian to land on Sumatra

p. 661, note, ll. 27, 28 *Dandin*, etc. Spelled also *Dadin* and *Diddi* in some MSS. of Friar Odoric's work. I am now pretty certain that the final syllable *din* of the name is a clerical slip for *diu*, *dīu* (the *u* having been by oversight misread *n*), meaning an 'island'. From the fact that Ramusio (op. cit., vol. III, f. 218 verso) explains *Dadin* as signifying 'immondo e brutto' (impure and ugly), I am led to conclude that the term intended is *Timai ttiū* (*Timai-dīu*), 'Island of Impurity,' the name under which the Andāmāns are mentioned in the great Ianjero inscription of the eleventh century (see "Hobson-Jobson," p. 29). The islands are therein said to be inhabited by cannibals, which statement agrees with what Friar Odoric tells of *Dadin* or *Diddi*. It is not difficult to conceive how *Timai ttiū* could become transformed, both by corruption and contraction, into *Ti[mai]-tti[en]* = *Titti*, *Diddi*, or into *Ti[mai]-tti[n]* = *Tittin*, whence *Diddin*, *Diddin*, *Didin*, etc. But the doubt remains: is Friar Odoric's *Diddi* or *Dadin* 'Island' the Andāmān group of islands, or else some island in the Malay Archipelago named after the Andāmāns owing to the fact

of its inhabitants being reputed to be cannibals? I incline to believe, in view of the motley state in which TRIAR ODOMIC's narrative has come down to us, that it is really a question of the Andāmāns, for the vocable *Diddi* or *Dadin* is unquestionably a corruption of the Tamil name *Timaittu* of the Andamans, and there is no reason for its existence in the Malay Archipelago, unless it can be proved that it was transplanted thither by the Tamils, or else that the term *Timaittu* of the great Tanjore inscription applies to some island in the Malay Archipelago rather than to the Andāmāns.

him in revenge and then eat his body (see *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t III, p 281) This information refers to about 250-80 A D In the tenth century the *Wu-hu* tribes are again described as cannibals The possession of a human victim was an occasion for great festivals, with music from bronze drums, songs, and dances (op cit, loc laud)

Among the *Chung lin* or *Chung Miao* tribes of Kwei-chow (originally Thai, now admixed with Chinese blood), in ancient funerals the family of the deceased apportioned the corpse among them and ate it A bullock is now sacrificed instead (See Betts' "Social Life of the Miao tsu" in *Journal N China Br R A S*, 1899-1900, No 2, pp 1, 2, also *Bulletin Ec Fr*, t III, p 215)

For an instance of cannibalism in Kwang tung, A D 22, see Faber's "Chronological Handbook," Shanghai, 1902, p 51 The same work mentions, also, instances of cannibalism in other parts of China, caused by famines in B C 201, 138, and 114 See, likewise, Denny's "Folklore of China," Hongkong, 1876, pp 67-8 The emperor Wen lung of the North Ch'i dynasty (A D 565-76) requested his cook to prepare human meat for him, which he found delightful (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, vol XI p 92) Cannibalism in China is also mentioned by Sulaiman (see Reinard, op cit, p 52, also the same author's transl of Abu-l-Fedâ, p cxi introd), Marco Polo, etc

The *Wa-chuk-tsu*, who lived in the mountain regions of Tungusia, "ate the men raw and alive who fell into their hands" (*China Review*, vol XIX, p 287)

(7) In Formosa See the *China Review*, vol XVI p 377

(8) In Java Teixeira refers to the eating of human flesh by the Javanese ("Travels of Pedro Teixeira," Hakl Soc, 1902, p 237)

p 674, n 2, l 6 *Damun* Cf the *T'o-min* tribes of Ning po in Cheli kiang

p 675 note, ll 5-7 from bottom Marco Polo also mentions face-tattooing in Fuh-lien On this practice, elsewhere, see our remarks above, p 175, n 2, p 367, and these Addenda, observations on p 175, n 2, and on p 367, n 3

p 681, ll 2-6 On *Tarshish*, see, moreover, p 706 *supra* On other possible ancient Phœnician settlements, see pp 596-8 699 n, and 759 above

p 688, continuation of n 5 to p 687, on tailed men On this subject the following additional items should prove of interest —

(1) The Miao tribes of the Champâ hill tracts are credited with tails by the Annamese Capt Rev, in the *Journal* of his second



voyage to Cochin-China, 1819, says two tailed men had been brought some years before from the mountains in the interior of Champā to Hwē, and presented to the emperor, who, after having regaled them, sent them back to their homes. Their tails were stated to have been 7 Annamese inches = about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  French inches long. The Chinese had long before spoken of such wonderful men. Owing to their tails, these people could never sit, but had to remain content with crouching down on their hams (see *T'oung-Pao* for 1904, p. 553).

(2) In Formosa, tailed men have been mentioned by John Struys, who visited that island in 1650. Recently a child with a tail was seen there by the Rev. Wm. Campbell. (See "Formosa under the Dutch," London, 1903, and the *Journal R.A.S.*, January, 1904, pp. 120, 121.)

#### APPENDIX OF ADDITIONAL NOTES.

pp. 28-9 and 41 (n.). Airrhadoi. Wilford traces this term to *Hradāna* (*Ilādini*?), which, he states, is the name of the Brahmaputra (McCrindle, op. cit., p. 192). I incline to think that the Ptolemaic ethnonym may survive to this day in the name of the *Doing-nak* (pron. *Daing-net* by the Burmese) tribes of the Chittagong Hill tracts and Akyab district, which are variously described as (1) a sub-tribe of the Chakmā of Chittagong, of Mongoloid features, probably of Arakanese origin, speaking a corrupted Bengali; and (2) a probably hybrid people that broke away from the main tribe a century ago and fled to Arakan (see the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," 1908, vols. v, p. 194. and x.

if any, here implied<sup>1</sup> would thus be Kiu tsz, Kachins, Kadūs, and perhaps also China of the hills in the south west

South-west of Kirrhadia and north of Alosanga (= Shillong No 37) are, in De Donis' map, located the Beseidai, by which name the populations of Bissā and Sadivā (in modern Lakhimpur North East Asām) are evidently meant i.e. probably the Mishmis of the adjoining hills, albeit under their alternative appellation of Tiladai Ptolemy presumably means the Chin Lushai tribes of Sylhet, Silchar (Kāchir), etc (see pp 53 and 744 *supra*)

pp 30-2 Triglypton or Trilingon capital of the kingdom "In this part the cocks are said to be bearded and the crows and parrots to be white" (Ptol lib vii, ch 2, § 23) This statement has given rise to much discussion McCrindle (op cit, p 233) quotes Lassen's statement that, "according to Blyth (*J A S Bengal*, vol xv, p 26) there is found in Arakan a species of the Bucconidae, which on account of their beards, are called by the English 'barbets' and on the same authority we learn that what is said of the ravens and parrots is likewise correct" On the other hand St Andrew St John retorts that there are no white parrots (cockatoos) or ravens (crows) in Arakan ('*Actes XI<sup>ème</sup> Congrès Int des Orientalistes*,' Paris 1897, Sect Extreme Orient, p 220)

I shall in my own turn call attention to an interesting fact recorded in the New History of the Tang dynasty about a State *T'io yüan* or *Nou to yüan* (陀洹 or 新陀洹), an embassy of which is stated to have reached the Chinese Court between 627 and 649 A.D., offering camphor oil (*Po lu Kau* = *Bal t* balm, see p 440 above) and *white parrots* (cockatoos) having on their heads ten red feathers as long as their wings (see Ma Tuan lin, op cit, p 531, and *Toung Pao* ix, p 283) Now, *T'io yüan* is in the same History, described as forming with another district *T'an ling*, 耽陵 (situated on an island in the sea), a dependency of *To lo lo* or *Tu la lo* (墮和羅 or 獨和羅), with which it is continuous on the west *To lo lo* is in its turn, said to be continuous on the south with *Pan pan* (= Suphan, see pp 113 and 761-2 above), on the north with *Chia lo sl' fu* (= *Kulasapura*, see p 563, n, *supra*) on the west with the sea, and on the east with *Ch'en-ja* (Kamboja), it is noted for fine rhinoceroses which thus became known as "*To ho lo rhinoceroses*" *T'io yüan*, on the other hand, boasts of white elephants but there is no rearing of silkworms nor are there mulberry trees (op cit)

<sup>1</sup> Cf the Kirrhādaī mentioned by Ptolemy in Sogdiana along the Oxus, bk vi cap 1<sup>o</sup> § 4 meant almost certainly for *Asiatic*

It will thus be seen that *T'o yüan*, from its position to the west of *To ho lo* (= either *Tazala* or *Thagara* on the Taroy River, or else *Deuravati* in Siam, see pp 86, 177, 180, and 369 *n supra*), was unmistakably a district on the Gulf of Martaban. The old Chinese pronunciations, *Da rien*, *T'a ran*, or *T'a won*, of the name suggest a probable identity with the ancient Peguan town and district of *Dong Wan*, better known from European publications as *Dong-wun* or *Dun wun*. It lies on the eastern bank of the Bilin (*Bi Löm* River), a little below Bilin. Less probable guesses are *Dagün* (i.e. Rangoon, but see *Tu lu-ma* on p 523, *n 2 supra*), *Dong yin* (more correctly *Dong Yom* or *Dōng M' yom*), *Taungu* (in *Moñ Tong ũu*), and *Taroy* (*Darai* or *Tau'i*), which I therefore discard.

As regards the island *Tan ling* (*Tam ling*, *Dam lang*), it is presumably not Syriam (*Thanlyeng*, *Sarieng*), but [*Pun-*]zalaing islet between Maitabin and Maulmain (see p 510 *n above*). The name cannot therefore, be in any way connected with Telung, Talaing (names of Pegu), and still less with the Ptolemaic Trilingon.

At the same time, the mention of white parrots offered by *T'o yüan*, i.e. *Dun wun*, tends to show that the same kind of birds may have been indigenous in Trilingon as well, unless we are to assume that both they and the camphor oil offered at the Chinese Court were procured from States lying further south on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.

pp 39 and 741. *Balassia*. I now notice that this name actually appears in the Catalan map of the Modena Estense Library<sup>1</sup> (dating from about 1360) in the form *Ballazia* (corresponding to the *Balçia* of the Paris Catalan Atlas, 1375), immediately north of the coast of Burma and west of *Aociam* (*Tocian* Yung ch'ang). It has evidently nothing whatever to do with Balakhsan which is marked *Baldacia* (*Baldassia* in the Paris map), much further north. I do not hesitate, accordingly, to take this hitherto unidentified *Ballazia* or *Balçia* to be a district or city of Upper Burma, which is one and the same with Barbosa's *Balassia*. It will thus be seen that this place name can be traced back to the fourteenth century in European records, and still further to the beginning of the seventh, under the form *P'o lo sa* = *Balasa* (see pp 741-2 *supra*), in the Chinese annals of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 518-618, see, for more particulars, my paper on 'Siam's Intercourse with China,' in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, p 384).

<sup>1</sup> Published by Professor Count F. L. Pelli in "Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica," Supplement to vol. 1, Bologna, 1903.

p 41 n *Iravati* It is also the old name of the Ravi River in India

pp 45, 742 *Dvaravati* "In the tenth century the pressure of the rulers of Prome upon Southern Arakan compelled a change of capital from *Dvaravati* (near the existing town of Sandoway) to Myohaung, farther north" ("Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol v, 1908, p 391) If this be correct, *Dvaravati* was not precisely Sandoway but a distinct city near by

p 47 *Antibole* This is the name given by Ptolemy to his fifth and easternmost mouth of the Ganges, by which he evidently means the Meghna estuary The toponym suggests a native term *Anda palli* or something similar According to Walford "Antibole was the name of a town situated at the confluence of several large rivers to the south east of Dhakka and now called Feringibazar" (McCrindle, op cit, p 192) How and on what sort of historical evidence he came to this conclusion I do not at all know

p 51 *Maiaandros* This toponym possibly still survives in *Mahudaung*, the mountain range running north and south between the Pondaung mountains on the west and the lower Chindwin River on the east In some maps it incorrectly appears as *Maladaung* but in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" vol x, p 228, the name is spelt *Mahudaung*, this being presumably the modern Burmese corrupted form of an older toponym—*Mahendra*, *Mandara*, or *Malayuttara*—recorded by Ptolemy as *Maiaandros* In De Donis' map this mountain range is made to stretch north westwards almost as far as Alosanga (= Shillong, see No 37) passing close to the east of Tugma metropolis (= Tammu, see No 39) which if correct would make it to include besides the Mahudaung the Pondaung range as well as a portion of the Arakan Roma further to the south

p 106 ll 1, 2 *P'an p'an* and *W'en tan* The former is Sup han in South West Siam (see pp 113 190 761-2) whereas *W'en tan* was the name applied by the Chinese to 'Iire' (i.e Upper) Kamboja (see p 343 n *supra*) and cannot therefore correspond to Ban Don

p 103, n 1, add *Dharmaraja* is also the name by which Yuddhisthira is known in Malay tales (see "Essays relating to Indo-China" ser II vol II, p 5, n 1)

p 205 ll 13 14, 17 *Mabed* = *Bī riet* I should have rather said = *Māk riet* (Mak bet) as improvingly suggested on p 321, n. 1 2, for *Bā riet* as a name for An nam does not appear to possess any respectable antiquity

p 387 n 4 *Kakala* Cf the *Ko lu lo* kingdom of Chia Tan s

itinerary (see Addenda, note to pp 444 and 506, which, even though scarcely suitable, shows the utter absurdity of Van der Lith's suggested identification of the former toponym with Akhola

p 575, n Rhinoceros in Asām I was utterly wrong, through reliance upon misleading publications, to deny the presence of this pachyderm in Asām For I now find it stated in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" vol vi, p 20, that there are three kinds of rhinoceroses in that country, viz in the swamps which fringe the Brahmaputra and in the hills south of the Surma valley So, again, in the marshes of the Kāmarup district (op cit, vol xiv, p 331) No eaglewood appears, however among Asamese productions

p 609, n 2 It is interesting to notice, in connection with the Chōjā embassy which reached China in A D 1015, that Rājendra Chōladeva I (who reigned from 1011-12 to 1052) sent, according to Vincent A Smith, "an expedition by sea against a place called Kāduram, situated somewhere in Lower Burma or the Indo Chinese peninsula" ("Early History of India," Oxford, 1904, p 346) Is this expedition the embassy above referred to, or the second one of 1033 (see ante, loc cit)? If so the toponym *Kaduram*, if not meaning China (*Kathay, Aitan*? see p 569 n, *supra*), must anyhow apply to one of its seaports (Kattigara, Canton?) If, on the other hand it is a question of an armed expedition in the

p 647. The Catalan map of circa 1360 in the Modena-Estense Library, referred to above, presents far more improved spellings on Sumatra Island, here correctly styled *Java* viz *Mallao*, and a mutilated . nu on the north coast, *Arguly*, *Semestra*, and *Lamora* (Lamora) on the west coast, for, respectively, *Malao*, [Regio Feminar]um?, *Auzul* (or *A[r]zul*), and *Semesera* of the Paris Catalan Atlas. *Arguly* is extremely interesting in connection with the Ptolemaic *Argyre* city in the extreme west (read 'north west') of *Iabadiū*, and *Acchera*, *Acharā*, *Acheh* with the position of which it admirably corresponds. With *Arguly* and *Auzul* cf also *Aryra* and the Arabic *Arshir*, *Asrār* *Samara*, *Lasmin* (for *Basman*), and *Forlon* (for *Ierlee*, *Perlak*) are, on the contrary, transferred to the 'Illa de Silam' (i.e. Ceylon) further west, whereas the 'Yla ipellidī *Trapobana*' is relegated in the form of a square intersected vertically by three undulating lines presumably meant for streams, and no place name whatsoever is marked on the four bare vertical strips thus formed.

The comparison of the two Catalan cartographic documents above referred to conclusively convinces me that the 'Illa *Java*' and 'Illa *Trapobana*' of the Paris one, and the '*Java*' and 'Yla ipellidī *Trapobana*' of the Estense Library, are but the double of one another, and that a single island is implied, viz Sumatra. Ibn Batūṭa's island of *Juwah* (1345), Java proper and Borneo being entirely out of the question. As regards *Malao* or *Mallao*, it is presumably meant, as I already have observed (see p 647, n 1, above), for *Malayu* on the north coast of Sumatra, while the mutilated . nu of the Estense map may very well be the terminal syllable of some term *Auru*, or similar, designed to represent *Aru*, *Hāra*. We thus have, in both the islands represented in the two maps in question, a set of toponyms which can all be traced to Sumatra.

tributary the Buria Gandak and its lower ancient bed now known as the Būrhi Gandak. The other tributary of the Ganges from Bēpyrrhos is made to rise in long  $91^{\circ} 58' E$ , lat  $27^{\circ} 25' N$  (both rectified), to pass by way of Athēnagūron (No 27 = Dinājpur), and to join the Ganges in long  $87^{\circ} 26' E$  rectified. It would thus appear to include part of the courses of the Brahmaputra from Gauhāti to Dhubri, and of the Purnābhāba which flows past Dinājpur.

Whether the Ptolemaic term Bēpyrrhos for the mountain range in which these streams rise is in any way connected (as in De Donis' map) with the name of the streams themselves is questionable, at any rate, it may be noticed that a certain resemblance exists between it and the names *Buria*, *Burhi*[-Gandak] and even more so with the name of the *Purnābhāba*, especially in its anagrammatized form *Bhabapurna* (cf Bēpyrrhos, *Bapurrhos*). With a little stretching it would not be difficult to discern in it even the name of the Brahmaputra in a contracted form (*Baputros*, *Bēaputros*), in any case, there can be no doubt that part of the course of this river corresponds to the upper course of Ptolemy's southern tributary of the Ganges from Bēpyrrhos. With this Colonel Yule's view that Ptolemy shows no conception of the Brahmaputra valley proves to a large extent incorrect (see also p 282 above), while the possibly equivalent *Vipula* ('vast,' the name of one of the Hindu mythical cosmic ranges), which the same authority has suggested for Bēpyrrhos, does not appear very satisfactory. On the western branch of the Doanas, made by Ptolemy to rise in Bēpyrrhos, see pp 134 and 282 *ante*.

pp 733, 745 *Tamansa* tribe. In connection with this term it may not be uninteresting to notice that a similarly named place, *Tamanthi* or *Tamanthe* (*Tamansi*, *Tamansi*), exists in the Upper Chindwin district (see the "Upper Burma Gazetteer," pt II vol III, p 209). Furthermore, *Dimasa* occurs as the name of the Hill Kachāri tribes, as distinguished from the Bodo or those of the plains of Kachāri.

p 762 *Posinara*. Of the tribes called *Nara* in Upper Burmā, which occupied the country round Mogaung (see the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol VI, p 27).

- Aganagara, city, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 264; identified with Hā-nā, 10, 319; fundamental station of Ptolemy, 16, 17, 23; identification of, 331, 332, 334; origin of the name, 332, 333; connected with Ōu-lāk and Uraga, 318; derivation of the name, 735; location of, 738; suggested connection with Tonkin, 739; other designations of, 799
- Agastī, an illustrious person, 492 n. 2
- Agathodamonos, island, 691; location of, 411; connected with Sumatra, 411, 419; identified with the Great Nikobar, 411, 416, 421; the name discussed, 416-19; connected with So-tu-man, 416; Andāmān erroneously connected with, 417.
- Agathodamonos Nēsas, 419 n. 1
- Aghama *See* Andāmān
- Agannitū, the, people, inhabitants of Bazakatu, 379; term probably synonymous with Bazakata, 382, 383; derivation of the same discussed, 384, 385; connected with Aryawto, 393 n. 1.
- Agkheiron *See* Arakan.
- Aganagara, town, a designation of Hā-nā, 122
- Airbaloi, the, race, 29; erroneously identified with the Kiratas, 24; connection suggested between the Andāmanese and, 402 n.
- Airhadol, the Coast of the, 37; identified with the Coast of the Andhras, 28, 29, 34; aborigines of, 28, 29; its identity with A-lā-t'a discussed, 29 n. 2; named after Areia, 41 n.; derivation of the name, 821
- Aji Katang, 581 n. 1.
- Aji-Saka, king of Hastināpura, the first Indā adventurer to reach Java, 591; subdued the Rākāsas, 592; acts attributed to, 592; connected with Sahivāhana, 592; legend of, 618
- Aka Beula *See* B'jingtjī, the, tribe
- Akalra, town and district, 9-13, 21, 22, 24, 25, 833; identified with the Bay of Ko Tron, 7, 23, 193, 195; a fundamental station of Ptolemy, 16, 17, 23; identification of, 23, 193, 731; derivation of the name, 199; part of the kingdom of Komar, 201.
- Akadra town, an interior town of the Sinat, 199.
- Ākar, island, one of the Avambas, 722



- 597 n 1, voyages of discovery ordered by, 597 n 1  
 Alexandria, 92  
 Alguida Reef, lighthouse at, 49.  
 'Alī, Sultan, conquests of, 704  
 'Alī Muḥiyyat Shāh, Sultan, king of Aceh, 634, 697, 703, 705, attacked and captured Pacem, 654  
 'Alī R'iyat Shāh, Sultan, king of Aceh 704  
 Alkah 88 89  
 Allahabad, pillar inscription of, 57  
 Aloe, collected by pigmies, 261, 262  
 Along-sithu, king of Pagan, 721, 825  
 Alosinga identified with Shillong, 830, 832  
 Āma, district identified with Canton, 244 included in Krauma divisi, 244  
 Amaravati, city and district 779, conquest of 791, identification of, 791, location of, 791  
 Amazon, Island of, location of, 753  
 Ambaba, identification of, discussed, 634 n 1  
 Amber, places noted for, 582 n 1, 823, worked at Ava and Mandalay, 582 n 1  
 Anambas, West, also designated the Jameja group, 722  
 Ancient India, Colonel Yule's map of, 4 n described by Ptolemy, 6  
 Ancient knowledge of the world, limits of, 5  
 Anda, the term discussed, 393 394  
 Andalas, Andhalas the ancient name of Palembang, 603, 612 connection of the name with Kan-t'o-h improbable, 601 origin of the name, 612  
 Andalas, Pala, a designation of Palembang 639  
 Andāman, term synonymous with Nikobar, 393 n erroneously connected with Agathodemonos, 417, suggested connection with other names, 418, 419 n 1, 612, derivation of the word, 805, 806  
 Andiman Great, identified with Ptolemy's Barakata, 479, the tomb of Sulimān on the 387  
 Andiman, Little suggested as the site of Barah nagar 403 n connected by Ptolemy with Bizakata 407  
 Andiman Middle included in Ptolemy's Barakata 379  
 Andaman South included in Ptolemy's

- Andarac *See* Andhras  
 Andhaka, Andhala, island *See* Andalus, Pulo  
 Andhaka, the, people, probably settlers in the Andamans, 395 n 1, a West Indian tribe, 612 related to the Bhojas, 612, term connected with Andaman, 612, a branch of the Yadava, 612 n 3  
 Andhra Island *See* Andalus, Pulo  
 Andhras the race, 28, where located by Megasthenes, 28, their habitat, 29, extent of their kingdom, 29, 30, 32, 34; probable derivation of the name, 29 n, 2 the Airrhador of Ptolemy, 29, their extraction 29  
 Andragade *See* Indragiri, kingdom  
 Andramama 'Island of Gold,' designation of the Andamans and Nikobars, 391 n 2 398  
 Andre-Indi, probable derivation of, 29 n 2  
 'Andre-Indi' *See* Andhras  
 Andripourre *See* Indrapura  
 Anfajah, Ankujah, town capital of Anjabah, 571 location of, 573 possibly identical with Zanzibar, 577, 577 n 1  
 An-gu district, 72, the ancient Dala, 666 n 2, anecdote respecting the name of, 666 n 2  
 Anç Chumnik *See* Ba P' khom  
 Anç Chumnik inscriptions, 209, 212 235  
 with the Great Gulf, 225, tonal marks of, 226 n, place names of, 226 n, king of, captured P'hot-thē, 229, C'hā-bā captured by, 230, war with Campā, 275, 276, forces of, routed by the Chām, 276, origin of the name, 327 Hwe, the capital of, 780, cannibalism in, 827  
 Annam River, identical with Ngao-nankiang 372  
 Annamese the, 128 n 2, 130, 132, names applied to the, 225 n 1  
 Annamese Annals, the 227, 227 n 1, 227 n 5, 228 n 3, 299, 305, 350, 351 n 1, 373  
 Annamese language, words and terms, 40 n 2, 55, 56 72, 126, 128 n 2, 131, 135 n 1 148, 159 n 2  
 Annamese records, etc., 126 147, 153  
 Anouk-ngay, estuary, 44  
 An-pa ch, an envoy sent to China, 648  
 Ansumat, mountain, identical with Rṣabha, 164, a silver mountain, 164, 672  
 Ant, legend respecting an as large as a cat 643 643 n 1  
 Antedated events, 63 69  
 Anthropophagi *See* Cannibals  
 Antibole a river port, 47, identified with the Meghna estuary of the Ganges, 832, Walford identification of 832

43 Dhanāvati the capital of 43  
 silver imported into 43 n 1 iden-  
 tified with Ramanna 57 the  
 ancient capital of 96 the Barakōra  
 Emporium of Ptolemy 400 n 2  
 list of places on the coast of 656  
 places in correspond to places in  
 Iahadu 656 extent of the colonies  
 of 657 settled by the New Khmer  
 657 removal of the capital of  
 Southern 839

Arakan Old city 43

Arakan River See Kuladan

Arakan Roma mountains 33 54 58

6 identified with Maunlros

51 still traceable in mid-ocean

chief kingdom of Sumatra 590, 669  
 681 the name discussed 658 659  
 736 position assigned to in old  
 maps 669 successive designations  
 of 681 possibly connected with  
 Tarshish 706 silver of 706 con-  
 nected with Arguly 874

Arī mardana pura kingdom the  
 ancient name of Pagan 63 746  
 kings of 746

Arī samanam Arī kambala district  
 term connected with Arisabion 63

Arīan Arisno district corresponds to  
 Shenbo or Bhāmo 63 connected  
 with Arisabion 63

Arisa m en Arī sein myo the probable

- Bāṅg, or P'hrāh Bāṅg, statue of Buddha, 149 n 1, explanation of the name, 769
- Bāṅg-na, ancient remains at, 791.
- Bāṅg Pla-sōi, other designations of, 824
- Bangka mines, the, discovery of, 470 n 1.
- Bangkari See Banyak, West, island
- Bangkis, island, location of, 577
- Bangkok, the royal temple in, 107
- Bangoran, Banguran, island, a designation of Great Natuna, 707 n 2, 708 n 1, 709, 713, 715
- Banong. See Penong the, people
- Banthai, meaning of the term, 775
- Banthai-ma<sup>4</sup>, district, 7, location of, 193, the ancient ruins of, 193 wrested from the Annamese 195 n 1
- Banthai-ma<sup>5</sup>, a mart, 7, the chief seat of trade on the Gulf of Siam, 8, the Pithonobaste of Ptolemy, 192, 731, derivation of the name, 193, an important trade centre, 193, erroneous account of its destruction, 194, 195, other designations of, 195 n 2; probably the capital of Komar, 202, 203
- Banthai-ma<sup>6</sup>, river, 775, connected with the Pa<sup>4</sup>ak, 193 194 defeat of the Siamese fleet in the, 194, 195
- Banyak, islands, connected with the Manolai, 421 probably correspond to the Betawā Islands, 448
- Banyak, Great, island, included in Ptolemy's Barusa<sup>1</sup>, 446
- Banyak, Little, island, included in 670 n 1, probably identical with Dhaññavati, 43, identified with P'o-hui-kia-lu, 58, 467, erroneously connected with Bareuathra, 155, connected with Bharu, 400 n 2
- Barata Bay, on Narkondam, 403 n
- Baratān Island, 392, 400 n 2, included in Ptolemy's Bizakata, 379
- Barbarians, 124
- Barbarous states, the states outside the Chinese border described as, 123, Ptolemy's account of the, 123
- Barbaryn, the Nubartha of Ptolemy, 12
- Bardia, town, also called C hump'hoon, 470 n 1, possibly connected with P'o-ta, 822
- Bareuathra, city, identified with Birikan, 155, erroneously identified with Barakura, 155, connected with Paripātra, 155, derivation of the name, 155 See also Bareukora; P'huen, Muang
- Bareukorn, city, 295 n 3, probably connected with Muang P'huen, 364 n 2, 769, derivation of the name, 732, identification of, 769 See also Bareuathra, P'huen, Muang
- Baria See Saigon, town.
- Barikan, Borikan, city, the Bareuathra of Ptolemy, 155, formation of, 769
- Barkan, island, 577, connected with Prakan, 577 n 2
- Barmavar, Barmapura See Yarmapura, town
- Baru Island, a designation of Pulo

- Bhaktumasi See Python slates, mart  
 Bhala Topes, found at Vedisa 747  
 Bhala, the, people, 257, connected  
 with the Bili, 257 n 1, name  
 applied to the Tarn Karens, 781  
 Bhu-gyun, island, 39 761 807  
 inhabited by cannibals, 71, sug-  
 gested identification with Bili-  
 Island, 436  
 Bhumas, the, people, writing among  
 593 n 2  
 Bhumasana, Bhumaēn, demigod 809  
 Bhoja, kingdom and town, country  
 about Hwe known as, 229 n 2  
 connected with Palembang 229 n 2  
 612, capital of Sri-Bhoja 619,  
 an important port, 619, a centre of  
 Buddhist learning 619 trade  
 between China and India and 619  
 Bhoja the, people, related to the  
 Anhalas, 612 a seafaring race,  
 612 of Palembang 612 the  
 name discussed, 612, 613 a branch  
 of the Yadava 612 n 3  
 Bhoja pura See Fo-shih pu lo dis-  
 trict  
 Bhojaka the, people, descendants of  
 the Bhoja, 612 n 3  
 Bhojakata, city, foundation of 393  
 n 3 611, connected with Bazakata  
 393 n 2  
 Binh dinh See Binh dinh district  
 Bontang, island probably identical  
 with Bhatul 558 620 other  
 designations of 558  
 Borneo, state 511 n 1  
 Bosa, district inhabitants of 870  
 Baserat, Siamese headquarters in Java  
 518 n 1, caves and Buddhist  
 shrines at 518 n 1  
 Bhatul 558  
 Black River, 153 connected with the  
 Red River, 125 a stream of the  
 Hanoi 314 other designations of,  
 314, 314 n 1, 76, 792  
 Black Tooth See Hô ch th, the,  
 people  
 Black Water river a designation  
 of the Me Khong 487 n, other  
 designations of, 792 course of the,  
 792  
 Blacks, the term applied to the  
 Negrito tribes 200  
 Blazing Sea, the 781  
 Bli term applied to hill people,  
 207 n.  
 Blue Mountain, source of the Kuladan  
 River, 30  
 Blumea balsamifera a camphor tree  
 435 437 power attributed to the  
 436 n 1 distribution of the 438

- Malaya 133 decline in civilization of 133 driven away by the Lau 150 connected with the Lau chu 363 364
- Chel Muang* a division of the *Chiang* Kingdom 138 n 2
- Chengkang* district location of 778
- Chela* city identical with *Hsela* 46 46" n 1 capital of the *Thru* *Mau* 467 n 1 superseded by *Se-Lau* 467 n 1 location of 467 n 1
- Chel* term designating the Chinese 128 n 2
- Chelang* See *Chalang* state
- Chenla* kingdom 824 identified with *Kamboja* 61 73 158 168 203 233 241 466 49, 773 794 800 description of the natives of 171 application of the name 207 203 subject to *Fu nan* 202 known also as *K'h m eh* 202 203 also designated *Jala* 203 location of 497 498 origin of the name 3
- Chenli* city identified with *Chan* *thabun* 524 n other designations of 524 n
- Chen nan* kingdom a designation of *Annam* 3
- Chenchy* district 780 identified with *Hs nan* 246 n
- Chedras* gold mines at 47" n 1
- Cheng chuan* town the capital of *Peh tsz* 763 location of 763 connected with *Ptolemy's Pandasa* 63
- Chimila* city the seaport of *Chou* *mei lu* 524 n situation of 52
- Chimila* district identified with *Chou mei lu* 523 other designations of 523 n 2
- Chipin* title of an envoy to China 523 n 2
- Chi to* trade of 678 identification of 678
- Chi yen* *Ki yen* king 424 2 n 2 472 n 3
- Chichan* *tan* state identification of 699 n 1 626 subject to *San* *fo chi* 626
- Chilan* inlet 816 identified with *Kar Nakobur* 817
- Chia lo* *hsi* state subject to *San* *fo chi* 677 identification of discussed 677 678 manufactures of 628 See also *ha lo hei*
- Chia lo* *si* *tu* identical with *Kalasa* *pura* 830
- Chia ta* See *Kia to* kingdom
- Chiamdo* *Chu* river a designation of the *Me Khong* 135
- Chiang* the people claimed descent from apes 687 n 5
- Chiao ch' h* See *Tonkin* province
- Chiao lan* island See *Hau lan* *Shan*
- Chiau* *Chiau* *chih* See *heu* the people
- Chiau* *chih* town a designation of *Tonkin* 225 n 1
- Chiau yau* the race a cannibal race 2 description of 208 786 787

- C'hieng, the, race, 225 n 1, early designation of the Lawā 118, derivation of the name, 128 n 2, country occupied by, 128, 129, 131, 162, cave dwellings of the, 150, the Saku belong to the, 159 n 2
- C'hieng Cheh, the, people, settlers of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, 657.
- C'hieng Chuang, C'hieng Chong, the royal city of the Lawas, 119 n 1
- C'hieng Hong C'hieng Thong city, the first name of Luang Phrabang, 145
- C'hieng Hong See C'hieng Rung, city
- C'hieng-Khan, 116
- C'hieng Khéng identical with Keng-Cheng, 133
- C'hieng Khóng, town, 128, on the Mo-Khong, 287 n
- C'hieng Khwang See P huen, king-
- Su mên ta la, 651, other names applied to, 651.
- Chih-Rong, two ancient statues dug out at, 220
- Chih-shwei Ho, name applied to part of the Red River, 315 n 1, 750
- Ch'ih t'ui, town and district, 752; identity of, discussed, 83, 161 n 2; identified with Sukhothai, 155, 178, 178 n 1, 179, 469 n 3, 497 n 1, 742 a designation of Siam 170, 469 n 3, 742, description of the natives of, 171, may represent Sawankhalak, 178, 178 n 1, 507 n., meaning of the term, 178, Chinese envoys acquainted with, 179, divided into two kingdoms, 179; ancient capital of Northern Siam 182, name superseded by Hsien, 183
- Chim Son ancient remains at, 791
- Chiu, kingdom, a designation of Pegu, 90 n, 774
- Chin, the, people, tattooing customs

- Ch na Sea names applied to branches of the 248 corresponds to the Chang Hai 49 sea route to the opened by the Dravidians 302 other designations of the 81
- Ch nab river 41 n
- Chunabakeer river derivation of the name 41 n
- Ch du n river 31 33 40 n 3 54 63 66 name Inl s applied to the 41 n silver exported from 44 n silver mines in the valley of the 41
- Ch ndw n valley 63 silver mines in the 39 1 formerly inhabited by the Zamrai 52
- Chinese the 123 124 146 n 1 160 names applied to 55 n 2 63 64 128 131 131 n 2 64 65 repelled by Prince Khotan Sen 139 n conquests of 147 settlements formed by 671 ruled in Ku kang 630 ruled in San fo-chi 630 631 the Cham defeated by 781 agriculture introduced into Tonkin by 786 expeditions of 781 797 825 833 knowledge of and trade with Java by 824 825
- Chinese aboriginal race 131 n 2
- Chinese civilization received from India 124
- Chinese Emperor homage paid by the 120 to the 5
- Ch ung Ho See Lu Kiang river
- Ch g Kiang See Lu Kiang river
- Ch og tung Ting location of 92
- Ch ng yuan district a designation of Chung so 199
- Ch upaw the people other designations of 744 49
- Ch uor temple of 706
- Ch trang river 41 n
- Ch ttagoon the coast of 31
- Ch ttagoon Hills Triglypton located on the 30
- Ch ttagoon (Ch ttagoon) etc 11
- Chu ch ang town and kingdom the capital of 1 lembang 564 n 4 a designation of 1 lembang 566 617 n 2 630 identification of 1 cused 617 n 2
- Chu ch ang Chu Kiang river identified with the Sungai 617 n 2 other designations of 617 n 2
- Ch u lung Chua river other designations of 135 1 name of part of the Ma Khou, 135 n 1 280 meaning and application of the name 135 n 1
- Chu n Chu n kingdom 707 absorbed in the Kamaja Empire 704
- Ch u t district the ancient name for Hsiang lin district 148 history of 788 inhabited by the Lu barbarians 288 the Kortatha of Ptolemy 88 789 797 the name discussed 796 797 other designations of 798 suggested identity with Kattigara 303 n 1
- Ch ung chou department 746 n
- Ch ung-shan territory a description of Chu yai and Chu lu 746 n 747 n meaning of the names 746 n identical with Ho how 748 n connected with Sona pa vata 750 n 1
- Ch ung shan mountain on Hsiao nan 746 n
- Ch ung y ng See Ch ung shan territory
- Cho diu inscriptions of 781
- Choi n a famous Chinese mart 219
- Chok See Juk the people
- Chola kingdom a designation of Koromandel 624 tributary to Zabej 624 n 1 embassy to China from 833 probably subject to Sumatra 833
- Chon Sr Hli



Culao Ray *See* Kô lau Râ, island  
 Cupang Soap River, 775  
 Currency, human skulls used as, 652,  
     comminuted gold used as, 806  
 Customs, peculiar trading, 493, 493  
     n 3  
 Cuttack, city, formerly called Kataka,  
     307 n 1  
 Cyclones, 606

## D

Dà-bà, kingdom, location of, 466,  
     other designations of, 466, identi-  
     fied with Highland Java 466,  
     eighteen kingdoms subject to, 467,  
     boundaries of confused with P'iau,  
     467, a designation of She-p'ò, 468,  
     attacked by the king of Tonkin,  
     468  
 Da-nan-dông, district, inhabited by  
     the Ts'uan, 125 location of, 152,  
     name transferred to the banks of  
     the Me-khong, 153  
 Daba, Dabessa, 272 n 1, Ptolemy's  
     country of the Dabasar, 55, 57  
 Dabag, state, a designation of Sumatra,

Dagun, town, 831 a designation of  
     Langun 425, 523 n 2, 811  
 Dahan, river, 137, 765 the supposed  
     outlet of the Dornas River, 134, 135,  
     281  
 Dahvai, cape, other designations of,  
     636  
 Dã Chiêm, port, identification of,  
     781, other designations of, 783,  
     789, 790  
 Dai-la, city, ancient designation of  
     Hũ-nôi, 316 n 1, 330, a designation  
     of Ia-thân, city, 328, 329, 330,  
     capital of the Li dynasty at, 329,  
     name changed to Thang long, 329,  
     connected with Long-biên, 330;  
     situation of, 330 n 1, 800  
 Dakhan district 101  
 Dala, district, 41 n 1, 72  
 Dala, city and district, 523 n 2, name  
     changed to An gvi, 668 n 2 anecd-  
     ote respecting its change of name,  
     668 n 2  
 Dam Dong, a rivulet 145  
 Dam mong *See* Tre, island  
 Damang Lebar Daun, king, reigned in  
     Palembang, 530 n 4

- Dasana *See* Deana, citv  
 Daśarna, country and people, 126, 152, a designation of Eastern Malaya, 117, 121, term identical with Ptolemy's Dasana, 117, an Hindu monarchy, 122, 124, designation of the State of Lúang P'hrab Bang, 133, derivation of the name, 768  
 Datu Point, 708 n 1, 709  
 Dau, river, an ancient name for the Red River, 316 n 1, 317, 317 n 1, 318  
 Dau jang, river, other designations of the, 123, the Doras of Ptolemy, 125, the Red River, 314, 315, 317, source of the, 316 n 1  
 Dava *See* Java, Highland  
 Dava, Davaka, Davaka, state, corresponds with the present Upper Burma, 55, 56, 57, 467, a 'frontier country,' 57, a tributary state of Magadha, 57, 60, 61, synonymous with Alavi, 57, derivation of the name discussed, 58, 59, 745, other designations of, 636  
 Davis, John, a pilot who visited Achéh, 655 n 1  
 Davan, 55  
 Dawa, the, people, the Malays of Sumatra, 636  
 Dava, a petty state of Sumatra, 529, 529 n 2, location of, 632, a possession of Achéh, 703  
 Dayang Bunting, island, a fresh-water lake on, 487 n 1, 488  
 Dead man as a sacred relic, 390, 390 n 1  
 Dedap *See* Nasi Besar, Pulo  
 Deer in Great Nikobar, 401 n  
 Delegore, district, tin-mines in, 470  
 Dhaññavati, 39, ancient capital of Arakan, 43  
 Dharañikōṭa, relic casket of Buddha's remains enshrined at, 108  
 Dharma-cena, king of Sau-fo-ch'i, 630, death of, 630  
 Dharmarajara, kingdom, identified with Sri Dharma-raja-nagara, 508 n.  
 Dharmaraja, kingdom, meaning of the epithet, 109 n 1 a designation of Lagor, 644, a name of Yudhiṣṭhira, 832  
 Dharmasoka, king of Magadha, 264, conquest of Tonkin by, 320 n 1.  
 Dhuhri, 835  
 Dhulea, river, a branch of the Tetulia, 744, connected with Tilogrammon, 744  
 Dhutail, island, belonging to Zabej, 558, 620, identification of, 558, 600 n 3, other designations of, 558 n 4, 620 the legend of the marine horse connected with, 600 n 3  
 Diamond Island, 48 origin of native name of, 49, probably the Tēmala of Ptolemy, 49  
 Diamond Point, 12  
 Diamond Sands, 109, Prince Dantakumara wrecked on the, 107, the site of Lagor, 107, 108, king of Magadha wrecked on the, 108  
 Diamond Sands (India), legend respecting the, transferred to the Diamond Sands at Lagor, 108  
 Diba-jat, island, a rendering of Iabadiu, 465  
 Diddi Island *See* Dadin, Island  
 Dien Bien-phu *See* Then, Muang

boys 93 "94 corresponds to Lestui  
 158 description of the natives of  
 158 141-3 8 conquest of 04  
 "06 origin and meaning of the  
 name "07 term synonymous with  
 Ch'en "07 earliest mention of  
 "08 the people of invaded Tonkin  
 "08 boundaries of "09 state of  
 the capital of discussed 09 "10  
 kin of pays tribut. "99 "91  
 visited by merchant 30" con-  
 quests of 818  
 Formosa island inhabited by Aeta  
 Negritos "4 n  
 Further India "4 sufficient geographical  
 knowledge of 3 "6 place  
 names in whence derived 40 n 3  
 101 117 maps of 84 *passim*

Garó Hills 53  
 Garuda mythical bird abode of said  
 to be Kuta almal Peak 80 81  
 48 n 5" also designated  
 Vamratera 80 other epithets applied  
 to "5  
 Gaudas the people the foundation  
 of Takola by discussed 85  
 Grahats "86 n 1 835  
 Gavampati thera a disciple of Buddha  
 114 60 n " account of 657 n  
 Gaya district chull born in the with  
 a caudal appendage 68" n 5  
 Gavo Gavu the people other forms  
 of the name 6"4 n cannibalism  
 of 674 n " origin of the name  
 674 n " Islamism refused b  
 874 n " habitat of 64 n

- respecting the queen of, 505, 505 n 2, tributary to Queen Sina devi, 506, 544, resumption of intercourse between China and, 519 identification of, 510 n 1, envoys sent to China by, 544 n 1, 545, 547 sent Seng ch; slaves to China 547, last mention of 547, noted for tortoise-shell 671 n, Sina, queen of, 699
- Ho lo tan, state, 543, 812, on Shê p'ô island, 469, 542, discrepancies in accounts of, 469, n 3, suggested identification of, 469, 469 n 3 542, 760, capital of, 469 n 3 king of, 542 late mention of, 543, title conferred on the ruler of 543
- Ho-lo-t o, 29 n 2
- Hô lûang, the, people worshippers of genu, 341 n 1
- Ho mui the people 144 n 2
- Hô-mu to, king of Shih li Fo shih, 620, the patron of I-tsing, 620 sends dwarfs and slaves to China
- Hor, the, people of Sing Bhum 141
- Hormat, city, location and identification of 647
- Horse, a mythical marine, 558 559, 673 n 2, Kwan-yin assumed the form of a magic, 600, the marine, of Arabic legend, 600 600 n 3
- Houses description of the of Serirah, 564 description of the, of Pakam bang 564 n 4
- Hradana, river a name of the Brahmaputra, 899
- Hsi ch uan See Tai kwien district
- Hsi-erh hsi See Ta li lake
- Hsi-erh-ho, river, legend respecting the 137
- Hsi fu heh, city, location of 784, the seaport for Ha nui, 784
- Hsi-ho H i ho H-sien, the Solana of Ptolemy, 15
- Hsi-kiang river, identified with the A-m, 617 n 2
- Hsi-lan state, a designation of Ceylon, 389 679 n 2, subject to San-fo

- Ilchi. *See* Khoten  
 Ilha das Naua, an islet off Malacca, 616 n 3  
 Ilha do Ouro, 670 n 1, 807  
 Ma Iana a designation of Sumatra, 647, production of, 647.  
 Ma Trepobana. *See* Inprobana, island  
 Imousun, the Nan-chao conqueror 130 n 1, 762, established the Jwan-hwa prefecture, 130 n 1.  
 Indiprathai the, people connected with the Southern Kachins 733  
 Indu, district, camphor from the, 436 n 3  
 Indi, Inthi, the, people, connection with the Indos discussed, 348, 349, the habitat of, 349, a branch of the Ta Oi, 349, 349 n 1  
 India, 1 4, 17, 19, 33 35, 45 n 2, 47, 65 n 1, 81, 84, 87, 92 96, 103, 104 113, 117, 123 n 2, 140, 145, 152 legend respecting a prince from 31, Kalingas driven to the south of, 32, term applied to natives of 34, names transplanted from, to Indo-China, 39 n 2, 48 121 trade route from, to the Gulf of Siam, 79, 94, embassy to 93, 124, people of, 101, 102, Prince Danta kumara's flight from, 107 traditions transplanted from 108, Diamond Sands of 108, emigrants from, 122, China civilized from, 124 camphor produced in, 439 n 1, 439 n 3 *passim*  
 India. Further synonymies of. *dis*  
 Indo-China, Southern, date of Ptolemy's information regarding, 739  
 Indos the, people, 130, 264, 802; location of, 310, 348, connected with the Sun tñ tribes, 347, probably in error for Sindos, 347, 348, their connection with the Indos discussed, 318, 349, derivation of the name discussed, 349, 735, of Môn-Annam race, 350  
 Indonesian race, cannibalism of, 660 n 2, possibly connected with the Batta, 660 n 2  
 Indra, a god of the Indus, identified with P hya Then 127, a visit paid to, 145  
 Indra Brahma prince, probably identical with Indravarman 696 took refuge at Malacca 696, 696 n 1, converted to Islam, 696 n 1  
 Indra dipta. *See* Andra district  
 Indra raja, the 1 under of the Phrah Thôn pagoda, 189  
 Inrabhadra, temple rebuilt under the name of, 545  
 Indragiri, kingdom, pepper produced at 454 n 1, in Sumatra, 454 n 1, hairy people on the coast of, 685, a possession of Acheh, 705  
 Indraprastha, city the mediæval capital of Kamboja, 777  
 Indrapura, town and district various applications of the name, 449, possibly the capital of Zunda, 454, pepper produced at 454 n 1, *dis*

identification of, 97, other designations of, 271 274 n 1, 406, 656, erroneously identified with Khalat, 406, only half a mile from the mainland, 407, strait fordable for elephants at low tide, 407, footprint of Buddha opposite 1, 665 n  
 "Historical Retrospect of Island," 821, ambergris exported from, 823  
 Jurulu, state, suggested identity of, 628  
 Jwan-hwa, establishment of the, prefecture, 130 n 1, 762

## K

Ka ch'a, identified with Kerti 528 530, 821 identification of, discussed, 528 n 1  
 ka-ch'a, Pul, 821  
 Ka-Dran See Ko Tron, bay  
 Ka-ki-lan tan See Chua-chi-lan tan, state  
 Ka-ko-la Ka ko-ra, suggested identity of, 441 n 2  
 Ka li, ho-lo identification of, 817  
 ka-lo hei, ka-lo-hsi state, location of 627, possible identification of, 628 See also Chua lo-hsi  
 Ka-lo shé fu, kingdom, 769 n  
 Ka to, the, people, derivation of the name discussed 357 9 identical with Ptolemy's Kudutai 357, 362, habitat of 357, other designations of, 357, 372, tribes connected with, 733, 803  
 Ka-Trol See Ko Tron, island.  
 Kabul, valley 41 n  
 Kach, Gulf of, 46 n  
 Kachal, island, 421  
 Kachar district part of Ptolemy's Kirthadin, 52  
 Kachari, the people 835  
 Kachins, the, people cannibalism of, 660 n 2 744, the Tartar origin of, 660 n 2 the Indrapratha connected with, 733, other designations of, 733 749, 787, habitat of, 744  
 Kacho Katha, kingdom, connected with Kia to, 61  
 Kadaram, a Chinese expedition sent against, 833, identification of, discussed, 833  
 Kadasan, the, people tribes in North Borneo, 782  
 Kado, kadu, the, people, 371 803, 807, suggested connection with the K'a to, 357 habitat of, 802 immigrants from Tibet 802  
 Kadrang, town, 200, identification of,

7, the Akadra of Ptolemy, 195; corresponds with Hatanu, 193; derivation of the name, 194, 199  
 Kada the, people, 371 little known and often ignored, 371, suggested connection with the K'a-to, 372, 807, probably connected with Ptolemy's Kudutai, 372, a clan of the Palaung, 807  
 Kadunaw-gyi, identification of, 747, 747 n 1  
 K'ai lung fu, city, identical with Pien-lung, 580  
 Kala dragi, a species of volcanic fire, 672  
 Kaka-dsipa, city, possibly the Kokonigara of Ptolemy, 95, the Ceylonese expedition landed at, 176  
 Kakavaddi, Kakavatra, ruled at Takasili, 180, name compared with the term Siamkal, 180  
 Kakkola, a plant, perfume made from the berry of the, 93  
 Kakolai, the, people, identification of, 731, other tribes connected with, 733  
 Kakola, city, identification of, 95, 357 n 4, 444 n 2, 519, 811, 832, 833, location of 357 n 4, 444, 444 n 2, 811, other designations of, 518 n 1 549, the walls of 518 n 2, seaport and capital of Mul-Jawah, 548 description of, 549, identified with Lager, 706 759  
 Kakula Kakulah See Kakola, city  
 Kala erroneous identification with Kach 91  
 Kali pang possibly connected with Kach, 817, location of 817  
 Kalaan, state possibly identified with Kamalanga, 113  
 Kolabar, Sea of, identified with the Kalodika Sea 91  
 Kalah, Kalah bar, island and town 91, 551, 555, identified with Takopa, 88 89, 90 n, 806, a centre of trade, 88 possibly the island of Junkceylon, 89 a dependency of Zabed 89, other designations of, 113, 469 n 3, situation of, 432 n 2 560, cities on, 432 n 2, 553 554 camphor exported from 437 n, 811, a meeting place for Brahmans, 471 n 2 556 n 1, belonged to the Jahah of India, 550 551, 620, part of Zabed, 550 n 1, 558, 560 600 Musselman, Hindu, and Persians dwell in, 556 n 1, ruled by the Maharaja of Zabed, 621, tin mines near, 754  
 Kalah Kalahbar, Sea of, 663 n 2,

- 307 n 1 the mol rn Cuttack 307  
n 1
- Kat ri *See* Kerti
- Katha *See* Ka ho k ng lom
- Katrea *See* Kerti
- Katrea river the pal ce of the Paser  
king on the banks of the 5 8 n 1
- Kattigara town 302 connected th  
kesho n f nk n 11 ott var n n  
in Borneo 2 v ted b merchants  
30 11 nt hed v tl Hang chow  
309 former an atten pt to locate  
303 arious su ted d nt ficut ons  
of d acu ed 303 n 1 s turt on of  
304
- Katubla island connected w th  
Katabda 19 27 28 740 forms  
of the name 40
- Kau the people 124 12 the r  
identity discussed 126 first settled  
in the Van district 763
- Kau chên *See* Kau chon d tri t
- Kau lau island noted for torto e  
wrongly connected th 1 alâ 91  
a prnce from t ok pa ses on of  
1 rak 93 dancing grl from  
508 n conquered ly 1 el 1 06  
the earl est cap tal of 8 5  
Kedai Annals 98 207 n 261  
486 n 3 509 n 2 638 n 1 639  
639 n 2 01 702 5 756
- Ked l leak *See* Gunong Cheru
- Ked h River formerly de pated  
Gerlan 485
- Ked e Ang *See* Ba P hnom city
- Kedrendj bay a les gunt on of Ko  
Tron 0
- Kedrendj Sea of 201 correspond  
to the Gulf of Sam 164 n 1  
oil r de onations of 218
- Kekker islet lo ation of 81 n
- Kelantan *See* Kalantan city
- Kelasa city silent heat on of 563 n  
pagoda at 568 n 2
- Kelasa pa oda two mentoned 568  
n 2

- Kau Muang, a designation of Tonkin, 263, 320 n 1, death and resuscitation of the king of, 320 n 1
- Kau C'hong-bua See Culamalin, kingdom
- Kau Kôt-thê Thên-bua See Culamalin, kingdom
- Kewari village location of 740
- Kha, the, tribes, 58 n 2, 785, of the C'hieng race, 128, 128 n 2
- Khi Chih See Chih, the people
- Khi Dam, the, people, other designations of, 788
- Khi Dui See Dui, the, people
- Khi Hio-, the, people, inhabitants of I o si pa, 766
- Khi Hok, the, people, 358, alternative name for Khi Huet, 358 n 2, nicknamed Lo-lo, 358 n 2, derivation of the name, 358 n 2 connected with Ptolemy's Kudatui, 358 n 2, description of, 358 n 2
- Khi Huet See Khi Hok, the people
- Khi Kau, Khi Kiau the, people, 132 name applied to the Kanrang, 128, 129
- Kham, the, race, 44, probably of the Muu Khmer race, 52 connected with the Zamirai of Ptolemy, 53, 54, description of 54 habitat of the, 54, driven to the Arakan Poma 54, 129
- Khamti, the, race the Dornias are allied to the, 154, derivation of the name, 154, 154 n
- Khamu, the, people of Luang P'brah Bang 128 n 2, 129, 132
- Khañ-hwa, district, centre of Lower Campa civilization 237 emporium for eagle-wood, 262 formerly called Ña-trang, 265 n 2
- Khanfu, other designations of, 210
- Khanqah, town a designation of Hung cheu 244
- Khanthuli, district identity with Kant'o li suggested, 602, 603 n 1, location of 602 602 n 2, derivation of the name, 602 n 2, other designations of 833
- Khar, river, identified with the Nam Khan 14



- Kokarit, district, 176  
 Kokarit Hills, 176  
 Kokkonagara, city, 96, 97, identity with Ukkaka or Kakuli suggested, 94, 95; probably identical with Kaka-dīpa, 95; an inland town of the Golden Khersonese, 111, inhabited by Kukkurās, 159 n 2, identical with Korbie, 159 n 2, the name discussed, 756  
 Kokob, island, location of, 816 n  
 Kōkthi, town, ruins of, 746  
 Kol, country, account of the women of, 808  
 Kola, the, people, 34, 86, 90, 103; the probable founders of Fakola, 89, colonies established by, 89  
 Kola-budari, kingdom, a designation of Lagor, 518 n 1, 759  
 Koladyn *See* Kuladyn, river  
 Kolanica, alternative name for the country of the Kalingas, 34, 103  
*Kolandiaphonta*, the term discussed, 670 n \*  
 Kolapattana, a seaport on the Koromandel coast, 101  
 Kolarian race, 73, 75, language of the, 73  
 Kontam, the chief town of the Trang district, 79, route between Lagor and, 79  
 Kōpi, Kopah *See* Takūa-pī, district  
 Korbie, city, 78, derivation and meaning of the name discussed, 93, 96, \* possibly settled by dog-worshippers, 97, identical with Kokkonagara, 159 n 2  
 Koromandel, country, 34, 40 n 3, 86, 103, 104, 122, coast of, 24, 92, identical with Chu-lien 89, 609, 609 n 2, 624, other designations of, 624, people of, connected with Arakan, 659  
 Kortatha Metropolis, 300 n 1, 308, 833, identified with Hsiang-lin, 148, identified with Kuu-duk, 231, 232 n 1, 233, the capital of Campi (Lam-ap), 232, 301, 302; identified with Chiu-ti, 288, 289, 292, 303 n 1, other designations of, 288, 294, 670 n, 794, now termed Ha tūn, 292, 303, 306, an entrepôt of trade with China, 304, situation of, discussed, 304, site of, coincides with Viñ, 304, unconnected with Khu-lōt 305, nomenclature of, discussed,

- Kula-deva *See* Kulottunga Codadeva, king  
 kula-sthana *See* Kuladan, river  
 Kuladan, river, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, the Tokosanna of Ptolemy, 30, 44, name applied to the Arakan River, 34, 36, 37, 43, 44, derivation of the name, 34, boundary of Ptolemy's coast of the Arrhidou, 37, local names for the, 37, 43  
 Kulam-malai, town, 88, 101, 103  
 Kulamattika *See* Taik kula, city  
 Kulottunga Codadeva, king, 609 n 2  
 kulta *See* Kohta, the, people  
 kulûta, the, people, name changed to Utula, 359, location of, 803, connection with other tribes, 803  
 Kumara, kingdom, named after a prince of Saka-dvîpa, 167, also designated Komar, 210, founded by settlers of Trang, 210, Como corresponds to, 220  
 (see Corrigenda, 815), in Durian Strait, 815  
 Kundur, island, off the Lower Cochinchina coast, 815, a designation of Pulo Condore, 815  
 K'ung mung 771  
 Kurinchi, district, gold produced at, 631  
 Kuripan city, alleged capital of Java, 592 n 1  
 Kurtipurapam, governor of Sapattota, 470 n 1, 750  
 Kuru, the people, 776  
 Kusa, Kusa dvîpa, district identified with the Sunda Archipelago, 237, a designation of Sumatra, 670, 671, 673, connected with Khyra, 671, the name discussed 672, fire-worship in, 672 673, surrounded by the Kusa-mâla *See* 673, also called Kumudu, 677  
 Kusa-mâla Kusa-mâla c

- Lageh Legeh state possibly corre-  
 spond. to Lo ch a 497 497 n 1  
 Lalo Lahla See Lophabari city  
 Lalor (India) founded by Lava  
 180 n 1  
 La kha town a form of Legia 141  
 Laja balus See Lanje balus lands  
 La hou the people 31 n  
 Lak long prince kingdom of Van  
 lang founded by 303 account of  
 339 legend respecting 339 340  
 Lak v et province a designation of  
 Tonkin 320 n 1  
 Lake-dwellers 190  
 Lakhampur district 830  
 Lakhon kingdom the vernacular  
 name of Lagor 111 508 n  
 Lakhon a term denoting dancing girls  
 508 n  
 Lakhos actors 54  
 with Mu li 53" other designations  
 of 656 667 n 684 685 00 01  
 70" location of 662 663 70"  
 identification of discussed 664 n 1  
 probable ancient form of the name  
 664 n 1 other toponyms connected  
 with 673 674 677 68 limits of  
 correspond to ancient Acheh 6 "  
 678 well known to Arab travellers  
 69 a designation of Sumatra  
 681 3 700 inhabitants of 685 69  
 00 01 0" the earliest Chinese  
 mention of 683 wild men of with  
 tail 685 the ruler of 695  
 Hinduism in 693 monkeys in 700  
 Islamism introduced into 01 pro-  
 ductions of 701 0  
 Lambri Sea of other designations of  
 663 meaning of the name 663  
 Lambrij district 68" n 2 identified

- meaning and derivation of the name, 116, 135 n 1, 765, identified with the Me-không, 116, 135, 137, 765, named after the Lân-c'hang State; 135, other designations of, 765, 766
- I an-wu-li*, district, other designations of, 349, 679 n 2, 701, subject to San-fo-ch'i, 624, 679 n 2, 701, account of a hill in, 665 n , account of the people of, 679 n 2 description of the king of, 679 n 2, a designation of Acheh, 701, sacred foot prints at, 701
- Lancaster*, Sir James, visited Acheh, 655
- Land*, Oriental term denoting 588 n 1, gradual emersion of, 79, 109
- Lang*, the, tribe, 272, 272 n 4, 273 n 1
- Lang-chia-hsu* See *Kamalanka*, kingdom
- Lan' hwan*, the. people. other designations of, 486 n 3, account of, 486 486 n 3, 487, productions of, 486 n 2, legends respecting, 487 n , trade of, 487, 488
- Langka*, river, probably identical with Lin-ya sz, 601 n 1
- Lanjalus*, *Lankalus*, island, identification of, 577
- Lanjão*, state, identified with Lân-c'hang, 149 n 1
- Lanje-balus*, islands, 363 n., designation of the Andamans and Nikobars, 397, 424 n 1, productions of, 424 n 1
- Lanka*, district, Buddha's visit to, 658, Yakas expelled from 658, conquest of the demons of, 785
- Lankichiu*, *Lankhia* See *Kamalanka*, kingdom.
- Lankchiu* See *Langlachiu*, islands
- Lanpiang* See *Lam puyang*, island
- Lania*, *Lenya*, district, 115 con-

- Lasippa (Lasypa), town, 766, difficulty of identifying, 142, 144, 732, identity with Si-poh or Lashio discussed 142, 767, possibly identical with Wieng Sipou kay, 143, 144, located in the O'hieng-māi district, 144  
 Lasmah, island, under the sway of the Hamrun king, 574, 575  
 Lasman, location of, 834; a form of Basman, 834  
 Lasong *See* C'hōng, the, people  
 Lastien *See* Pulastya  
 Laṭa, kingdom, 140, identification of, 768  
 Latcha, stream, its suggested identity with Lo-ch'a, 496, other designations, 533  
 Lawa, town, tradition regarding the foundation of, 162 n 1.  
 Lawā, the, race, 55, 117, 161, 161 n 2, derivation of the name discussed, 58, 59, repelled by the Lau, 68, extent of the country of, 118, 143, known as the C'hieng, 118, conquered by the Thai, 119, traditions of, 119 n 1, settled along the Me-Khong, 119 n 1, terms connected with the name, 162  
 Lawek, town, identical with Ava, 162 n 1, originally named Lawa, 162 n 1, a Kambojan capital, 220, 775  
 Laws, a collection of Siamese, 191.  
 Le-Dāi-Haṇ *See* Le Hang, king  
 Le-Hang. King. conquered Campā

- included in the kingdom of Nan-yüeh, 230 n 2, discrepancy as to the site of the capital of, discussed, 231, extent of 233, 293 n 1, nomenclature of, discussed, 235-7, 296, 297, 300, 301, 305-8, king of, pays tribute, 299, 794; an independent state 300, amber obtained from mines at, 582 n. 1 *See also* Campā, kingdom
- Ian kao, district, 250 n 1
- Iin-ya-sü-ka, town, identified with Langka-suka, 825
- Lin-ya-sz, state, 599, identification of, 601, 626, 825, subject to Sanfo ch i, 626, productions of, 626
- Ling kiang, river, 794
- Ling Shan, identified with Cape Arella, 710
- Linga, island, 501 n 2
- Linga Kamau *See* Menancabo, kingdom
- Lingga hill of 618 n 2
- Lingi, river, also designated Samawa, 758
- Lion kingdom, the, a designation of Ceylon, 816
- Laou the, tribe, 180 n 1, 160, currencies used by, 770
- Litholatry among the Laus, 119 n 1
- Little Fortune, island, 419 n 1
- Lo jên, designation of the Andamans and Nikobars, 397
- Lo k'ang, town, erroneously identified with Kangan, 425
- Lo-k'eng *See* Arakan, kingdom
- Lo-kwo designation of the Andamans and Nikobars, 397, 527, 529 n 1
- Lo-lien-nu Bay, the fish with stone horns of, 782
- Lo-pe, the, people, 359, 360
- Lo shwei river, 765
- Lo si-pa village, location of, 766, inhabitants of 766
- Lo-te, the, people, habitat of, 733, connected with the hudutai, 733
- Lo-wei Shan, island, identification of, 711
- Lo yang, town, ancient capital of China, 16, the Sera Metropolis of Ptolemy, 16, 735, seat of government of Kwang Wu Ti, 738
- Lo-yu state 110, 760
- Lo yüeh state, 110, 760, location of, 525, 820, 821, identification of, discussed, 525 n 1, suggested identifications of the two places called, 525 n 1 a trading centre, 820, probably identical with the Lagor kingdom, 815, 820
- Lo yung, a Chinese capital, 309
- Loa thanh *See* Lwa-thân city

- Lung-ya-ka-mau, kingdom identified with Menang kabau, 676 n
- Lung-ya Men, the Luga Strait and Island, 617
- Lung yen Hsu, island, identification of 518 n 3, description of, 691, 692, identified with Pulo Bras, 690 n 1 691, 693, erroneously identified with Pulo Weh, 691, 692 n 2, other designations of, 691, 692
- Lungu river 525 n 1 connected with the Khry-oacas, 97
- Lushai Hills, location and identification of 773
- Lushih Shan Mountains, 766
- Luron, island also designated Manulla, 421 n 2 *See* Addenda 809
- Lwa lou city location of, 323 323 n 3, seat of Han government at 323 324, possibly identical with Lwa than, 323, possibly the capital of Kiao-chi, 331, identifications of, 331 connected with Ptolemy's Aganapura 331, 332
- Lwa thñ city, built by King P han, 321, configuration of 321, 322 322 n 1 332, other designations of, 322 333 800, possibly identical with Lwa lou 373 331, capital of Ou lñk 331 Ngō-kwièn set up his capital at 333, historical traditions of, 333, connected with Kōlwa 798, a Chinese seat of government, 800
- Lythinos Pyrgos *See* 'Stone Tower'
- Ma-ling district, connected with Vñ-hñ 794
- Ma lu, the people, doubtful connection with the H' t'u I, 353, the alleged descent of, 353, 355 n, origin of the name discussed, 353
- Ma na chē Wu li king of San fo ch' 630, accession of, 630, investiture granted to 630 "
- Ma na ha Pau lin ping king of San fo ch' 629, suggested identification of, 629, name connected with Palembang 629
- Má ngu *See* Ma wu, islands
- Ma tsu-p o, patroness of Chinese sailors, 600, identified with Kwan yin 600
- Ma tung district, identification of 450 n 2, pepper procured from 450 n 2
- Ma wu islands 218
- Ma yí tung island, noted for tortoise-shell 671 n, a designation of Biliton, 671 n
- Ma yuñ, said to have captured the capital of Lam ap, 231 232 289, the Han invasion under, 231 313 pillars of, 231, 237 232 n 2 781
- Mabed kingdom 832, identified with Ba viêt 205
- Mabit, Mañ city, identified with Vergui, 729
- Machau *See* Mi ch'en kingdom
- Madeik, district in Thamođaya, 826
- Madr̥s a name of the old Dravidian Śiva 751 n 1
- Madramakan island location of, 752

- the Cham empire of Campu, 234, identification of, 781, location of an old capital of, 790
- Mahā-Muni pagoda, sacred image of Buddha kept at the, 43, 44
- Mahanadi river, name applied to the Me-Không, 136
- Maharaja, the title of the Jabah of Shellhet, 550
- Mahī, river (India), 136
- Mahuravana, king of some Indian Archipelago islands, 658
- Mahavirgana - nagara See Yong, Muang
- Mahmud Shah, Sultan, first ruler of the Arabic dynasty of Icheh, 667 n
- king of Lambri, 695 king of Nan p'o li, 703 sent tribute to China, 703, received investiture from China, 703
- Mahoradhika drum, the, worshipped by the Lau Chieng 119 n 1 description of, 119 n 1
- Mahudaung, mountains, identified with Ptolemy's Maiandros 832
- Mai-wa-jou, the people, head hunters, 720 n
- Mala, Malava, Malava-deśa Malva, kingdom, 35, 121, 132, 136, the country of the Lau 116, 117 118, a designation of Laos, 131, the term discussed, 461
- Mala-pradeśa, meaning of the name, 118 n 1
- Malabar, country, 34, 86, 88, 91, 101, 103, 122, other designations of, 102, 439 n 2, 670 n 1, Dravidian emigrants came from, 461
- Malacca, city, formerly called Jakola, 521 n 1
- Malacca, state, 98 n, 114, 532, 532 n 1, 759, derivation of the name discussed, 105, sulphur obtained from, 477 n 1 forests of hignum aloes in, 478 n, sapon-wood abundant in, 478 n, foundation of, 488 n 1, peculiar trading customs at, 494 n, its identification with Ko-lo Fa-sha-lo discussed, 518 518 n 1, 519, the capital city of 521, 521 n 1, other designations of, 548 549, 812 ambergris from, 581 n 3 a refugee from at Sumatra, 654 noted for tortoise shell 671 n



- Malur *See* Malavir, city.  
 Mahyan, tin ore abounds at, 91  
 Malla, the, people in North India, 535 n 1  
 Mallavo *See* Malayo, state  
 Malthura *See* Mareura, city.  
 Malva *See* Mala, kingdom  
 Mamuri River, 740  
 Man, words designating, 68, 69  
 Man, Shan name for the Burmese, 68  
 Man, Man, the, people, 55, 55 n 2, a name applied to the Burmese, 68  
 Man *See* Moñ, the, people  
 Man, Isle of, possibly corresponds to Malhan, 401, 404  
 Man River, Buddha's footprint on the bank of the, 665 n, identification of the, 665 n  
 Man I the, tribe, the language of, 687  
 Man Kuo-lin, the, people, 774  
 Man kham, village, on the site of Hatien, 195 n 2  
 Man-lah-kia, state, a designation of Malacca, 98 n  
 Mān-Liau, the, people, 351  
 Man-oung *See* Cheduba, island  
 Man-shan. river. other designations of, n 2, suggested identification of the, 421; Si-Malur possibly included in Ptolemy's, 446  
 Maniolai, the, people, cannibal inhabitants of the Maniolai Islands, 420; derivation of the name, 423  
 Manipur, river, other designations of the, 813, source of the, 814  
 Manipur state, 33, 66, under Brahmanic rule, 33, the, route to Burma, 140, other designations of, 766, connected with Hsiao P'o-lo mên, 814  
 Manipura, city, King Dhajaraja settled at, 745  
 Manjong, Manjung, district, 697 n 1; early designation of Perak, 98, 499, 517 n 1, Maliku l Mansur transported to, 517 n 1  
 Mankathè, river, a designation of the Manipur, 813  
 Manojava, district, situation of, discussed 169, a division of Saka dvipa, 218, probably corresponds to Lûang, P'hrab Bang 169, 218 n 1  
 Man'ur Shah, king of Malacca, 648 n 2. 696. reinstated Zemu l Abidin

- Marattha kingdom 69 ancient  
 name for Burma 55 68 70  
 Marah S lu marriage of 642 n °  
 644 founder of Sumatra 643 644  
 a fisherman from Pisangan 644  
 converted to Islamism 644 title  
 assumed by 644  
 Marah Tizi General See Alaud  
 d n P iyat Shah  
 Mara Marai Man the term discussed  
 55 n ° natives of Burma 68  
 See also Mara  
 Marakanda identified with Samarkand  
 114 other designations of 608 n  
 identification with Markawand 650  
 existed in early times 582 n °  
 cannibalism about 824  
 Martaban Gulf of °° 3 34 38  
 41 n 47 86 91 93 121 the  
 Sarabakic Gulf of Ptolemy 61 0  
 tribes of the Kolarian race on the  
 73 erroneous geography of the 6  
 a market for amber and ambergris  
 58 n 1  
 Mart. old See Lapponia  
 Marundum island 111

- Mayura*, peacock, 67  
*Mayūra* See *Maurva*, dynasty  
*Mavura* See *Mauryas*, the, people  
*Me-Khong*, river, 54, 58, 117, 118, 119 n 1, 125, 127-9, 132, 133, 138, 140, 145, 147, 149, 151 n 1, connected with the *Lan ts'ang*, 116, *Ptolemy's* account of the *Doanas* applied to the, 134, other designations applied to the, 135, 135 n 1, 136, 234, 286 n 1, tradition respecting the, 137, the *C'hang* settlers in the valley of the Lower, 157, navigation of the, 213, between *Akadra* and *Zabai*, unknown to *Ptolemy*, 224, account of its delta, 224; identified with the *Doanas*, 282-4, 356; compared to the Nile, 283 n 1, trade route along the old channel of the Western, 775, *Siamese* fleets proceeded along the, n 1, 634 n 1, 682 pepper produced at, 454 n 1, other designations of, 641, 676 n, account of the grants of, 646  
*Menchāl*, island, 421, possibly corresponds to *Mathan*, 401, 404  
*Mending Kamulan*, city, alleged capital of *Java*, 592 n 1  
*Mêng*, *Mêng-Shih*, the, people, builders of *Pu-t'ou*, 793; other designations of, 793  
*Mêng-chua-ch'wo*, son of *Afoia*, associated with the *Ai-Lao* state, 123  
*Mêng Chu-lin*, 290 n 1, 298, a leader of *Thai* immigration, 291; alleged founder of the kingdom of *Kiao chi*, 291, 292, *Culan* founded by, 292  
*Mêng Chu-sung*, 290 n 1, 298; foundation of *Lun-i* ascribed to, 289, founder of the *Pai-tsz* kingdom,

- Paribhadra district, 81; other designations of, 81, 508 n, 729, 752, 826, trade route at, 91, connected with the legendary Me mû, 752, 753  
 Vermans, 283  
 Meroë island, 421, possibly corresponds to Malhan, 101, 403  
 Meru, the mythical sea around, 136 n 2  
 Meruda Hill famous pagoda on, 72  
 Messagetes, the, people, the cannibalism of, 660 n 2  
 Metal-workers, the hill tribes of the Chieng race, 341.  
 Mi, country, the territory round Tali Lake, 64 n 1  
 Mi, the, people habitat of, 64 n 1  
 Mi ch'en, kingdom, 755, identification of, discussed 89 n 5  
 Ming-ling, seaport, identified with Hua Tung, 794, possibly connected with T'ang ming, 794, name also applied to the Yin liu district, 794  
 Ming ti, Chinese emperor, embassy sent to India by, 124  
 Miranda *See de Azevedo, A M*  
 Murgum, Murgum Murgira *See Mergui*, city  
 Mushmas, the, people, 830  
 Mithila district, 121, a name given to Western Yunnan 64 n 1  
 Mitho, town, absorbed by Annam, 215  
 Mo chia-man state, 583 n 2; connected with Markawand, 543, identification of, 584 n 3  
 Mo dong, 'Tired Hill' *See Khau Môn*

- Mōi Kī-nam *See* Orang Glai, the, people  
 Molt, island, a designation of Bali, 520 n 2  
 Moluccas, connected with the Island of Spices, 505  
 Momien, 09, prefecture established at, 130 n 1, 762, identified with T'eng-yueh, 762  
 Muā, the, people, 51, 129, the country of, 30, 662, 662 n 1, other designations of, 74, their advent into Indo-China, 129  
 Mā language, affinity of, with Kolarian 73, place-names traceable to the, 727-9, in the Malay Peninsula, 818  
 Mōn Annam, the, race, 129, 148, 150, 153, other names applied to, 128, 129 n 2, occupiers of Siam and Burma, 130, originally from Southern China, 130, tribes of, 130, 160, 161  
 Mā Khmer, the, race, 73, 74, 102, former inhabitants of the Chindwin Valley, 52, the Mra suggested as belonging to the, 69, 70, ancient names for Burma ascribed to 70  
 Mouaco island, a perversion of Moluccas 717 n 1  
 Monastery, Buddhist, at Ba P'nom 204 n 2  
 Mōn, town other designations of 141  
 Monghir, city, capital of Balhara 57  
 Mongolia 14  
 Monkey City *See* Khorbie city  
 Monkey tribes, 96 785  
 Mōvillabie tend names in languages,  
 Mro, Mru *See* Mars, the, people  
 Mro houn, city, connected with Old Arakan city, 43, a designation of Old Tavoy 717 n 1 *See also* Arakan Old  
 Mrttika, the earth deity of the Indus, 752  
 Mrttika *See* Mrit, harbour  
 Mu ha - ma - Sha *See* Muhammad Shah  
 Mu lai-yu state summoned to submit to China, 536, identification of, 536, 537, missions from China to, 821, 822, embassy from, to China, 822  
 Mu-li, state a letter on a golden leaf sent to China by, 537, suggested identification of, 537  
 Mu-lo ch'a, king of Shêp'o, 468, 547  
 Mu so, the, people, a branch of the Mo-so, 160  
 Mu Tsung, king, 469 469 n 1, 547  
 Muang Thai term for city, district, etc., 119  
 Muang 'city' *See* specific names  
 Muang principalities, the three, 133 n 2  
 Muang Yong Chronicles, 136, 139 n, 320 n 1  
 Muar River gold found in the upper waters of the 477 n 1  
 Muda River 706 in Southern Kedah 507  
 Mudja kingdom, identified with Kamboja 205  
 Mulu tribe 31  
 Mudu Mudassita son of Kan raja-

- Māla-Prābu, king of Western Java, 540 n 2  
 Mular, the, people, a term for the Malays of Kamboja, 537 n 1  
 Malabar, a form of Malabar, 537 n 1  
 Mura raja, king, an historical Cham king, 234, 237, discovery of the inscription of, 265, probably reigned in Bal-Angwe, 270  
 Murex shell fish found on Bazakata, 379, 379 n 3  
 Must, river, identical with the Palembang River, 530 n 4  
 Musicians, female, presented to China, 506  
 Musk, 119  
 Muslin adorned with pearls, manufacture of, 659  
 Mutuma mandala, province of Ramaññadeva, 65  
 Muziris, tortoise-shell sent to 670 n 1  
 Mwcyin See Maurya, district  
 Myatmyo the district of Vergui, 52, derivation of the name 82  
 Mygra, Myrgum See Vergui, city  
 Myo-houng, identical with Tavoy, town 86  
 Myohauug, city Arakanese capital removed to, 832  
 Myouk u city, the old capital of Arakan, 96  
 Myrobalan, Embho, 105  
 Naga people, inhabitants of Ma-uh pitam, 108, Malanga, the capital of, 113, other designations of, 749  
 Naga Head Point, location of, 756  
 Nāga vara, Nāga-rāra, a designation of the Nikobars, 382 n 1, 399  
 Nagadiba, town, location of, 381 n, 382 n  
 Nagadiboi, the, tribe, habitat of, 381 n  
 Nagadipa, district, the seat of Naga kings, 380 n 4, seaport of, 380 n 4, visited by Buddha, 380 n 4, confused with Naggadipa, 380 n 4, location of, 380 n 4, a designation of part of Ceylon, 589 n  
 Nagadipa, Naggadipa, island, 380, 382 n, 399, identical with Seruma Island, 382 n, 410, 415, probably the Great Nikobar, 382 n, also designated Nagadiba, 382 n, one of the Maniolas Islands, 382 n, 421, Buddha's legendary visit to, 385, original application of the name, 413  
 Nagara Indrapure, the city of Jayavarman II, 546  
 Nagara-puri mountain See Angkor-buri I hnem  
 Nagara Sri Dharmaraja See Igor, city  
 Nagara Vanam See Nakhon Phanom  
 Nagrasa, lake, the famous Lake of Nepal, 743  
 Nagaravara See Negrais, cape

- North Cape 381 n  
 North Indian monsoon 118 199  
 North level head Island See Ice  
 pagtoushan  
 North Pirate Island 701  
 North Star inv. title 534 594 n 2  
 Nouto yuan See Tōkyō state  
 Nujun See Iutzu the people  
 Nutz See Iutzu the people  
 Nubartha 381 n identified with  
 Barbaryn 19  
 Nuch Nuch district location of  
 815 a form of Nōg ch h 815  
 Nu Ba Te mountain identified with  
 Ba Te Son 159 n 1  
 Nung nai district identified with  
 Ken hwa 8  
 Nu a Horo-horo a designation of Java  
 592 n 1  
 Nusu Java a designation of Java 599  
 legendary origin of the name 599  
 Nu a Kendeng a designation of Java  
 599 n 1  
 Nusa Mendang a designation of Java  
 59  
 Nutnam See J h nan  
 Nvamek island a designation of Bajau  
 29  
 possibly connected with Orang Gayu  
 685  
 Oranout the people 80 809  
 other designations of 817  
 Orangelat the people 80 80 n 2  
 Orangutan wild man 79 n  
 Oranoutang the people differing  
 little from the 685  
 Oraon the people face tattooing  
 among 36 n 3  
 Orssa district the Anlhras of 29  
 the probable derivation of 73  
 account of the women of 808  
 Orsona cape on Ceylon 381 n  
 Oshaknrakas the people 85  
 description of 95 n  
 Oujn the people the inhabitants of  
 Hsanan 391 n  
 Ou ki a girl of celestial lineage legend  
 respecting 339 340  
 Ou k kingdom 798 name applied  
 to Vanlang 320 391 321 n con-  
 quered by Chao tō 39 kingdom of  
 ordered the destruction of Vanlang  
 343  
 Ouay Pulo See Weh Pulo  
 Ounggyun Coconut Island a  
 designation of the Nkobars 399  
 Ouro Ilha do 807

- Palandas, Palandos, river, 99, 757.  
 Ptolemy's stream in the Malay Peninsula, 81, name connected with the Belandas, 729, 730; location and identification of, 730
- Palanga *See* Balongia, town
- Palasa district, a designation of Magadha, 742.
- Palang, the, people, 761, connection suggested with other tribes, 368, 805; other designations of, 369, 805, account of, 805, the gun-makers of C hien Tung, 805
- Paler, village in Malacca, 495 n 1
- Palembang, kingdom, the suzerainty of, 89, identical with San fo-ch'i, 89, 470, 512, 517, 580, other designations of, 89, 200, 429, 483, 527, 560, 560 n 1, 566, 567, 580, 603, 612, 613 n 1, 674, 806, connected with Bhoja, 229 n 2, 560, Ptolemy's knowledge of, 457, King Demang Lebar Daun reigned in, 530 n 4, the Maharaja of Zabey resided at, 560 n 1, the creeks and bridges of, 564 n 2, description of Serirah applies to, 564; account of, 564 n 4, the houses of, 564 n 4, kings of, descended from Alexander, 597 n. 1, the natives of a great seafaring race, 612, changes in the names applied to, 615, named after the River Chiu-chiang, 617 n 2, derivation of the name, 618, 619 outline history of the, 619-30, conquered by Java, 617. *a misconception*
- Paloung, village, 43, discussion of the nomenclature of, 43 n
- Palur Bluff, 743
- Palura, village, identification of, 47, connected with Paloor, 743
- Pamur Mountains, 39 n 2
- Pamsuh, district, name applied to Barus 445
- Pamuh, the term for camphor imported from the Malay Peninsula, 440 *See also* Fansur
- Pamūrāstra, 445; the name of a people and country, 434
- Pan-chih pa, islands, 474, identification of, 500, 501, 501 n 1, 502, 504; meaning of the name, 501 n 1, 501 n 2, connected with the Panjab Isles, 502
- P'an mu, the, people, 259, 259 n 3, habitat of, 786
- P'an p'an, state, identified with South-West Siam, 106, 113, 574 n 3, other designations of, 761, 762, identified with Sup han, 830, 832
- Pan-*ok* *See* Pin su, islands
- Pan t'ou, state location and identification of 718 n 1
- Pan-tsu erh, Pan tsu-'rh, district, connected with Barus, 433, probable identification of, 433, 433 n 2
- P'an yu, city, capital of Nan-yueh, 230 n 2, 291, identical with Canton, 230 n 2, 291, 321 n, 322, Chao-t'os capital city 322, seat of government removed from, 322,



- Pang gan<sup>o</sup> See Pangan the people  
 Pan<sup>o</sup>an the people descendants of the  
   Pak<sup>as</sup> 960 inhab itants of Malacca,  
   657 n 1  
 Pan<sup>o</sup>darang c ty last resort of Cham  
   ch efs 230 Brahman s of Campa  
   found in the valle of 309 attacked  
   by Java 546 King Ku la sought  
   refuge at 80 a Cham capital  
   80  
 Pangelap i land 501 501 n "  
 Pangkalan Jambu d i str i ct gold  
   plentiful at 631  
 Panjab territory the names of the  
   five rivers of the transferred to Pegu  
   41 n  
 Panjan<sup>o</sup> Pulo ident i ficat ion of 683  
   one f the Anambas  
 Panrang See Pangdarang c ty  
 Pansur See Pan Gr island  
 Parthians the 40 n 3  
 Parusa the people 446  
 Pasai Pase c ty and d i str i ct camphor  
   produced in 437 n legend a to  
   the origin of the name 613 n 1  
   the foundation of 613 n 1 64 n 1  
   64<sup>o</sup> n 2 644 ident ty w th Basma  
   doubtful 613 n 1 connected w th  
   Ilhoja 614 n a designation of  
   Sumatra 645 647 656 captured  
   by the S amese 645 conqu ed by  
   Java 647 S am claimed suzerainty  
   over 650 other designations of  
   652 656 a possess ion of Achel  
   05 See also Iase district  
 Paai River 651  
 Patak r ver connected with the  
   Bantla ma<sup>d</sup> 193 194 unsafe  
   navigat ion of the 194  
 Pasaman d i str i ct pepper gardens at

- probably the capital of Komar, 202, 203
- Payentsung See Amber Hills
- Pè pi, river, location and identification of, 617 n 2
- Pè t eng, river, other designations of the, 798
- Pe tsi, *Pe-t se*, cloth, 243, 243 n 2, woven by the women of Tu-po Island, 781
- Pe-t ou, state, location of, 209, 209 n 1, the Pythonobastæ of Ptolemy, 210
- Pe t'u district, location of, 658 n 1, a designation of part of Acheh, 668
- Peacock the national emblem of Burma 67
- Pearl fishery, at Hainan, 246 n , 250 n 1, in the Bay of Camou 782
- Pedada, Padada, state, identification of, 627, 628 n 1, location of, 627
- Pedam, location of, 813, identification of, 813
- Peh-tsz See P u tsz, the, people
- Pih yai See Pih-ngai, city
- Pei-chu, the, people face tattooing among, 804, other designations of, 804
- Pei ping-t ou Shan, island identification of, 809
- Pekingese dialect 40 n 2
- Pelapi Islands, 711
- P'en-p'en, island, identification of, 584 n 3
- P eng fang state, suggested identification of, 599 n 1, 626, subject to San-fo-ch i, 626
- P eng-ka See Bangka, island
- P eng Pu the, people, 804
- Penjabung Island probably identical with Pan chih-pa, 500 501
- Penjait Layar, Pulo, situation of, 501 n 2
- Penjaleh Pulo, situation of, 501 n 2
- Penjengat Island, situation of, 501 n 2

- other designations of, 656, conquered by Aceh 704, 705, 706, son of the king of, made king of Aceh, 704, the first kingdom and raja of, established at Bruas, 757.
- Pèrak, river, 99, 102, 159
- Percha, Pulo, a designation of Sumatra, 634 n 1, the Jamba district, 639, etymology of the term, 639, 639 n 1; Malay MS on the kings of, 639 n 2
- Perdana Prabu, king of Central Java, 540 n 2
- Perimula, town, 760, location of, 106, 731, identified with Igor, 109, 110, 348, derivation of the name of, 110, possibly connected with Mul-Jawah, 548, identification of, 731
- Perimulik, gulf, identification of, 731, location of, 760, 761, the head of, corresponds to Ban-D n Bight, 761, identified the Gulf of Siam, 761
- Perlak, kingdom, places erroneously identified with 429, visited by Marco Polo, 613 n 1 invasion of, 644, on the Sumatran coast, 626, identical with Pèrak, 656, derivation of the name, 669, Islamism among the townspeople of, 695, introduction of Islamism into 696; a possession of Aceh, 705, possibly connected with P o-lu 817
- Perlis, district, taken from Kedah and Van-lang, 319, 320, 320 n 1; built Lwá-thaŋ, 321
- P han-na, districts, 138, 138 n 2
- Phaŋ-thit, district, doubtful connection with Vijaya, 190
- P hang - nga See Takŋa - thung, district
- Phanom stupa, the, foundation of, 297 n 2
- P'haurang, town, in Lower Cochinchina, 337 n 1; identified with Pagduranga 814
- Pharugara See Barakura, state
- Pharusi See Parusa, the, people
- P hattalung, district, inland sea of, 79, largely settled by Brahmans, 471 n 2
- P hattalung, town, 109, gradually becoming an inland town 79, formerly an important seaport 106 107; can be reached through the inland sea, 107.
- Philippines the 86, other designations of 809
- Phlu-chaung, stream 741
- P hnom See Penong the people
- P hnom Empire See Lu-nan, kingdom
- P hnung See Penong, the people
- Phœnician writing, connected with Rejang 597 n 1
- Phœnicians, the, settlements of, 596, 699 n, 828, as shipwrights, 597 n 1, as navigators 597 n 1, traders

- Iland 430 534 n 3 619 a  
 dependency of Sri Bhoja 619  
 I-o-lu see Iland location of 499  
 I-o-Nagar the temple of 963 96  
 963; the tutelary goddess of Campa  
 963 the goddess De 966 in  
 scription 2  
 Po nan district established 59  
 Po-n state identification of 519  
 513 identified with Pane 513  
 unconnected with Brune 513  
 traded with Canton 513 n 1  
 Po Parichan king of Campa 69 n 1  
 Po Rome a deity or hero worshipped  
 by the Cham 96 identical with  
 Vrah Romapada 230  
 Po- kingdom 813 814 identifi-  
 cation of discussed 41 n 9 69  
 69 n 1 681 689 00 other  
 toponyms connected with 63  
 probably an old Arab and Persian  
 settlement 69 connected with  
 Su men ta la 69 n 1 a des-  
 nation of part of Sumatra 631  
 00 sent presents to Nan Chao  
 819  
 Po ta state 541 n 1 542 819  
 possibly connected with Batta 470  
 n 1 540 n 1 tributary to China  
 500 n 1 543 location of 541  
 other designations of 541 ruler  
 of 543 title conferred on the  
 ruler of 543 la t ment on o 543  
 identification of 89  
 Po têng district erroneously identified  
 with Bal 43 490 n 1 location  
 of 43 43 n 3 probably an  
 abbreviation of To p-o-tên 489  
 490 possibly a designation of Pulo  
 Buton 489 suggested identification  
 of 489 489 n 1  
 Po U Daung n scription 5 69 n 9  
 6 65 n 3 66 138 a translation  
 of the corrected, 166 n. 1  
 Poduke town identified with Pondi  
 cherry 96  
 Pugalang founder of Bal Han ov  
 69 n 1  
 Porey Ilands see Porey Island  
 Pouon trees be rim 599 n 4  
 Lokkhara district a designation of  
 Dala 41 n  
 Po river connected with I-o-l  
 819  
 Pol bothra city also designated Pata  
 putra 594 Iambula carried to  
 594  
 Pond of the Cold Ingot see Gold  
 Ingot the Pond of the  
 Pondraung Mountains possibly included  
 in Ptolemy a Maiandros 839  
 Pond cherry town the Poduke of  
 Ptolemy 95  
 P-on from I-o-l 431  
 Pontan Islands see I-tam Islands  
 Pontumea see Bantai mas district  
 and mart  
 Pontey mas see Bantai mas  
 district and mart  
 Pontiang see An river  
 Pontano see Bantai mas district  
 and mart  
 Por Poru see Phyu the people  
 Lorr the people identified with the  
 Ching 69  
 Portuguese 94 113 n 3 maps 46  
 50 85 Sumatra tributary to the  
 653 654  
 Loru the people identification of  
 129 130  
 Posnars town 835 connected with  
 the P-u-tsz 191 identification of  
 39 69 63 the name discussed  
 76 63  
 Pragyot pur Pragjyoti a district  
 986 the ancient name of Asam  
 138 now called Gauhati 986 n 1  
 Prahu mountain ruins of Saiva temples  
 found on 610 n 1  
 Prakan a district of P-kan 99  
 probably the Pagra of Ptolemy  
 99 731 two princesses from  
 invade Phuen 99 n 3 a des-  
 nation of Calan 996 amalgamated  
 with Muang Phuen 296 also  
 designated P-kan 319 313  
 Prakan city a synonym of Kô-th-  
 or Kortath 294  
 Prakas city 99 the original seat  
 of government in Perak 472 n 3  
 probably identical with P-o-lu ka  
 999 capital of Shê po 544  
 Prakr words and terms 106 119  
 140  
 Pralambana kingdom a designation of  
 Palembang 674  
 Prason cape 26  
 Praluka nagara see Pasuluka  
 kingdom  
 Prathama Yava Island, possibly  
 identical with Jabah 559  
 Prathama cet monument a gigantic  
 spire 188 date of erection of the  
 discussed 189 discoveries made  
 during excavations at the 189  
 position of the 189  
 Prathom-cet 183  
 Prawns petrified, found at Bratail  
 558 n 4  
 Pre Aryan population of India 101  
 10 103  
 Pre Chinese populations of China,

with Posnara, 121, connected with  
 Nan Chao 121 n 1  
 Pualin, village, in North Malacca,  
 468 n 1  
 Pugnaton name given to the island  
 and inhabitants of Engano, 409  
 n 2  
 Puh, the tribe, 130 n 1, the ruling  
 Nan chao chiu 142 n 1 *See also*  
 Pu the, people  
 Puh hu pu, kingdom, possibly Palembang,  
 613 n 1  
 Pukam *See* Bukam, kingdom  
 Pulu, river 772, location of 815  
 Pulista the mythical ancestor of the  
 Rakusas, 160 n 2  
 Pulau Chermin, island 498 n 3  
 Pulau Tunggai *See* Bukit Tunggai,  
 island  
 Pulindas the, people connected with  
 the Belan las, 729, 730  
 Puling Cape, other designations of,  
 476 476 n 1  
 Pula = island

## Q

Qua Giang ancient remains at, 791  
 Quan-to, the, people, an ancient race  
 inhabiting Kau bang 356 n  
 Quang binh *See* Kwang-bin, district  
 Quartz, 40 n 3, 485 n 2, worship of,  
 120 n (3), crystals, 491 n 1  
 Quedah, seaport, other designations of,  
 485 n 1  
 Quilon town, called Plumbun, 88,  
 connected with Kulam mal'u, 101,  
 103  
 Quinhon *See* Kwi non, city  
 Quinhone Harbour, identified with  
 Thi nãi, 238  
 Quoits, the people of P o li skilled in  
 throwing 491 *See also* s t Cakras

## R

Races movement and distribution of.

- chief of Moñ-Annam race, 131  
   n 2, a designation of the, 153  
 Precious stones of Sumatra, 647  
 Prestrello, Rafael, 654 n 1, a prisoner  
   in China, 614 n, pepper merchant,  
   654  
 Priaman, pepper produced at 454 n 1  
   a possession of Acheh, 706, gold  
   mines in, 706  
 Priest, Brahman, employment of, 122  
 Prome, district, 69, 69, 70, identified  
   with Maramma 55, Lower Burma  
   subject to the kings of, 65, other  
   designations of, 113  
 Prome, Old, city, 69 70 73, 75, 113,  
   the Mareura of Ptolemy, 33, 66,  
   67, capital of the Talaung kingdom,  
   33, destruction of, 33, foundation  
   of, 66, ancient name of 66, ceases  
   to be a capital, 67, the Maurya's  
   capital 67, the P hyu settled at,  
   365, 370, identification of, 738  
   names, 412, his error regarding  
   Iabadiu, 587, 588 *passim*  
 P u the name of an influential family  
   in Canton, 352 n  
 Pu, the, people, habitat of, 142  
   n 1  
 P'u, the, people, face-tattooing among,  
   367, tribes allied to, 369 369 n 4,  
   804, 805, a cannibal and caudate  
   tribe, 770, identification of, 770,  
   804, habitat of, 805 *See also* P uh,  
   the tribe  
 P u ch a the, people habitat of, 363,  
   other designations of, 363, of Moñ-  
   Annam race, 363 364  
 P u-chia lung state, a designation of  
   Chao wa, 451 n 1  
 P u êrh, P u êrl P u 'rh, the people  
   295 n 3, 742, formation of the  
   prefecture of, 362 n, the Barrhai  
   of Ptolemy 363, 365 366, 769,  
   the habitat of 363 366, 367, other

- 645, the people of, 695, location of, 834
- Samarade, town, 8, 42, 156, identified with Śrī Vijaya Rajadhami, 24, 170, 188-190, erroneously identified with Lagor, 169, connected with Hsien, 181 n 1; location of, 187; derivation of the name, 734
- Samarkand, the Murakanda of Ptolemy, 19, Ptolemy's error in distance between the 'Stone Tower' and, 20
- Samarlang, Semerlang, district, 575, 575 n 3, on the Sumatran coast, 656, claimed as a possession of Achéh, 705
- Samatra, town, capital of Sumatra, 646
- Samatra, Samotira, forms of Sumatra, 603
- Samawi Bay, 645
- Sambalaka II. district, identified with Samudra (a form of Sumatra), city, 644, foundation of, 644
- Samudra, village, location of, 656
- Samudra, Simudra-guri, island, a designation of Guri Island, 658; possibly a designation of Sumatra, 658, supposed origin of the name 658 Buddha's visit to, 664, legend of the peregrinations of the, 669, introduction of Islamism into, 696, conquest of, 704
- Samudra Daru-l-Salam (a form of Sumatra), city, 644, name assumed upon the introduction of Islamism, 644
- Samudra Gupta, king of Magadha, 57, 60, 61, conquests of, 663 n 3
- Samudra pura, town its identity unknown 220, possibly connected with Mitho 220, 221 n 1
- San bo tsai. *See* San fo ch'i, kingdom
- San ch'ichuan district an alternative

- Sin tai chung, district and river, 801  
 Sinto, city, identified with Sando-  
 way 46 n 1  
 Sindabulat *See* Senderfulat island  
 Sindalulat *See* Senderfulat, island  
 Sindal wood, 88, 576  
 Senderfulat *See* Senderfulat, island  
 Sindhoo, Pulo *See* Sindhon, island  
 Sindhon, island, possibly included in  
 Ptolemy's Souda 419, also known  
 as Pulo Sinding, 456, inhabitants  
 of, 456  
 Sandoway (Sandwe), city, derivation  
 of, 41 n, 45 n 2, 46 46 n 1,  
 the Sada of Ptolemy, 45, legend  
 respecting, 45, 45 n 2 742, founded  
 by Sammuti Deva 45, erroneously  
 identified with Bribonna, 47, its  
 connection with Tripura discussed,  
 45 n 2, other designations of, 606,  
 possibly named after Dvaravati, 712  
 Sandoway river, 47  
 Sanda 40, 109, 110  
 Sandstone worship of 120 n (3)  
 Sanf, kingdom, a designation of Campa  
 763, conquered by the king of  
 Sinto, the, people, other designations  
 of, 788  
 Sapan wood, 477, 478 n  
 Sipang River, an affluent of the  
 Bernam River, 759  
 Sipata *See* Sarasan, island  
 Sapittota, port, 470 n 1, governor  
 of, 760, connected with Ptolemy's  
 Sibira, 750  
 Sapatu, Pulo, 723  
 Sapipati, district, 767  
 Sarabakic Gulf identified with the  
 Gulf of Martaban, 64, 70, 71  
 Sarabakic Gulf *See* Sarabakic Gulf  
 Saracen merchants the, Islamism  
 introduced into Perlak by, 695  
 Saran *See* Sarasan island  
 Sarasan, island, erroneously connected  
 with the Anambas 707, 707 n 2,  
 conquered by the Javanese, 707,  
 other designations of, 707 n 2,  
 708 n 1, 710, 714, one of the  
 South Natunas 707 n 2, 708,  
 identification of, 714  
 Sarasvati river, 41 n  
 Sarava, Saravati *See* Tharrawaddy,  
 district



- Selat Tebrau *See* Singapore Strait, Old
- Sekun description of ancient gold mines at, 477 n 1, race of the ancient miners at unknown 477 n 1
- Selan, the people 262, remnants of the Sabarus, 258, population of the Mergui Archipelago, 274
- Senang the people 251 face tattooing among 367 n 3 of Iérak, 657 n 1, probable cannibalism of 661 n 1, identified with the Bala 786
- Semang ujong *See* Semujong district
- Semantinois the people connected with the Hae man 316
- Semantinois mountains the source of Ptolemy's Seros 375 376 connected with the Shih wan Shan 376
- Semlah, mart connected with Sabana 100
- Sembah River an affluent of the Iernam 758
- Sembarani a mythical horse 600 n 3
- inhabitants of 242 the identification of the terms Campa and, improbable, 243 243 n 3
- Senef Senf, Sea of corresponds to the Gulf of Tonkin 165 identical with the Gharra Sea 237 other designations of 237 238 239, 240, identified with Ihi nu harbour 238 erroneously identified with Touron harbour 238 volcanoes in the 672, connected with Ptolemy's Green Sea 673
- Seng chi Ch'eng city, location of, 178 n 1
- Seng chia he yu lan, King of San fo-chi 679
- Seng chih district 816 suggested identity with ho ko seng chih 817, identification of discussed 817
- Seng chih slaves 670 817 presents of 506 506 n 2 547 the meaning of the term discussed 506 n 2 818 dancing girls 818
- Seng chih Nu a name for Seng chih slaves 817
- Senji *See* Chenchu district
- Sengji a ball and ring 758

- Serutu island connected with Shih  
 erh tsu, 712 location of, 712  
 Settlements, Phoenician, 536, 699 n,  
 828, Arabian and Persian 679  
 Serula Sivula *See* Libala island  
 Seven King, the, conquer Pamanna-  
 desi 74 n 3, their identity discussed,  
 74 n 3  
 Seven Seas of India and Further  
 India table of identifications of the,  
 725 726  
 Sha Chu han *See* Shah Jehan  
 Sha ma *See* Puntis, the people  
 Sha mu p i, island, identified with  
 Swobi, 710  
 Sha wu p i *See* Swobi island  
 Shah Jehan 703, son of Muhammad  
 Shah 693, a descendant of John  
 Shah 695 Islamism introduced  
 into Aceh by 665 n  
 Shaher al Nawi, king of Siam 615,  
 identification of, 645  
 Shahrnaw: *See* Shaher-al-Nawi  
 Shamatrah a form of Sumatra, 603,  
 letter from the lord of 603  
 Shame ul din, also called Chon ex-  
 identification of, 468 472, 516,  
 517, 526 544 545, incidents con-  
 nected with, 468, 469, discrepancies  
 in accounts of, 469 n 3, location  
 of, 470 471 472, 510 511, 516,  
 517 521, 525, productions of, 476,  
 477, traded with Canton 515 n 1,  
 identified with the Malay Peninsula  
 516 517, limits of, 516, also design-  
 ated Ho lung 526 544, the last  
 mention of 540 not connected with  
 the Island of Java 540, 540 n 2,  
 visited by Gunavarman 541, an  
 embassy sent to China by, 542 Ho-  
 lo tan located in, 542, Tonkin  
 plundered by the people of, 544,  
 545 n 1, defeated by Chinese  
 troops, 544, temple destroyed by  
 the people of 545, San fo chi  
 invaded by, 622  
 She p o, other representations of the  
 name, 461 n 1, the three kingdoms  
 of, 465 8, 469, 472 other designa-  
 tions of 468, noted for tortoise-  
 shell 671 n

- Iasippa, 142, 767, other designations of 766, 766 n 1, 767  
 location of 767  
 Si porah, island inhabited by the Mantaw, 448, probably included in Ptolemy's Sindh 449  
 Si st ê-li, city, 471  
 Si you See Hsi yü river  
 Si jo the, people, 760, of Fu chou, 131 n 2  
 Siak, district with many tribes of, 506 n 2 637 n 1, 686, 687, 817, possibly the district of the Sang chih ~~above 817~~  
 error in the const of the 23, 24, 81, 188, the Lestai of Ptolemy, 81, ancient name of the, 102, 110, connected with Chih Hui, 248, identified with the Perimulik Gulf, 761  
 Siamee, the, origin of the name, 70, description of, 170, 171, camphor made by 435 n 3, fleets of proceeding the Me Khong, 775  
 Siamee records and monuments, 107, 108 161  
 Siamee tones 226 n 1

- Silva Dom João da, Spanish governor of Manila, 534 n 1
- Silver, 98, 476, 477 n 1, 502, of Argyre 37, 706, terms designating, 39, 97, 97 n 1, imported into Arakan, 43 n 1 legend of the silver city of Tripura, 43 n 2, plentiful in Khryse, 670 n 1
- Silver Island, 670 n 1, a designation of Argyre, 671 n, probably Arakan, 671 n
- Silver mines, 424 n 2, 671 n, 740, 741, of Arakan, 37, 39 n 1, 40 n 3, 51, 424, in the Tenaeserim district, 164 n 1, near Kalah and Serira, 562, in Sumatra, 562 n 2, 647, 659 n 2, in Balas Island, 659 n 2, in Burma, 740
- Silver Sand, River of Ses Rajata-valuka river
- Silver ware manufactures, 627, 628
- Silver wares, 628
- Sima, kingdom 774
- Sima See Hsa-ma-queen
- Son-tin tribes 347, a chief city and mart, 348 801 derivation of the name discussed 349, 735, connected with other place names, 799, 800, latitude of, discussed, 800, a seaport, 801
- Sunda Islands of, identical with Ptolemy's Sunda, 456
- Sunda, Sunda a district of Sumatra, 590
- Sunda, islands 587, corresponds to part of the Mantaw Islands, 449, the name discussed 449, 450, names of islands constituting the, 449, identified with the islands of Sunda, 456, country included under the name of, 458
- Sindang, name applied to a village and tributary 450
- Sindh, Sindhu, state, 41 n, connected with Sunda, 334, 338, a derivation of Sunda, 450, identified with Hsa-ta 450 n 2

Sulu, country, noted for tortoise-shell, 671 n  
 Sumah island, identification of, 574, 575, connected with Kyuma, 575  
 Sumana kuta a designation of Adam's Peak, 387  
 Sumatra, city, foundation of, 642, 642 n 1, 642 n 2, 643  
 Sumatra state, 22 89 634 n 1, difficulty of identifying Ptolemy's islands off 24, 25, Buddha's visit to 114 664, 665 n, former terrestrial connection with Pegu 402 n, connected with Ptolemy's Agathodaimones, 411, 419, other designations of, 475, 453, 483, 517 n 2, 552, 554, 556 568 n 2 594 n 3, 634 n 1, 642 n 1, 642 n 2, 641, 652, 654, 658 670, 671, 673 678, 809 831, islands off the west coast of, 427 ff, camphor from 437 n, the best pepper produced at 454 n 1, list of the kingdoms of, 455 n 1, Ptolemy's limited knowledge of 457, islands off the coast of confused with the mainland 477, name of Java applied to, 461 n 1 635 salt obtained at, 477 n 1, sulphur obtained from 477 n 1 lignum aloes from, 478 n, sapan wood in, 478 n identical with Shih li Po

possibly a colony of the Rakshasa empire, 669, geographical misapprehensions regarding, 677, hairy and tailed men of, 687, the introduction of Islamism into, 695, 696, names for, in the Catalan maps, 834  
 Sumbawa, district identified with Ch'ung ka la, 520  
 Sumbreiro Islands See Sombrero Islands  
 Sumoltra, state, a form of Sumatra, 646, tattooing at, 646, 646 n 1, account of the people of, 679 n 2  
 Sussumara See Susuara, island  
 Sumutra, state, a form of Sumatra 645  
 Sun ta a piratical state, 812, identical with Sunda, 812  
 Sunanda Kumara, Muang Yung overthrown by 119 n 1, son of the Thai chief of Chieng Rung, 119 n 1, murdered the Chieng chief, and mastered their country, 119 n 1, prince of Yung 139 n  
 Sunaparanta See Suvannaparanta, district  
 Sunda island, location of, discussed, 452 n 1, 453 expedition of Francisco de Sa to, 452 n 1  
 Sunda kingdom connected with Hsu to, 450 n 2, account of, 452 n 1 a piratical state 810

- Suparaga *See* Suparna  
 Suparna, an epithet of Garuda, 775  
 Suparqa, river, in India, 775  
 Sup han, Sup han barf *See* Ban  
 dhumra pura, town  
 Sura Sea *See* Selat Sea  
 Suran, Raja, of Bijnagar, Perak taken  
 by, 98  
 Sûrasana the, people, connected with  
 Suratan, 53  
 Surat, city, 92  
 Suratan Sura sthina (?) district, prob-  
 ably identified with Sonargâm, 53,  
 the name applied to Eastern Bengal,  
 53  
 Surma mountain, connected with the  
 Samlra 742  
 Surma, river, 33  
 Susmas the, identity of, 674  
 Susû, district 676  
 Susu-susu Bay, 448 n 2  
 Susûra, islet, possibly part of  
 Maniolai, 421  
 Suranna-mali, mountain, holy foot-  
 print on the, 115 665 n  
 Surannat humi, kingdom, 569 n  
 connected with Khry-ê, 64, ancient  
 name of Ramanna 70, location and  
 identification of, 671 n, 718, 761,  
 762, other designations of, 762  
 Surannaparanta district, the hinter-  
 land of Pamannadusa, 6; extent  
 of 65 749, the name discussed,  
 748, list of districts in 748  
 Suvarna drupa island, the Malay  
 Peninsula 78 erroneously con-  
 nected with Zabej 569 568 n 2,  
 identification of, discussed, 568 n 2  
 672 n \*, gold and silver mines in,  
 574  
 Syama kingdom, 774, origin and  
 application of the name, 178 179,  
 180, 181, 183, the name not derived  
 from Shan, 186, 187, the antiquity  
 of, 190 *See also* Siam, kingdom  
 Syâma, mountain, identification of the,  
 177, 178  
 Syâma kupa, kingdom, 773, location  
 of, discussed, 176, 177, 178  
 probably Sri Vijaya 177, 178,  
 meaning of the word, 177  
 Syama-jidra, kingdom, a designation  
 of Sukhôthai, 774  
 Svamin rajra *See* Sri Vijaya Raja-  
 dhani, town  
 Syamaka, the, people, 774  
 Syanaka, district, 507 n, 818,  
 identification uncertain, 507 n,  
 508 n  
 Syatan, Syantan *See* Siatan, island  
 Sylhet, kingdom, connected with Ta-  
 tai'n P'o-lo-mên, 813, other designa-  
 tions of, 813 *See also* Silhet  
 Symbols, insignia of royalty, 67, 151  
 Symula, identification of, 731  
 Synoptical tables *See* Tables, synop-  
 tical  
 Syria a designation of Ta tai'n, 60,  
 302  
 Syriam, island 72 origin of the  
 name, 71, other designations of,  
 831  
 Sz chuen, Sz ch'wan district 62 n 4  
 159, cave-dwellings of 169, 772  
 Sz li Chu lo wu ni Fu ma tian hwa,  
 king of San fo ch'ü, 623  
 Sz li Ma lo p'ü king of San fo-ch'ü  
 623, sends tribute to China, 623

- Tāhkkand, erroneously identified with Ptolemy's 'Stone Tower,' 19.
- Tātang River, connected with the Talang, 530 n. 4; location of, 824.
- Tathiak, the, people, 262
- Tattooed faces, Country of the, a designation of Na ku ſih, 676 n.
- Tattooing, 132, 616, 675 n. †, 804, of the Ai Lāu and Nan Chao, 126; among various native races, 175 n. 2, 674 n. 2, 675 n. †, 801, 805, of the face, 175 n. 2, 367, 367 n. 3, 646, 646 n. 1, 674 n. 2, 675 n. †, 773, 804, 805, 828, of the body, 175 n. 2, forms of, described, 675 n. †; designs, 804.
- Tau See Dāu, river.
- Tau chiang, river, identification of, 771
- T'au hwa Shwei, river, location and identification of, 771, 798
- T'au hwang, a Chinese general, 350
- Tau kiao le river, term probably denoting Takōle, 93 (*see* *Corrigenda*, 755), name applied to the Pak chāu River, 93
- Tau lan, Tau rum, country, possibly identical with Turān, 790
- Taukma See Lōkma, village
- Taungthus, the, people, chiefs of the, known as the Seven Kings, 74 n. 3, habitat of, 86, 90 n., other designations of, 86, 90 n
- Taungthus, the people, called Gula
- Telinga See Triaklinga, empire.
- Telingana, kingdom, the Andhras of, 29, derivation of, 30, name applied to halinga proper, 30
- Telok Ayer bint, island, good anchorage at, 722 n. 1; a Siantan island, 722 n. 1.
- Telok belong, civ., 647, possibly identical with Lulu bilenk, 431 n. 3  
*See also* Lulu bilenk
- Teluban River, situation of, 524 n
- Teluk Kāpur, an old camphor mart, 436 n. 3.
- Temajo, Temaju, island, off Borneo, 499; connected with Bamboo Island, 711.
- Temali, cape, 20, 25, 77, identified with Cape Nigras, 12, 13, 23, 52, 70, position of, how determined by Ptolemy, 17; fundamental station of Ptolemy, 23
- Temala, civ., 49, its site identical with Bassein, 50, identified with Timara, 51, noted for gold and silkworm breeding, 51, connected with Tan moe lu, 110, 523, derivation of the name 734, 743
- Temala, river, identified with the Ngawon, 48-49, derivation of the name, 48, 49, 734.
- Temanjung, village on Sumatra, 491, 499 n. 1.
- Tembeling, Temling See Tan ma ling, state

- Timu tiſoi, islands, a designation of the Andamans, 826
- Tim ra, city, 749, the Temala of Ptolemy, 51, location of, 65, gold at, 67
- Tun or Island of, also designated Gih Tun or, 519, 520, identical with Chi li Ti mên, 519, 520, 520 n 1
- Timola See Simylla, mart
- Tin, tin-ore, tin-works, 89, 91, 190 n 4, 477 n 1, 480 n 2, 492 n 1, 628, terms designating, 87, 87 n 1, 89, 89 n 1, 89 n 2, 97, 754; of Jala, 810
- Tin mines, see — — — — — 754; tract worked by — — — — —
- Tionan See — — — — —
- Tionan, Tionan
- Tipara, Tippara
- Tiparab S
- Tiragrahas, 1
- Tocapa See Takôpa, cape
- Toi-dô, city, a Lu capital, 329
- Toi-dô, kingdom, connected with T'a huan, 233, corresponded to Hwê and Turan, 233, 280
- Toi-dô the, people, connected with the Hsi tu I, 233
- Toi kwien, a district of Jih nan, 311 n 2.
- Toi son revolt headed by Nâk, 277
- Toi vû, district, suggested location of, 373, 374, also called Hsi vu 373



- Salwin, 72, the Chiau yu connected with, 259, tattooing among, 675 n 1, 804, the climbing powers of, 687 n 6, identified with the Pu, 804, habitat of, 804
- Wah Ho ni, the, people, 803
- Wai, Pulo, 714, connected with Lo wei Shan, 711.
- Wai lo Shan island, wrongly identified with Cape Touron, 238 n 4, identified with Kù lau Rē or Pulo Canton, 238 n 4
- Wailah. *See* Mu li, state
- Wan, river, Chinese name for the Me-khong, 135 n, 137 n 2
- Wan-hsiang state, application of the name. 768. also called Olanon
- Wei lu, the, people, 804
- Wei P'u, the, people, account of the, 687 n 5, tried cannibals, 687 n 5
- Wellesley, province, inscriptions and early remains found in the, 83, 98
- Wen, king of Lin li, conquests of, 79
- Wen chow 131 n 2, capital of Tung Ou, 321 n
- Wên kung, emperor, human meat ordered by, 828
- Wen tan kingdom, a designation of Upper Kamboja 832, not connected with Ban Don, 832
- Wên ti, emperor of China 543
- West Island, also designated Serag Island, 714
- Whirlpool, in the Gulf of Tonkin 782

- Yen ti, the 'Fiery God' *See* Shen nung
- Yen to man, islands a designation of the Andamāns, 389
- Yi hsi, district name of part of Yunnan, 64
- Yi li chi *See* Khoten
- Yi Yung, prince of Chieng Pung, 139 n
- Yin ching a Chinese eunuch 648
- Yindus, the, people, tattooing among, 675 n †
- Ying cheng town a designation of Hì nōi 799
- Ying ko tswei Shan island 386, 386 n 2
- Yolo, ambergris from, 581 n 3
- Yon Shan the people 120 n
- Yona *See* Yavina the, people
- Yonakadesa, district, 58, designation of Western Laos 119 n 1 132
- Yong, Muang, traditionally founded by the Lawas 119 n 1 overthrown by Samanda Kumara 119 n 1 a division of the Chieng Pung kingdom 139 n prince of 139 n visited by Buddha 381 n
- Yong Hill stupa on the, 297 n 2
- Yon, Hwe Lake 741
- Yu chon village, location of 372
- Yu chou ching corresponds to the Seros River, 372 376
- Yu hung river also designated Lung district 27, location and extent of, 304 n 2
- Yuch-shang the, people 777, habitat of, 778
- Yueh sui district, formerly designated Kung tu 62 n 4
- Yuen *See* Kien the, people
- Yule Colonel map of Ancient India 4
- Yun nan Fu, district, influence of the Ts wan in 126 people from Piao settled near, 750
- Yung chang, town and district 61 70 73 123 154 n 1 792, the Aleraga of Ptolemy 60, 64, the chief city of Marco Polo's Ardandān, 64, formation of the prefecture of, 739 foundation of Old, 747 Old, identified with Chao chou 747, the 'Golden Teeth' public offices at, 768
- Yung ning al o designated Anna 820
- Yung Yu tiao 181 n 1 the king of the Shen state, 62, rarities sent to China by, 62
- Yunnan territory, 61 116 117, 120 n (?) 121, 121 138 n 2 the Lau in possession of Western 39, dynasty founded at 60, Tagaung overthrown by tribes from 62 Chinese expeditions into, 63, other designations of 64, 144 n 2 291 297 n 2, identical with Hien, 127 127 765, inhabitants of 126 178 n 1 130 153 amber from 59 n 1

- of the Mon Khmer race, 52, limits of the present habitat of, 52, description of, 52 51, 744, 745, former inhabitants of the Chindwin valley, 52, connected with the Khami, 52, connected with Ptolemy's Zamirai, 53 driven to the Paga Roma, 54
- Zabaj *See* Zabej, kingdom
- Zabed, kingdom, identical with the Malay Archipelago 89
- Zábej, city, identified with Palembang, 578
- Zabej, kingdom, 237, other designations of, 200, 567, 566, 567, 568, 568 n 2, camphor exported from, 437 n., identification of 467, 538, 561, 568, 568 n 2 location of 557, its identification with Java erroneous 53, 537 n 1, 578 586 identified with Sumatra 557 580
- Dbutai Island belonged to, 558, extent of, 559 possessions of 559 700 crocodiles in the bay of 561 productions of 562 volcanoes on, 562, situation of the capital of 562, names associated with 562
- Campa and, alleged to form a single empire 563 Chinese settlers in, 563 description of the capital of, 564, 564 n 2 mercantile and political influence of in India 674 n 1, discussion of the term 633 connection with the term Sri Bhoja impossible, 633
- Zábej Maharaja of expedition sent by the, 217 213 546 560 n 1 561 670 homage done by the kings of Kamboja to the 516 account of the island of the 560 561 572, 573 legend respecting 560 his palace located at Palembang, 560 n. 1 620 621, 629 possessions of 561 extent of his sway 562 productions of the territories of 562 account of 572 islands ruled by 621
- Zanu I Abidin Sultan, king of Aceh, 704
- Zatun port, connected with Ch'uan chou 625
- Zdej, islands identification of, 570, 571 islands mentioned among the, 571
- Zet, a measure, 388 n its value discussed 806, compared with a *king*, 806
- Zamatora Island, a form of Sumatra 632, other designations of, 62
- Zamatra, a form of Sumatra, 633
- Zameng *See* Zibung, the, people
- Zamirai the, people 66 cannibals of the Chindwin valley, 52, connected with the Zabung, 53 and with the Khami, 54 habitat of the, in Ptolemy's time 54 derivation of the name, 735 identification of 744
- Zampi *See* Ciamba port
- Zanej Zinj island, owned by the Maharaja of Zabej, 561 621 a clerical slip for Zabej 562 570, 571 the name of Zanzibar and Bufala 570 the transoceanic trade of 570
- Zanzibar Island other designations of, 571 connected with Anijah, 577, 577 n 1
- Zapa district its identification discussed 217
- Zein, kingdom 746
- Zeinu d din lord of Shamajrah 653
- Zeinu I Abidin king of Su men ta la identification of 648, 648 n 2, twice supplanted by his brother 648 n 2 reinstated by men from Malacca, 648 n 2 death of 649
- Zetta port connected with Sada, 46
- Zhó the, people, 714
- Zibala islet possibly part of the Manulai, 421
- Zik abu, the, people, 131 n 3
- Zolore island 808
- Zong Hôa *See* Dong hu, city
- Zunda kingdom 452 location of the capital of 453 454, located on Sumatra 453 n 455 n 1 extent of 454, probably identical with Hento 454 624 people from 454, other designations of 628